

PSCI 4806A/5803A: Transatlantic Security Issues

Mondays and Wednesdays, 18:05 – 20:55

Check Carleton Central for
location

Instructors: Alex McDougall

Email Address: alex.mcdougall@carleton.ca

Office Hours: By appointment via videoconference

Course Description

This course addresses the NATO alliance, long considered the lynchpin of transatlantic security. Throughout the Cold War, the transatlantic alliance served as the security bulwark for the west – underwritten by the United States. After the Cold War, NATO searched for renewed purpose.

The process brought the alliance “out of area” to the Balkans, Afghanistan, and Libya, undertaking projects far outside its core purpose – mutual defence. The process of NATO enlargement in the post-Cold War era has proven controversial and is blamed by some writers as the cause of Russia’s increasingly aggressive foreign policy towards countries such as Ukraine and Georgia over the past 20 years.

In examining issues surrounding NATO, this course will delve into the history of NATO and its role in transatlantic security, the current state of the alliance and its future prospects in light of the challenges facing NATO in 2023, including NATO’s role in the global war on terror, the Ukraine/Russia War, new security threats – including cyber and space security issues, and strategic divergence, driven in part by changing attitudes towards NATO in the United States, and disunity within Europe.

PSCI 4806/5803 is a seminar and therefore driven by student conversation. Course work includes one research paper and short commentaries.

Course Objectives:

By the end of this course, students will be able to:

- (1) Identify political trends in the transatlantic alliance in the post-Cold War era;
- (2) Explain how NATO politics has evolved over time;
- (3) Speak clearly about the theoretical and empirical aspects of the transatlantic alliance;
- (4) Write clearly about the complexities of NATO and IR theory.

Readings

All readings are available on Brightspace.

Assignments

<i>Assignment</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Weight of Total Grade</i>	<i>Due Date</i>
<i>Participation</i>	Ongoing active involvement in class discussions	20%	Ongoing from July 5 to August 16
<i>Reading Presentations</i>	Presentation on a selected reading and facilitating a class discussion	30%	Scheduled in class
<i>Short Response Paper 1</i>	500/750 words response to an assigned reading	5%	July 19
<i>Short Response Paper 2</i>	500/750 words response to an assigned reading	5%	July 31
<i>Short Response Paper 3</i>	500/750 words response to an assigned reading	5%	August 9
<i>Research paper proposal</i>	500 words (2 pages)	5%	July 12
<i>Final Research Paper</i>	Comprehensive research paper of approximately 4,000/5,000 words on a chosen topic	30%	August 16

The shorter word length applies to undergraduate students (PSCI 4806), while the longer one applies to graduate students (PSCI 5803).

Participation (20%): Regular attendance and active involvement in class discussions is mandatory and will be ongoing throughout the course from July 5 to August 16. Students are expected to contribute to the discussions by sharing insights, asking thoughtful questions, and engaging in respectful debates with classmates.

Reading Presentations (30%): Each student will select a reading and present it to the class. The exact schedule for these presentations will be decided during the first week of class and will be spread out throughout the course duration. Presentations should summarize the reading's main points, its relevance to the course topic, and generate points of discussion. The reading presentation can also cover the same topic and reuse material from a response paper, should the student so choose.

Short Response Papers (15%): Students will write three short response papers on assigned

course readings. The response papers should cover 2-3 readings for a given week.

- Response Paper 1: July 19 (pick a topic between July 4-19)
- Response Paper 2: July 31 (Pick a topic between July 20-31)
- Response Paper 3: August 9 (pick a topic from Aug 1- 16).

Each response paper should be 500-750 words long and will summarize the reading's main points, critically evaluate its arguments, and relate its content to broader course themes. Additional instructions and a rubric will be posted on brightspace. The topics for the papers will correspond to the paper date. Paper 1 can cover any week between July 12 and 19. Paper 2 any topic between July 4 and 31, and Paper 3 can cover any topic between July 31 and Aug 16. Within these dates, the choice of topic is up to the student. Outside research is permitted, but considered optional.

Research paper proposal (5%): Students will submit a 2 page research proposal that outlines a research question, a preliminary thesis, a short literature review (of 5 sources) and a proposed outline or methodology. Students can choose a topic/research question that roughly fits within the theme of the course (e.g. security issues Due July 13).

Final Research Paper (30%): Students will submit a final research paper of approximately 5,000 words, due on August 16. This paper should provide a comprehensive understanding of a chosen topic, demonstrate an ability to critically analyze transatlantic security issues, and incorporate insights from both course materials and independent research.

Late policy: Late assignments (without valid reasons) will face a penalty of 3% per day.

