POGO 750-B02: NATO/European Security
George Mason University
Summer Session I 2020

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Summer Session B (8 Week): June 1-July 25, 2020

Online asynchronous and synchronous video conference Tuesday evenings; 7:20 – 10:00 PM

Office hours by appointment

I. COURSE DESCRIPTION:

With a population of over 500 million and a GDP of approximately $20 trillion\(^1\), Europe is one of the world’s largest economic regions. Additionally, with common cultural and legal traditions, as well as vital commercial ties, Europe has a unique relationship with the United States. Indeed, the U.S. has had a long-standing interest in the region’s security, facilitated by the venerable North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) alliance, the indispensable security regime that bonds the trans-Atlantic region. Yet, this relationship has seen changes since its inception in 1949, undergoing significant peaks and valleys. Moreover, the emergence of the European Union (EU) as both an economic and political entity has forced a change in the broader trans-Atlantic relationship, particularly as it relates to security.

This course is a companion to the POGO 750 Special Studies course that was offered last summer (2019) on Indo-Pacific security. As such, it will follow the same general template; a geo-political review of European security, primarily from the U.S. perspective, the nation which provides the lion’s share of the contribution to NATO. However, this does not mean we will overlook the critical perspectives of all the nation states in the region. Far from it; only if we understand the security threats, their gravity, and the way these threats are viewed by the regional players, can we craft appropriate responses and mitigation efforts. Therefore, it is vital to understand all perspectives in the region’s security milieu, so there will also be emphasis on non-U.S. geo-political dynamics.

More specifically, this course will consider European security from the standpoint of the elements of national power as measured by diplomacy, information, military and economic

factors, or the DIME model\textsuperscript{2}. As NATO is primarily a military organization, there will be a slight emphasis on the military operational perspective, with a focus on Russia. That said, a military background is not necessary to benefit from this course; students will be encouraged to explore all the aspects of DIME to obtain a broad and comprehensive understanding of Europe’s unique security challenges.

We will start with foundational components in Weeks 1 and 2, first looking at the post-War period and the Cold War up to the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. Weeks 3 and 4 are dedicated to the two main players in the broader European security dynamic, the United States and Russia. Week 5 will address the other major NATO member states, notably France, Germany, Turkey and the United Kingdom. Weeks 6 and 7 explore two regional case studies, the Baltic Sea and the ‘High North’, followed by the Black Sea region. The final week, Week 8, addresses the future of the Alliance, European Security writ large and the prospects for continued U.S. involvement.

\section{2. Student Responsibilities}

This is an online course, with both asynchronous and synchronous components.

The asynchronous component will center on the online forum in Blackboard, where students will be guided in the analysis of the readings by their instructor. There will be a handful of questions on Blackboard related to the weekly reading materials, which the students will answer. The class structure is as follows:

1. Sunday evening, the instructor will post comments and/or questions related to the readings.
2. The students will address these comments or questions, debate, or engage in open discussion with their classmates or the instructor. Each response should be at least one fully developed paragraph, and no more than four paragraphs. Debates about a specific reading are completed during the section in which the reading material is assigned.
3. The students are evaluated in two categories: 1) answered the required number of questions posted at the beginning of each new section, and 2) engaged with other students or the instructor. [Note: Please take the time to construct solid, coherently written posts. I’d rather see no comment than one that is hurriedly conceived with little thought involved.]
4. Students should be prepared to discuss the readings during the synchronous portion of the course.

\textsuperscript{2}This has been further defined by DIME-FIL (Finance-Information-Legal) or MIDFIELD (Military, Informational, Diplomatic, Financial, Intelligence, Economic, Law, and Development), though for the purposes of this course, we will use DIME.
The synchronous component of the course will occur online every Tuesday evening from 7:20 PM to 10:00 PM on Blackboard Collaborate. This will be when we conduct real-time discussions and for the oral presentations.

**Regular attendance and Class Participation**

It is vital that students read the assigned material and attend all the meetings to benefit from the discussions and general interaction. Students should also familiarize themselves with current events and keep up with the news via major media outlets. This should include domestic and foreign news sources to obtain a balanced perspective. Please note that adequate responses to the weekly questions account for 30% of a student’s grade.

**In-class presentations and short position paper**

Beginning on the second week, selected students will submit a 3-page position paper on a topic of their choosing. Additionally, those students will provide a ten-minute oral presentation of their paper via Blackboard Collaborate. Please do not exceed the 3-page or ten-minute limitations. The papers will be written in MS Word, double-spaced and emailed to me before the beginning of class. The purpose of this assignment is to evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of the arguments offered in the texts you analyze. Additionally, this assignment will ensure that students are able to condense the material into succinct and manageable written and oral products. Students will contact the instructor with the due dates of their short papers and presentations.

The short papers and the corresponding presentations will account for 30% of the grade. Each student will conduct at least two (2) short papers and presentations throughout the session. Again, the presentations will be made on Tuesday evenings via Collaborate.

