

A Political Science 4806 B: Transatlantic Security Issues

Seminar: Mondays 9:00-11:00am

Instructors: Dr. Aaron Ettinger

Email Address: aaron.ettinger@carleton.ca

Office Hours: By appointment via videoconference

*****Reading list begins on page 5*****

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. In 2020, the transatlantic alliance is being pressured from without and within. NATO solidarity has come into question in the face of Russia’s resurgence, disunity within Europe, and hostility from the current American president. Indeed, NATO’s first secretary general Lord Hastings Lionel Ismay was right when he deemed NATO’s purpose to “keep the Russians out, the Americans in, and the Germans down.” Seventy years later, Ismay’s cheekiness still seems relevant.

PSCI 4806 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 twelve-week 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.

Contact Policy:

Email is the best way to get in touch with the professor outside of usually scheduled (online) office hours. Students should remember the following things when emailing:

ALWAYS USE your Carleton email account! Non-Carleton messages don’t always get through
INCLUDE the subject line “PSCI 4806”

ADDRESS emails to the professor (i.e. Dear Dr. Ettinger).

SIGN OFF with your first and last name and student number.

Email should be used for brief questions that can be answered quickly. If students want to discuss course material, assignments, or another matter in greater detail, they should see the professor during office hours or make an appointment to meet at some other time convenient for both

Pre-Requisites:

Fourth-year Honours standing or permission of the Department, and one of PSCI 2601, PSCI 3603, PSCI 3607, or GPOL 1500.

Texts

All readings are available on cuLearn

Overview:

Assignment/Exam	Due Date	% of Final Grade
Single Page Commentaries	six of twelve weeks	40%
Research Paper	April 12	50%
Attendance & Participation	Ongoing	10%
		Total = 100%

All written assignments must provide a full list of sources used and avoid plagiarism or other violations of academic integrity. The preferred citation style is the Chicago author-date style which used author-date citations in the text and a bibliography at the end (see <https://library.osu.edu/find/resources/citation-examples/chicago-author-date/>). In this style, footnotes or endnotes are used only for explanatory digressions or notes of clarification.

All papers submitted should be formatted with the 12-point font and page numbers.

40% *Single-Page Commentaries (6 x 1 page each)*

You will write six (6) single-page commentaries in response to the required readings. Each commentary will be graded out of 10. The total score out of 60 will be worth 40 percent of the term for this portion of the coursework. Commentaries should be no longer than one page single-spaced. There is no need to provide citations or a bibliography. If you cannot resist the urge to cite, refer to the author of the article in parenthesis and I will assume that it corresponds to the syllabus.

Commentaries may address any component of the readings that piques your interest. Treat the commentaries as editorial reflections on the material at hand. This may include specific objections to the literature, broad commentaries, issues you would like to explore, et cetera. Though the direction is up to you, the compositions should avoid trivial concerns or summarizing the readings.

Commentaries will be graded on the basis of substance and style. I want to see interesting and substantive insights into the content, and clear writing.

Due dates: Six times throughout the eleven substantive weeks of class. Put differently, you have six weeks where you do not have to submit a paper. Only one commentary can be submitted per class. Commentaries should be uploaded to cuLearn prior to the seminar each week. You cannot bundle them together and submit them as a package later in the term.

50% *Research Paper (3500-4000 words)*

You will write a research paper on a topic of your choice. The essay may cover any issue relating to transatlantic defence issues in the post-Cold War era. This is your opportunity to explore an issue that interests you. Topics may flow from classroom conversations or from weekly reflection papers. Students may also select a topic that is not covered on the syllabus, provided it relates to the course's theme. I recommend consulting with me first.

Your research should be framed by a question. A good research question allows you to offer an answer – also known as your thesis or argument. Your paper must make an argument about its subject matter. This means that you must advance a normative, theoretical or an empirical claim in response to your research question. Papers that only describe a situation will not suffice.

Your essay must have a bibliography and use a proper citation style.

Due Date: Tuesday, April 21 at 11:59pm

10% *Class Attendance and participation*

The seminar portion of this course will be held over Big Blue Button each week. A modest percentage of the overall grade is apportioned to participation in this setting. I will assess your participation on three general criteria. Class participation during the discussion sessions each week, as well as any one-on-one conversations we may have. Accommodations on a case-by-case basis will be made for those who cannot participate online.