Schedule and reading list

July 5 Introduction to class

NATO 2022. *Strategic concept*. Available online: [290622-strategic-concept.pdf \(nato.int\)](https://www.nato.int/docu/strat/2022/22-01-strategic-concept.pdf)

July 10 NATO and the Trump Years

Kaufman, Joyce P. 2017. "The US Perspective on NATO Under Trump: Lessons of the Past and Prospects for the Future." *International Affairs* 93 (2): 251-266.

Sperling, James, and Mark Webber. 2019. Trump's Foreign Policy and NATO: Exit and Voice. *Review of International Studies* 45 (3): 511-526.

Jakobsen, Peter Viggo, and Jens Ringsmose. 2018. "Victim of its Own Success: How NATO's Difficulties are Caused by the Absence of a Unifying Existential Threat." *Journal of Transatlantic Studies* 16 (1): 38-58.

Borg, Stefan. 2021. "Cancelling the West. Transatlantic Relations in the Era of Culture Wars." *Global Affairs* 7 (3):311-325

July 12 The Purpose of NATO

Thies, Wallace J. 2009. *Why NATO Endures*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapters. 3 and 4

Rathbun, Brian C. 2012. "From Vicious to Virtuous Circle: Moralistic Trust, Diffuse Reciprocity, and the American Security Commitment to Europe." *European Journal of International Relations* 18 (2):323-344.

NATO. 1949. The North Atlantic Treaty, North Atlantic Treaty Organization. https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_17120.htm

July 17 NATO in the Nineties

Howard, Michael. 1999. NATO at Fifty: An Unhappy Successful Marriage: Security Means Knowing What to Expect. *Foreign Affairs* 78 (3): 164-175.

Kitchen, Veronica M. 2009. "Argument and Identity Change in the Atlantic Security Community." *Security Dialogue* 40 (1): 95-114.

Roberts, Adam. 1999. "NATO's 'Humanitarian War' over Kosovo." *Survival* 41 (3): 102-123.

July 19

NATO Enlargement and its Consequences

Shiffrinson, Joshua R. Itzkowitz. 2016. Deal or No Deal? The End of the Cold War and the US Offer to Limit NATO Expansion. *International Security* 40 (4): 7-44.

Marten, Kimberly. "NATO enlargement: evaluating its consequences in Russia." *Evaluating NATO Enlargement: From Cold War Victory to the Russia-Ukraine War*. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2023. 209-249.

Lanoszka, Alexander. "Thank goodness for NATO enlargement." *Evaluating NATO Enlargement: From Cold War Victory to the Russia-Ukraine War*. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2023. 307-339.

German, Tracey. 2017. NATO and the Enlargement Debate: Enhancing Euro-Atlantic Security or Inciting Confrontation? *International Affairs* 93 (2): 291-308.

Shiffrinson, Joshua. 2017. Time to Consolidate NATO? *The Washington Quarterly* 40 (1): 109-123

July 24 **NATO, Afghanistan and Libya**

Hallams, Ellen. 2009. "The Transatlantic Alliance Renewed: The United States and NATO Since 9/11." *Journal of Transatlantic Studies* 7 (1): 38-60.

Kuperman, Alan J. "Lessons from Libya: How not to intervene." *International Security* (2013).

Sperling, James, and Mark Webber. 2009. "NATO: from Kosovo to Kabul." *International Affairs* 85 (3): 491-511.

Saideman, Stephen M., and David P Auerswald. 2012. "Comparing Caveats: Understanding the Sources of National Restrictions upon NATO's Mission in Afghanistan." *International Studies Quarterly* 56 (1): 67-84.

Carati, Andrea. 2015. "No Easy Way Out: Origins of NATO's Difficulties in Afghanistan." *Contemporary Security Policy* 36 (2): 200-218.

July 26

Russia/Ukraine and NATO

Marten, Kimberly. "NATO enlargement: evaluating its consequences in Russia." *Evaluating NATO Enlargement: From Cold War Victory to the Russia-Ukraine War*. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2023. 209-249.

Zubok, Vladislav M. "Myths and Realities of Putinism and NATO Expansion." *Evaluating NATO Enlargement: From Cold War Victory to the Russia-Ukraine War*. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2023. 145-159.

Sushentsov, Andrey A., and William C. Wohlforth. "The tragedy of US–Russian relations: NATO centrality and the revisionists' spiral." *International Politics* 57 (2020): 427-450.

Robinson, Paul F. "Russia's emergence as an international conservative power." *Russia in Global Affairs* 18.1 (2020): 10-31

July 31 **NATO and Burden Sharing**

Meijer, Hugo, and Stephen G. Brooks. "Illusions of autonomy: Why Europe cannot provide for its security if the United States pulls back." *International Security* 45.4 (2021): 7-43.

