

Political Science 4806B: Transatlantic Security Issues

Seminar: Thursdays 11:35am-2:25pm. This course will be held remotely online

Instructor: Dr. Aaron Ettinger

Email Address: aaron.ettinger@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. However, for much of its existence, this seemed to be more of a cliché than fact. Russia's invasion of Ukraine in 2022 has tested that claim like no other event in NATO's seventy-four-year existence. 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. This class will explore the past, present, and future of NATO. It addresses NATO's historical development during the Cold War, adaptations in the 1990s and 2000s, and the suite of contemporary challenges it faces.

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.

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	25%
Policy Critique	March 1	25%
Research Paper	April 10	40%
Participation	Ongoing	10%
		100%

VII Evaluation in detail

25% - 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 25 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. The commentaries should be submitted by 11:35am at the start of class.

25% - Policy Critique 1500 words, due Friday, March 1 at 11:59pm

Students will read the 2022 NATO Strategic Concept and write a critique of the policy. Your policy critique will assess the policy as a practical guide to organizing NATO's posture in the world in the 2020s based on what you now know about NATO. 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 – Due April 10

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

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 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

January 11	Introductions
January 18	The Transatlantic Scene in 2023
January 25	The Purpose of NATO
February 1	NATO in the 90s
February 8	NATO After 9/11
February 15	NATO After Afghanistan
February 29	NATO and Russia's War in Ukraine
March 7	Burden Sharing & Defence Spending
March 14	Cyber War
March 21	Climate Change & the Arctic
March 28	Conclusions & What's Next?
April 4	No Class

Week 1 – January 11: Introductions

Bekkevold, Jo Inge. 2023. "NATO's Remarkable Revival." *Foreign Policy*, September 11.
<https://foreignpolicy.com/2023/09/11/nato-alliance-us-europe-russia-geopolitics-china-military-deterrence/>

Week 2 – January 18 The Transatlantic Scene in 2023 (80 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.

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.

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

Scholz, Olaf. 2022. "The Global Zeitenwende." *Foreign Affairs* 102 (1): 22-38.

Thomson, Catarina, Matthias Mader, Felix Münchow, Jason Reifler, and Harald Schoen. 2023. "European Public Opinion: United in Supporting Ukraine, Divided on the Future of NATO." *International Affairs* 99 (6): 2485-2500.

Week 3 – January 25: 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 1: 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 8: NATO After 9/11 (81 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.

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 6 – February 15: NATO After Afghanistan (70 pages)

NATO. 2022. "NATO 2022 Strategic Concept." June 29. Pp. 1-13.

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

Larsen, Henrik. 2022. "Adapting NATO to Great-Power Competition." *The Washington Quarterly* 45 (4): 7-26.

Haroche, Pierre, and Martin Quencez. 2022. "NATO Facing China: Responses and Adaptations." *Survival* 64 (3):73-86.

Heisbourg, François. 2021. "Euro-Atlantic Security and the China Nexus." *Survival* 63 (6):45-62.

WINTER BREAK

Week 7 – February 29: NATO and Russia's War in Ukraine (50 pages)

McFaul, Michael. 2020. "Putin, Putinism, and the Domestic Determinants of Russian Foreign Policy." *International Security* 45 (2):95-139.

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

Kaarbo, Juliet, Kai Oppermann, and Ryan K Beasley. 2023. "What If? Counterfactual Trump and the Western Response to the War in Ukraine." *International Affairs* 99 (2):605-624.

Week 8 – March 7: Burden Sharing & Defence Spending (62 pages)

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

McGerty, Fenella, Dominika Kunertova, Madison Sargeant, and Andrew Webster. 2022. "NATO Burden-Sharing: Past, Present, Future." *Defence Studies* 22 (3):533-540.

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.

Lupovici, Amir. 2023. "Deterrence by Delivery of Arms: NATO and the War in Ukraine." *Contemporary Security Policy* 44 (4):624-641.

Week 9 – March 14: Cyber War (71 pages)

Nye Jr, Joseph S. 2022. "The End of Cyber-Anarchy?" *Foreign Affairs* 101 (1): 32-42.

Willett, Marcus. 2022. "The Cyber Dimension of the Russia–Ukraine War." *Survival* 64 (5):7-26.

Jacobsen, Jeppe T. 2021. "Cyber Offense in NATO: Challenges and Opportunities." *International Affairs* 97 (3):703-720.

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 21: Climate Change & the Arctic (60 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.

Milburn, Richard. 2023. "Carbon Warriors: Enhancing NATO's Response to Climate Change." *The RUSI Journal* 168 (4):30-39.

Odgaard, Liselotte. 2022. "Russia's Arctic Designs and NATO." *Survival* 64 (4):89-104.

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.

Week 11 – March 28: What's Next? (50+ pages)

Topic for this week will be determined based on developments in class and in the world.

Flockhart, Trine, and Elena A. Korosteleva. 2022. "War in Ukraine: Putin and the Multi-Order World." *Contemporary Security Policy* 43 (3):466-481.

Haine, Jean-Yves. 2023. "Kindred Crises? Cuba 1962, Ukraine 2022." *Survival* 65 (1):97-114.

Howard, Lise Morjé, and Michael O'Hanlon. 2023. "The Case for a Security Guarantee for Ukraine." *Foreign Affairs*, March 20.

Massicot, Dara. 2023. "What Russia Got Wrong." *Foreign Affairs* 102 (2):78-93.

Week 12 – April 4 No Class

I have a conference that conflicts with our scheduled class. In lieu of class, I will meet one-on-one with everyone to discuss your paper. Meetings will be scheduled between March 29 and April 9.

Appendix

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:

Academic consideration for medical or other extenuating circumstances: Please contact your instructor if you are experiencing circumstances that (a) are beyond your control, (b) have a significant impact your capacity to meet your academic obligations, and (c) could not have reasonably been prevented. Decisions on academic consideration are in your instructor's discretion; they will be guided by the course learning outcomes and the principle of good faith. Please see [here](#) for more details. For considerations relating to course work, your instructor may request that you complete the [Self-Declaration form](#). To apply for a deferral of your final exam, you must submit the Self-Declaration form to the Registrar's Office no later than three days after the scheduled examination or take-home due date.

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 to the university, that result from a student participating in activities beyond the classroom. Reasonable accommodation will 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. For more information, please [click here](#).

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.

Academic Integrity

Academic integrity is an essential element of a productive and successful career as a student. Carleton's [Academic Integrity Policy](#) addresses academic integrity violations, including plagiarism, unauthorized collaboration, misrepresentation, impersonation, withholding of records, obstruction/interference, disruption of instruction or examinations, improper access to and/or dissemination of information, or violation of test and examination rules. Students are required to familiarize themselves with the university's academic integrity rules.

Plagiarism

The 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.

Use of Artificial Intelligence

Unless explicitly permitted by the instructor in a particular course, any use of generative artificial intelligence (AI) tools to produce assessed content (e.g., text, code, equations, image, summary, video, etc.) is considered a violation of academic integrity standards.

Procedures in Cases of Suspected Violations

Violations of the Academic Integrity Policy are serious offences which cannot be resolved directly with the course's instructor. When an instructor suspects a violation of the Academic Integrity Policy, the Associate Dean of the Faculty conducts a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student. Penalties are not trivial. They may include a mark of zero for the assignment/exam in question 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.