Late Policy:

Where late assignments are accepted, they are penalized at the rate of 1% of the student's final grade in the course. An assignment is considered one day late if it is submitted to CuLearn any

time up to 23:59 hours after the deadline. If it is submitted between 23:59 and 47:59 hours after the deadline, it is considered two days late, etc.

A waiver of lateness penalties will only be considered in the event of an officially documented extenuating circumstance. See “Accommodations & Extension Policy for Assignments” below. Late assignments can be placed in the professor’s drop box in the Department of Political Science. This is cleared out daily.

Final Submission Date for Assignments

The final submission date for assignments is one week (7 days) after their due date (with the imposition of late penalties). The instructors **WILL NOT** accept assignments for grading after this time without a documented extenuating circumstance. If an extenuating circumstance may prevent the student from submitting an assignment by its submission date, the student must contact the professor as soon as possible and provide documentation concerning the situation.

Accommodation & Extension Policy for Assignments

If a student is registered, the student should consult with the professor regarding necessary accommodations to allow completion of assignments & exams.

All other requests for assignment extensions must be directed to the professor. The instructor will only consider granting an extension in the event of an officially documented extenuating circumstance (that is, serious personal illness, critical personal or family crisis, etc.) as documented by a Verification of Illness form or a letter from Counselling Services. If a situation arises that may prevent a student from completing an assignment, the student should contact the professor as early as possible, ideally before the assignment is due.

Grade Appeals:

Any errors of addition may be raised immediately with the professor. Asking for an explanation of your grade is perfectly fine. Asking for a re-grade requires greater effort on the part of the student. If a student is concerned that an assignment was not graded appropriately, the student should first meet with the professor. To request a review of an assignment, the student must provide a 1-page explanation of why the assignment was improperly graded (i.e. what do you think you did that should have been given more weight?). The explanation, the original assignment, and a clean copy of the assignment should be submitted to the professor no later than **2 weeks** after the assignment was made available for return. **NOTE:** Students must take responsibility for picking up their marked work in a timely manner. No appeals will be considered that have been initiated more than 2 weeks after the assignment/exam was returned.

Grades may be either raised, stay the same, or lowered on appeal.

Reading List

Week 1: January 11 Introductions

No readings assigned

Week 2: January 18 The Transatlantic Scene in 2020 (50 pages)

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.

Week 3: January 25 The Purpose of NATO (52 pages)

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.

Week 4: February 2 NATO in the Nineties (51 pages)

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.

Week 5: February 8 NATO Expansion and its Consequences (80 pages)

Mearsheimer, John J. 2014. "Why the Ukraine Crisis is the West's Fault." *Foreign Affairs* 93 (5): 77-89.

Shifrinson, 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.

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

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

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Week 6: February 22 NATO After 9/11 (77 pages)

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

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.

Week 7: March 1 Canada and the Transatlantic Alliance (82 pages)

Boucher, Jean-Christophe, and Kim Richard Nossal. 2017. *The Politics of War: Canada's Afghanistan Mission*. Vancouver: UBC Press. Chapter 1. Pp. 15-43.

Moens, Alexander. 2016. "NATO: Canada's Indispensable Alliance." In *Beyond Afghanistan: An International Security Agenda for Canada*, eds. James Fergusson and Francis Furtado. Vancouver: UBC Press. 80-94.

Massie, Justin. 2019. Why Canada Goes to War: Explaining Combat Participation in US-led Coalitions. *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 52 (3): 575-594.

Ettinger, Aaron, and Jeffrey Rice. 2016. "Hell is Other People's Schedules: Canada's Limited-Term Military Commitments, 2001-2015." *International Journal* 71 (3): 371-392.

Week 8: March 8 NATO and Burden Sharing (71 pages)

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.

Week 9: March 15 NATO and China (64 pages)

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.

Week 10: March 22 Cyberwar (75 pages)

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

Eun, Yong-Soo, and Judith Sita Aßmann. 2016. Cyberwar: Taking Stock of Security and Warfare in the Digital Age. *International Studies Perspectives* 17 (3): 343-360.

Burton, Joe. 2015. NATO's Cyber Defence: Strategic Challenges and Institutional Adaptation. *Defence Studies* 15 (4): 297-319.

Leuprecht, Christian, Joseph Szeman, and David B. Skillicorn. 2019. The Damoclean Sword of Offensive Cyber: Policy Uncertainty and Collective Insecurity. *Contemporary Security Policy* 40 (3): 382-407.