Sandler, Todd, and Hiromufi Shimizu. 2014. "NATO Burden Sharing 1999-2010: An Altered Alliance." *Foreign Policy Analysis* 10 (1): 43-60.

Robison, Rebecca R. 2020. "NATO Burden-Sharing: A Comprehensive Framework for Member Evaluation." *Comparative Strategy* 39 (3): 299-315.

Kunertova, Dominika. 2017. "One Measure Cannot Trump It All: Lessons from NATO's Early Burden-Sharing Debates." *European Security* 26 (4): 552-574.

Carati, Andrea. 2017. Responsibility to Protect, NATO and the Problem of Who Should Intervene: Reassessing the Intervention in Libya. *Global Change, Peace & Security* 29 (3): 293-309.

August 2 **NATO and China**

Burton, Joe. 2018. "NATO's 'Global Partners' in Asia: Shifting Strategic Narratives." *Asian Security* 14 (1): 8-23.

Bechná, Zinaida, and Bradley A. Thayer. 2016. "NATO's New Role: The Alliance's Response to a Rising China." *Naval War College Review* 69 (3): 65-82.

Holslag, Jonathan. 2019. China, NATO, and the Pitfall of Empty Engagement. *The Washington Quarterly* 42 (3): 137-150.

Heisbourg, François. 2020. "NATO 4.0: The Atlantic Alliance and the Rise of China." *Survival* 62 (2): 83-102.

August 9 **Cyberwar**

Flournoy, Michèle, and Michael Sulmeyer. 2018. Battlefield Internet: A Plan for Securing Cyberspace. *Foreign Affairs* 97 (5): 40-47.

respiratory and cough etiquette.

Feeling sick? Remaining vigilant and not attending work or school when sick or with symptoms is critically important. If you feel ill or exhibit COVID-19 symptoms do not come to class or campus. If you feel ill or exhibit symptoms while on campus or in class, please leave campus immediately. In all situations, you should follow Carleton's [symptom reporting protocols](#).

Masks: Masks are no longer mandatory in university buildings and facilities. However, we continue to recommend masking when indoors, particularly if physical distancing cannot be maintained. We are aware that personal preferences regarding optional mask use will vary greatly, and we ask that we all show consideration and care for each other during this transition.

Vaccines: While proof of vaccination is no longer required to access campus or participate in in-person Carleton activities, it may become necessary for the University to bring back proof of vaccination requirements on short notice if the situation and public health advice changes. Students are strongly encouraged to get a full course of vaccination, including booster doses as soon as they are eligible and submit their booster dose information in [cuScreen](#) as soon as possible. Please note that Carleton cannot guarantee that it will be able to offer virtual or hybrid learning options for those who are unable to attend the campus.

All members of the Carleton community are required to follow requirements and guidelines regarding health and safety which may change from time to time. For the most recent information about Carleton's COVID-19 response and health and safety requirements please see the [University's COVID-19 website](#) and review the [Frequently Asked Questions \(FAQs\)](#). Should you have additional questions after reviewing, please contact covidinfo@carleton.ca.

Student Mental Health

As a university student you may experience a range of mental health challenges that significantly impact your academic success and overall well-being. If you need help, please speak to someone. There are numerous resources available both on- and off-campus to support you. Here is a list that may be helpful:

Emergency Resources (on and off campus): <https://carleton.ca/health/emergencies-and-crisis/emergency-numbers/>

• **Carleton Resources:**

- Mental Health and Wellbeing: <https://carleton.ca/wellness/>
- Health & Counselling Services: <https://carleton.ca/health/>
- Paul Menton Centre: <https://carleton.ca/pmc/>
- Academic Advising Centre (AAC): <https://carleton.ca/academicadvising/>
- Centre for Student Academic Support (CSAS): <https://carleton.ca/csas/>
- Equity & Inclusivity Communities: <https://carleton.ca/equity/>

• **Off Campus Resources:**

- Distress Centre of Ottawa and Region: (613) 238-3311 or TEXT: 343-306-5550, <https://www.dcottawa.on.ca/>
- Mental Health Crisis Service: (613) 722-6914, 1-866-996-0991, <http://www.crisisline.ca/>

- Empower Me: 1-844-741-6389, <https://students.carleton.ca/services/empower-me-counselling-services/>
- Good2Talk: 1-866-925-5454, <https://good2talk.ca/>
- The Walk-In Counselling Clinic: <https://walkincounselling.com>

Requests for Academic Accommodation

You may need special arrangements to meet your academic obligations during the term. For an accommodation request, the processes are as follows:

Pregnancy accommodation: Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For accommodation regarding a formally-scheduled final exam, you must complete the Pregnancy Accommodation Form ([click here](#)).

