

Political Science 4806 B: Transatlantic Defence Issues

Seminar: Thursdays 8:35-11:25am This course will be held remotely online

Instructor: Dr. Aaron Ettinger

Email Address: aaron.ettniger@carleton.ca

Office Hours: By appointment via videoconference

All email communication is to be via official Carleton University e-mail accounts and/or Brightspace, not personal emails.

Reading list begins on page 5

II Course Description

The NATO alliance has long been considered the linchpin of transatlantic security. Today, we're not so sure. 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 and found it in “out of area operations” and missions far outside the scope of its core purpose – mutual defence. In 2021, the Alliance is at a turning point. NATO solidarity has come into question in the face of the ignominious end of the Afghanistan intervention, Russian revisionism, disunity in Europe and transformations in the global landscape. Right now, the NATO alliance is in the process of drafting a new Strategic Concept – a ten-year visioning document that will guide the organization over the next decade. We will discuss the past, present, and future of the Alliance, and how NATO should evolve. Ultimately, students will write their own versions of NATO's next Strategic Concept.

III Course Format

This course will be held entirely online. Each week at the scheduled time, we will meet in a synchronous, real-time Zoom class. All communication with the instructor will be undertaken through Zoom meetings or email.

IV Learning Outcomes

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 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 4806B"

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

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

V Texts

All readings are available on Brightspace at no cost to the student

VI Evaluation at a Glance

Assignment	Due Date	% of Final Grade
Single page commentaries	Four submissions during weeks 2-6	20%
Policy Critique	March 4	30%
Research Paper	April 7	40%
Participation	Ongoing	10%
		100%

VII Evaluation in detail

20% - Single Page Commentaries x 4, weeks 2-6

You will write four (4) single-page commentaries in response to the required readings prior to the reading week. Each commentary will be graded out of 10. The total score out of 40 will be worth 20 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.

30% - Policy Critique 1500 words, due Friday, March 4 at 11:59pm

Students will read the 2010 NATO Strategic Concept and write a retrospective critique of the policy. Your policy critique will assess the policy as a practical guide to organizing NATO's posture in the world over the past decade. Your paper will make an overall evaluation of the policy (and have a thesis statement) and will offer a well-reasoned analysis of policy strengths and weaknesses.

Your policy critique should include:

- (a) An overall evaluation of the document
- (b) Identified strengths with explanations
- (c) Identified weaknesses with explanations
- (d) Citations and bibliographic entries as necessary

40% - Research Paper 3500-4000 words – Writing the Next Strategic Concept, Due April 7

In this assignment you will write a position paper that makes the case for a specific policy in the 2023 NATO Strategic Concept.

Imagine yourself as a policy adviser to a Minister of Defence or Minister of Foreign Affairs of a NATO country. In this assignment you will pitch a new idea for the *2023 Strategic Concept*. The essay that you will write is a lengthy memorandum about the big idea your Minister should take to the next NATO Summit. You will make a case for why your chosen topic should go into the next Strategic Concept. 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.

Your paper will have the following components:

- (1) A draft "paragraph(s)" that you would like to see included in the 2023 Strategic Concept;
- (2) A theoretical basis for your policy;
- (3) An analytical/historical background of this topic;
- (4) A justification about why this new text is important for the future of NATO
- (5) Anticipated problems with implementation and limitations of your proposed policy

The ordinary demands of an academic research paper apply. Your essay must have a bibliography and use a proper citation style.

Due Date: April 7

10% - Class Attendance and participation

The seminar portion of this course will be held over Zoom 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 Brightspace 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.

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 significant extenuating circumstances (that is, serious personal illness, critical personal or family crisis, etc.). 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.

VIII Course schedule

Week 1: January 13 Introductions

No readings

Week 2: January 20 – The Transatlantic Scene in 2021 (63 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.

Gheciu, Alexandra. 2019. “NATO, Liberal Internationalism, and the Politics of Imagining the Western Security Community.” *International Journal* 74 (1): 32-46.

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.

Week 3: January 27 – The Purpose of NATO (71 pages)

NATO. 1949. *The North Atlantic Treaty*, North Atlantic Treaty Organization. 4 April
https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_17120.htm

Thies, Wallace J. 2009. *Why NATO Endures*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapters. 3 and 4. Pp. 87-139.

Sayle, Timothy Andrews. 2020. “Patterns of Continuity in NATO’s Long History.” *International Politics* 57 (3): 322-341.

Week 4: February 3 – NATO in the ‘90s (71 pages)

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

Sarotte, M.E. 2021. “Containment Beyond the Cold War: How Washington Lost the Post-Soviet Peace.” *Foreign Affairs* 100 (6): 22-36.

Roberts, Adam. 1999. “NATO’s ‘Humanitarian War’ over Kosovo.” *Survival* 41 (3):102-123.

Marten, Kimberly. 2020. "NATO Enlargement: Evaluating its Consequences in Russia." *International Politics* 57 (3): 401-426

Week 5: February 10 – NATO After 9/11 (90 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

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

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.

Stewart, Rory. 2021. "The Last Days of Intervention: Afghanistan and the Delusions of Maximalism." *Foreign Affairs* 100 (6): 60-73.

Week 6: February 17 – NATO After Afghanistan (73 pages)

Larsen, Henrik. 2021. "NATO in an Illiberal World." *The RUSI Journal* 166 (3): 84-92.