Week 11: March 29 **NATO and Gender Mainstreaming (57 pages)**

Bastick, Megan, and Claire Duncanson. 2018. Agents of Change? Gender Advisors in NATO Militaries. *International Peacekeeping* 25 (4): 554-577.

Hardt, Heidi, and Stéfanie von Hlatky. 2020. NATO's About-Face: Adaptation to Gender Mainstreaming in an Alliance Setting. *Journal of Global Security Studies* 5 (1): 136-159.

Wright, Katharine AM. 2016. NATO's Adoption of UNSCR 1325 on Women, Peace and Security: Making the Agenda a Reality. *International Political Science Review* 37 (3): 350-361.

Week 12: April 5 **Climate, the Arctic, Outer Space (64 pages)**

Depledge, Duncan, and Tobias Feakin. 2012. Climate Change and International Institutions: Implications for Security. *Climate Policy* 12 (1): 73-84.

Femia, Francesco, and Caitlin E. Werrell. 2017. *Climate Change, the Erosion of State Sovereignty, and World Order*. Washington: The Center for Climate and Security. 11-19.

Causevic, Amar. 2017. Facing an Unpredictable Threat Is NATO Ideally Placed to Manage Climate Change as a Non-Traditional Threat Multiplier? *Connections* 16 (2): 59-80.

Haftendorn, Helga. 2011. NATO and the Arctic: Is the Atlantic Alliance a Cold War Relic in a Peaceful Region Now Faced with Non-Military Challenges? *European Security* 20 (3): 337-361.

Week 13: April 12 **The Future of the Transatlantic System (51 pages)**

Goldgeier, James. 2019. "NATO at 70: Is the USA Still in It for the Long Haul?" *Journal of Transatlantic Studies* 17 (2): 255-267.

Dunn, David Hastings, and Mark Webber. 2016. The UK, the European Union and NATO: Brexit's Unintended Consequences. *Global Affairs* 2 (5): 471-480.

Polyakova, Alina, and Benjamin Haddad. 2019. Europe Alone. *Foreign Affairs* 98 (4): 109-120.

Calmels, Christelle. 2020. "NATO's 360-Degree Approach to Security: Alliance Cohesion and Adaptation after the Crimean Crisis." *European Security* 29 (4): 416-435.

Summary of Topics

Week 1: January 11	Introductions
Week 2: January 18	The Transatlantic Scene in 2020
Week 3: January 25	The Purpose of NATO
Week 4: February 2	NATO in the Nineties
Week 5: February 8	NATO Expansion and its Consequences

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Week 6: February 22	NATO After 9/11
Week 7: March 1	Canada and the Transatlantic Alliance
Week 8: March 8	NATO and Burden Sharing
Week 9: March 15	NATO and China
Week 10: March 22	Cyber War
Week 11: March 29	NATO and Gender Mainstreaming
Week 12: April 5	Climate, the Arctic, Outer Space
Week 13: April 12	The Future of the Transatlantic System

Academic Accommodations

Accommodations during COVID

Due to COVID, instructors will not request or require a doctor's note when students seek accommodation for missed term work or exams due to illness. Instead, students will be asked to complete the self-declaration form available here: https://carleton.ca/registrar/wp-content/uploads/COVID-19_Self-declaration.pdf

Academic Accommodations

Pregnancy

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, visit the Equity Services website: carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf

Religious obligation

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, visit the Equity Services website: carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf

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, meet with your instructor as soon as possible to ensure accommodation arrangements are made.

Survivors of Sexual Violence

As a community, Carleton University is committed to maintaining a positive learning, working and living environment where sexual violence will not be tolerated, and its 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

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 compete or perform 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

Plagiarism

The University Senate defines plagiarism as “presenting, whether intentional or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one’s own.” This can include:

- 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;

- submitting a take-home examination, essay, laboratory report or other assignment written, in whole or in part, by someone else;
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, or paraphrased material, concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another's data or research findings;
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another's works and/or failing to use quotation marks;
- handing in "substantially the same piece of work for academic credit more than once without prior written permission of the course instructor in which the submission occurs.

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).

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

Approval of final grades

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 cuLearn. As important course and University information is distributed this way, it is the student's responsibility to monitor their Carleton and cuLearn accounts.

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/> and our website <https://carletonpss.com/>, or stop by our office in Loeb D688!"

Official Course Outline

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