Religious accommodation: Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details [click here](#).

Accommodations for students with disabilities: If you have a documented disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact the Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) at 613-520-6608 or pmc@carleton.ca for a formal evaluation or contact your PMC coordinator to send your instructor your Letter of Accommodation at the beginning of the term. You must also contact the PMC no later than two weeks before the first in-class scheduled test or exam requiring accommodation (if applicable). After requesting accommodation from PMC, reach out to your instructor as soon as possible to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. For more details, [click here](#).

Accommodation for student activities: Carleton University recognizes the substantial benefits, both to the individual student and for the university, that result from a student participating in activities beyond the classroom experience. Reasonable accommodation must be provided to students who engage in student activities at the national or international level. Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. <https://carleton.ca/senate/wp-content/uploads/Accommodation-for-Student-Activities-1.pdf>.

For more information on academic accommodation, please contact the departmental administrator or visit: students.carleton.ca/course-outline.

Sexual Violence Policy

As a community, Carleton University is committed to maintaining a positive learning, working and living environment where sexual violence will not be tolerated. Survivors are supported through academic accommodations as per Carleton's Sexual Violence Policy. For more information about the services available at the university and to obtain information about sexual violence and/or support, visit: carleton.ca/sexual-violence-support.

Plagiarism

Carleton's [Academic Integrity Policy](#) defines plagiarism as "presenting, whether intentional or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one's own." This includes reproducing or paraphrasing portions of someone else's published or unpublished material, regardless of the source, and presenting these as one's own without proper citation or reference to the original source. Examples of sources from which the ideas, expressions of ideas or works of others may be drawn from include, but are not limited to: books, articles, papers, websites, literary compositions and phrases, performance compositions, chemical compounds, art works, laboratory reports, research results, calculations and the results of calculations, diagrams, constructions, computer reports, computer code/software, material on the internet and/or conversations.

Examples of plagiarism include, but are not limited to:

- any submission prepared in whole or in part, by someone else;
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, paraphrased material, algorithms, formulae, scientific or mathematical concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another's data or research findings without appropriate acknowledgement;
- submitting a computer program developed in whole or in part by someone else, with or without modifications, as one's own; and
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another's work and/or failing to use quotations marks.

Plagiarism is a serious offence which cannot be resolved directly with the course's instructor. The Associate Deans of the Faculty conduct a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student, when an instructor suspects a piece of work has been plagiarized. Penalties are not trivial. They may include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work or a final grade of "F" for the course.

More information on the University's Academic Integrity Policy can be found at:

<https://carleton.ca/registrar/academic-integrity/>.

Intellectual property

Student or professor materials created for this course (including presentations and posted notes, labs, case studies, assignments and exams) remain the intellectual property of the author(s). They are intended for personal use and may not be reproduced or redistributed without prior written consent of the author(s).

Submission and Return of Term Work

Papers must be submitted directly to the instructor according to the instructions in the course outline. The departmental office will not accept assignments submitted in hard copy.

Grading

Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor, subject to the approval of the faculty Dean. Final standing in courses will be shown by alphabetical grades. The system of grades used, with corresponding grade points is:

Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale	Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale
90-100	A+	12	67-69	C+	6
85-89	A	11	63-66	C	5
80-84	A-	10	60-62	C-	4
77-79	B+	9	57-59	D+	3
73-76	B	8	53-56	D	2
70-72	B-	7	50-52	D-	1

Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean. This means that grades submitted by an instructor may be subject to revision. No grades are final until they have been approved by the Dean.

Carleton E-mail Accounts

All email communication to students from the Department of Political Science will be via official Carleton University e-mail accounts and/or Brightspace. As important course and university information is distributed this way, it is the student's responsibility to monitor their Carleton University email accounts and Brightspace.

Carleton Political Science Society

The Carleton Political Science Society (CPSS) has made its mission to provide a social environment for politically inclined students and faculty. By hosting social events, including Model Parliament, debates, professional development sessions and more, CPSS aims to involve all political science students at Carleton University. Our mandate is to arrange social and academic activities in order to instill a sense of belonging within the Department and the larger University community. Members can benefit through our networking opportunities, academic engagement initiatives and numerous events which aim to complement both academic and social life at Carleton University. To find out more, visit us on Facebook <https://www.facebook.com/CarletonPoliticalScienceSociety/>.

Official Course Outline

The course outline posted to the Political Science website is the official course outline.