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

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

Sushentsov, Andrey A., and William C. Wohlforth. 2020. "The Tragedy of US–Russian Relations: NATO Centrality and the Revisionists' Spiral." *International Politics* 57 (3): 427-450.

Kofman, Michael, and Andrea Kendall-Taylor. 2021. "The Myth of Russian Decline: Why Moscow Will Be a Persistent Power." *Foreign Affairs* 100 (6): 142-152.

WINTER BREAK

Week 7: March 3 – Toward a New Strategic Concept (56 pages)

NATO. 2010. Active Engagement, Modern Defence: Strategic Concept for the Defence and Security of the Members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. NATO. Pp. 1-40.

NATO. 2021. "Strategic Concepts." *NATO*, June 15. Available at https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_56626.htm. pp. 1-16.

Week 8: March 10 – Burden Sharing & Defence Spending (69 pages)

Richter, Andrew. 2021. "NATO in the Age of Trump: Alliance Defense Spending During the Trump Presidency." *Comparative Strategy* 40 (3): 285-304.

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.

Greco, Sara, and Stéfanie von Hlatky. 2018. "Soft Contributions are Hard Commitments: NATO and Canada's Global Security Agenda." *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal* 24 (3): 273-285.

Week 9: March 17 – Cyberwar (73 pages)

Schaake, Marietje. 2020. "The Lawless Realm." *Foreign Affairs* 99 (6): 27-33.

Ashraf, Cameran. 2021. "Defining Cyberwar: Towards a Definitional Framework." *Defense & Security Analysis* 37 (3): 274-294.

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 10: March 24 – Gender Mainstreaming (79 pages)

- 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.
- 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.
- Newby, Vanessa F., and Clotilde Sebag. 2021. "Gender Sidestreaming? Analysing Gender Mainstreaming in National Militaries and International Peacekeeping." *European Journal of International Security* 6 (2): 148-170.

Week 11: March 31 – Climate Change & the Arctic (69 pages)

- Werrell, Caitlin E., and Francesco Femia. 2016. "Climate Change, the Erosion of State Sovereignty, and World Order." *Brown Journal of World Affairs* 23 (2): 221-235.
- 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.
- Depledge, Duncan. 2021. "NATO and the Arctic." *The RUSI Journal* 165 (5-6): 80-90.
- 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 12: April 7 – Toward the 2030 Strategic Concept (61 pages)

- Ringsmose, Jens, and Sten Rynning. 2021. "NATO's Next Strategic Concept: Prioritise or Perish." *Survival* 63 (5):147-168.
- Moller, Sara Bjerg, and Sten Rynning. 2021. "Revitalizing Transatlantic Relations: NATO 2030 and Beyond." *The Washington Quarterly* 44 (1):177-197.
- Goldgeier, James. 2019. "NATO at 70: Is the USA Still in It for the Long Haul?" *Journal of Transatlantic Studies* 17 (2): 255-267.
- Ellehuus, Rachel. 2021. NATO Futures: Three Trajectories. Center for Strategic & International Studies. July 21.

Summary of Topics

Week 1: January 13	Introductions	
Week 2: January 20	The Transatlantic Scene in 2021	63 pages
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Week 7: March 3	Toward a New Strategic Concept	56 pages
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Week 11: March 31	Climate Change & the Arctic	69 pages
Week 12: April 7	Toward the 2030 Strategic Concept	61 pages

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

Appendix

Covid-19 Information

All members of the Carleton community are required to follow COVID-19 prevention measures and all mandatory public health requirements (e.g. wearing a mask, physical distancing, hand hygiene, respiratory and cough etiquette) When accessing campus you must fill in the [COVID-19 Screening Self-Assessment in cuScreen](#) each day before coming to campus. You must also check-in to your final destination (where you plan on being longer than 15 minutes) within a building using the [QR location code](#).

If you feel ill or exhibit COVID-19 symptoms while on campus or in class, please leave campus immediately, self-isolate, and complete the mandatory [symptom reporting tool](#). For purposes of contact tracing, attendance will be recorded in all classes and labs. Participants can check in using posted QR codes through the cuScreen platform where provided. Students who do not have a smartphone will be required to complete a paper process as indicated on the [COVID-19 website](#).

All members of the Carleton community are required to follow guidelines regarding safe movement and seating on campus (e.g. directional arrows, designated entrances and exits, designated seats that maintain physical distancing). In order to avoid congestion, allow all previous occupants to fully vacate a classroom before entering. No food or drinks are permitted in any classrooms or labs.

For the most recent information about Carleton's COVID-19 response and required measures, please see the [University's COVID-19 webpage](#) and review the [Frequently Asked Questions \(FAQs\)](#). Should you have additional questions after reviewing, please contact covidinfo@carleton.ca

Please note that failure to comply with University policies and mandatory public health requirements, and endangering the safety of others are considered misconduct under the [Student Rights and Responsibilities Policy](#). Failure to comply with Carleton's COVID-19 procedures may lead to supplementary action involving Campus Safety and/or Student Affairs.

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

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

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 information, please visit carleton.ca/pmc.

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

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 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, 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. During the COVID-19 pandemic, the departmental office will not accept assignments submitted in hard copy.

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.