**Research paper**

Each student will write a research paper of no more than 10 pages on a topic of their choosing, though relevant to the subject of the course. Students are required to contact the instructor prior to deciding on a paper topic. A one-page proposal for this paper is due (via email) no later than June 26, 2020; early submissions are encouraged. The research paper is due on July 24, 2020, submitted via email to my GMU address. Please note, all written products will be double-
The paper accounts for 40% of a student’s grade and should reflect: 1) research and analytical skills (no opinion pieces or essays are acceptable); 2) knowledge of international relations theories; 3) solid writing skills. Students can identify a topic of personal interest and apply international political theory to the understanding of the selected topic or do innovative research to test a theory discussed in class.

The following should be reflected in the final paper:

a. **Research question.** Ex. Does Neo-realism provide a useful framework of analysis for Russian actions in Ukraine?

b. **Main Argument:** Ex. In the case of the Russian actions in Ukraine, Neo-realism offers little explanatory power.

c. **Working Hypotheses:** Ex. If international social and political norms constitute the main driver(s) of the Russian actions in Ukraine, then Neo-realism only partly explains developments in the region.

d. **Expected Findings:** Ex. Based on initial research, it is expected that Neo-realism will explain Russia’s actions in Ukraine.

When you first approach the instructor with a topic proposal, be prepared to offer a brief description of these four areas.

**Students should also familiarize themselves with the Graduate Honors Code,** available on the GMU website. GMU is an Honor Code university; please see the Office for Academic Integrity for a full description of the code and the honor committee process. GMU takes academic integrity seriously, so if in doubt, ask.

3. **Course Readings and Schedule**

Most texts for this course will be available via electronic journal archives, such as JSTOR, accessible through the GMU library website. Many of the readings are available on the course website; go Course Management, then Adupuy Content then International Relations. Contact me immediately if you cannot find the reading assignments.
Learning outcomes - On successful completion of this course, students will understand:

- The post-World War II and Cold War geo-political foundations and the impact on the current European security environment
- The reasons for NATO’s creation and its organizational structure
- The security evolution in Europe and in the Cold War and post-Cold War-eras.
- The role of the United States as the dominant NATO member state in Europe’s broader security calculus
- The influence of great powers on European security
- The numerous flashpoints and unique security challenges in more detail
- Future challenges facing European security and the broader trans-Atlantic Alliance

Text:
Defense of the West: NATO, the European Union and the Transatlantic Bargain
Stanley R. Sloan
Manchester University Press, 2016
ISBN: 978-1526105752
Introduction

The 1991 collapse of the Soviet Union and subsequent end of the Cold War created a dramatic change in the European security environment, the magnitude and impact of which we are still trying to determine. Whereas the Cold War provided a relatively simple demarcation line between the superpowers and their ideologies, the European security landscape in the 21st Century is not so easily discerned. Indeed, a resurgent Russia, determined to resume its place as a great power has created tensions and uncertainties that were absent in the early post-Cold War era. Moreover, long-dormant religious, ethnic and border disputes resurfaced in the post-Cold War era, resulting in heightened tensions and ‘new’ security concerns.

The end of the Cold War also put NATO under stress. As a product of the Western-Soviet rivalry, it could be claimed the Atlantic Alliance had achieved its primary goal. Yet, without the Soviet threat as a rallying point, NATO appeared to struggle to make itself relevant. Forays into the former Yugoslavia, Iraq and Afghanistan did little to dispel this notion. Additionally, the emergence of the European Union as a political and economic force has shifted attention away from the Alliance, particularly since the EU is dabbling in the security field.

In recent years, the influx of immigrants has strained intra-regional relations with a concomitant challenge to the broader security calculus. This has also contributed to a rise in nationalism and illiberalism in Europe. The above-mentioned tensions created by the Russian resurgence, exacerbated by events in Georgia, Crimea and Ukraine, has seen East-West relations deteriorate to levels not seen since the Cold War.

Finally, we cannot ignore the U.S. military presence in Europe, manifest in the U.S. European Command (USEUCOM) in Stuttgart, Germany. While this military footprint is a fraction of that at the height of the Cold War, it is still a sizeable force with a critical deterrent role. However, there still needs to be a discussion on the future of the U.S. force structures, to include our responses to hybrid warfare, new weapons technologies and joint force interoperability.

Week 1: Course introduction: World War II and its aftermath (June 1-7, 2020).

Readings:

Sloan, Chapters 1-5, Appendix 1.


Recommended Reading

**Week 2: Post-Cold War Europe (June 8-14, 2020).**

Readings:

Sloan, Chapters 6-8, Appendix 2.


*Recommended Reading*


**Week 3: The Key Player: The United States (June 15-21, 2020).**


Senate Armed Services Committee, Statement of General Curtis M. Scaparrotti, United States Army Commander. United States European Command, March 8, 2018
https://www.armed-services.senate.gov/hearings/18-03-08-united-states-european-command


Global Security, “U.S. European Command”
https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/agency/dod/eucom.htm

Recommended Reading

Rand, “U.S.-European Relations”
https://www.rand.org/topics/u_s_-_ european-relations.html


**Week 4: The Key Player: Russia (June 22-28, 2020).**

**Russia**


Grove, Thomas, “Russia’s Rise on the Global Stage: Putin’s aggressive foreign policy does little to help the economy,” The Wall Street Journal, January 19, 2020

Glasser, Susan B., Putin the Great: Russia’s Imperial Imposter, Foreign Affairs, September/October 2019, pages 10-16.

https://www.csis.org/analysis/kremlin-playbook

https://www.csis.org/analysis/kremlin-playbook-2-enablers-0


Recommended Reading

https://www.economist.com/europe/2020/03/14/why-vladimir-putin-cannot-retire

https://www.economist.com/christmas-specials/2017/12/19/whither-nationalism


Aron, Leon “Putinology,” The American Interest. 2015, Vol. 11, 1.
https://www.the-american-interest.com/2015/07/30/putinology/


Week 5: The Key Players: France, Germany, Turkey and the United Kingdom (June 29-July 5, 2020).

France


Recommended Reading: France


Germany

Simms, Brendan, “Germany’s triumph: from the ruins of war, how a new European empire was built,” New Statesman, 30 July 2015.
https://www.newstatesman.com/politics/2015/07/germany-s-triumph-ruins-war-how-new-european-empire-was-built

https://www.ecfr.eu/article/commentary_germany_as_a_geoeconomic_power#

Recommended Reading: Germany


Gauck, Joachim, Germany’s role in the world: Reflections on responsibility, norms and alliances. Der Bundespräsident, 2014.


Turkey

https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/154908/Turkey_makale%204.pdf


The Economist, Back to the Ottomans? Turkey is set to send troops to Libya, January 11, 2020
United Kingdom


Blagden, David, Global Multipolarity, European security and implications for UK grand strategy: back to the future, once again. International Affairs. 2015, Vol. 91, 2. https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/1468-2346.12238?casa_token=a_I6ofaEgjsAAAAA:0oQFhdIq34V1oEQZOVI2nVFN0J5n7MKQnzM9aSpmA9uVcG08c8SRW8t0LdohQbndaZNRPIX6Xso9I

Recommended Reading: United Kingdom


Siemon T. Wezeman and Alexandra Kuimova, Turkey and Black Sea Security
SIPRI, December, 2018.


Recommended Reading

See other SIPRI publications dedicated to Black Sea security

https://www.rand.org/blog/2016/07/the-growing-importance-of-black-sea-security.html


Readings:

https://inss.ndu.edu/Portals/68/Documents/stratforum/SF-304.pdf

Braw, Elisabeth, Sweden urged to boost alliances but avoid NATO, Politico, 10 May 2016.

Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs. The Effects of Finland’s Possible NATO Membership, 2016.


Recommended Reading


Readings:
Sloan, Chapters 9-10


Burns and Jones, Restoring the Power and Purpose of the NATO Alliance, The Atlantic Council, June 2016. Read the recommendations.

Topic 1: European Common Security and Defense Policy

Paikin, Zachary, Greater Europe and the Future of Global Order, Commentary, RUSI, 18 February 2020
https://rusi.org/commentary/greater-europe-and-future-global-order?utm_source=RUSI+Newsletter&utm_campaign=38a157492c-EMAIL_CAMPAIGN_2019_04_04_02_42_COPY_01&utm_medium=email&utm_term=0_0c9bb5ef0-38a157492c-47823041

**Topic 2: Energy Security**

The Economist, Germany’s Russian gas pipeline smells funny to America, Charlemagne, June 22, 2017.


**Topic 3: Migration/Middle East-North Africa (MENA)**

The Economist, From Caliphate to Courtroom, November 30, 2019.

https://www.economist.com/europe/2020/03/05/turkey-threatens-to-let-asylum-seekers-flood-into-europe


**Topic 4: Cyber/Hybrid warfare**


Connell, Mary Ellen and Ryan Evans Russia’s “Ambiguous Warfare” and Implications for the U.S. Marine Corps, Center for Naval Analysis, May 2015.


Topic 5: China


Walter Russell Mead, “China Is Europe’s Problem Too: Only the trans-Atlantic alliance can counter Beijing’s moves in the Pacific.” November 25, 2019 

Recommended Reading


https://sais.jhu.edu/sites/default/files/Orbis%20Autumn%202012_0.pdf


The Economist, Charlemagne, “Berlin Minus: There is no excuse for the failure of NATO and the EU to talk to each other,” February 8, 2007 
https://www.economist.com/node/8669193/print?story_id=8669193

The Economist, European defence, “Well, they're talking: All the same, a joint “European army” is still far away” 31 October 2002. 
https://www.economist.com/europe/2002/10/31/well-theyre-talking


**Recommended websites and newspapers:**
The Economist
The Financial Times
Foreign Affairs
Euractiv
Official EU website
The Wall Street Journal
The New York Times

**Think tanks covering European Security:**
European Council on Foreign Relations
European Policy Centre
Center for European Policy Studies
Institute for Security Studies
The Atlantic Council
Center for Strategic and International Studies
Center for European Policy Analysis