

PSCI 4806A/5803A
Transatlantic Security Issues
Mondays and Wednesdays, 6:05-8:55 pm
Please confirm location on Carleton Central

Professor: Andrew Heffernan

Email: Andrew.Heffernan@cunet.carleton.ca

Office Hours: Wednesdays 5:00-5:30, 5105 Richcraft Hall (or by virtual appointment as needed)

Before emailing a question, please *fully* read this syllabus and explore the associated resources. The answers to many questions can be found in this document and students may be referred back to the syllabus if the answer is already available. Please allow at least **two (2) business days** for responses to inquiries before pursuing another route of communication.

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 course 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.

Learning Objectives:

- (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 4806A/5803A"

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

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

Indigenous Affirmation

ANISHINÀBE

Ni manàdjiyànànig Màmìwininì Anishinàbeg, ogor kà nàgadawàbandadjig iyo akì eko weshkad. Ako nongom ega wikàd kì mìgiwewàdj. Ni manàdjiyànànig kakina Anishinàbeg ondaje kaye ogor kakina eniyagizidjig enigokamigàg Kanadàng eji ondàpinangig endàwàdjìn Odàwàng. Ninisidawinawànànig kenawendamòdjig kije kikenindamàwin; weshkinìgidjig kaye kejejàdizidjig. Nigijeweninmànànig ogor kà nìgànì sòngideyedjig; weshkad, nongom; kaye àyànikàdj.

[Listen to the audio file](#)

ENGLISH

We pay respect to the Algonquin people, who are the traditional guardians of this land. We acknowledge their longstanding relationship with this territory, which remains unceded. We pay respect to all Indigenous people in this region, from all nations across Canada, who call Ottawa home. We acknowledge the traditional knowledge keepers, both young and old. And we honour their courageous leaders: past, present, and future.

Textbook

There is no textbook for this course. Required readings are available through the library website or online.

Assignment Submission Guidelines

This is a paperless course – all assignments will be submitted, marked, and returned electronically through Brightspace. All assignments must be submitted as a **Word Document**, no other format will be graded.

Assessment Policies and Expectations

Assessment 1

Critical analyses

[Worth 20% of your mark (10% each 4860) (5% each 5803)]

Throughout the semester students will have the option to submit up to 3 (4806) / 5 (5803) critical analyses of a specific class's readings. Only 2 (4806) / 4 (5803) will count toward your final grade but you have the option to submit up to 3/5 and have only your best 2/4 count. These must be submitted through Brightspace at least one-hour prior to the beginning of whichever class's readings you decide to write on. During each course we will discuss these readings so once the class has started if you have not submitted it, it will incur an automatic 25% penalty plus an additional 5% per day late, or you will have to write on a subsequent class's readings. You must submit AT LEAST 1 (4806) / 2 (5803) before July 17. This means you can submit all of them as early as you want, but at least 1/2 must be submitted prior to July 17 and the final opportunity to submit one is July 31.

These critical analyses will be 1 page single-spaced and will provide an analytical argument about a specific theme that comes from all of that class's readings meaning each should be cited within the paper. This will not be a summary of what was read but you will instead tell me something interesting about what you think about one of the topics and create an **original argument** from that. While these are short analytical papers, approach them as a mini formal essay, with an introduction and argument, proper citations, page numbers and a bibliography as well as formal essay language. This will be discussed further in class.

Class Participation (20%)

You are expected to attend class having read the assigned texts with sufficient attention to engage in consistent, robust, and thoughtful participation. This grade will reflect your global level of participation, and passive attendance will not suffice to succeed on this grading component. Each class you will be given a grade based on the rubric below and your final grade will be averaged across the entire semester.

- 0 – absent without leave
- 2 – late arrival or early departure
- 4 – present in the discussion
- 7 – limited participation, or limited interaction with fellow students' comments
- 9/10 – high participation, interacting with fellow students' comments, with quality interventions supported by course materials.

Asynchronous Reading Reflections (15%)

There will be weekly discussion questions posted on Brightspace ahead of class, which you should consider while you do the readings. You will be expected to come to class prepared to discuss the questions synchronously, and then following class you will also be asked to write a short, informal reflection expanding on what we discussed and adding points you may not have had the opportunity to share in class. Reflections should be roughly 300-400 words and are due each Sunday by 23:59. These will be posted as a reply to the questions on Brightspace, not submitted as an assignment. These should be easy marks, the trick is to ensure you get them done every week on time.

- 0 – Incomplete
- 3 – Minimal completion, very short, unrelated to course material
- 7 – Complete, somewhat related to/grounded in course materials and discussions
- 9/10 – Well thought out intervention that builds on course discussions and material, demonstrating analytical thought and supported by evidence.

Reading Introduction (10%)

Students must sign up for a week to introduce the readings throughout the term (link below). Students will need to add their names to a class date, failure to do so will result in a grade of zero for this assignment. This is on a first come first served basis – maximum 2 students per class. If you do not plan on taking this course or if you decide to drop it at any time, PLEASE remove your

name from this google doc and let your group mates know so they can plan accordingly and no one is penalized as a result.

<https://docs.google.com/document/d/1tmIVqnuho2zdn-4sPArvnVPH1FQgjLwMxORDgS95DcI/edit?usp=sharing>

Presentations should be approximately 10-15 minutes per student. They should include a very brief overview of the readings, the main arguments, interventions, situating them in the broader course themes, and discussing the authors and their positionality. Beyond this, however, and more importantly, the presentations should focus on analysis of the readings, and linking them to recent news stories or major issues relating to environmental policy and climate change. Tell us why we read this and how it relates to what we are studying, what it can tell us about the world etc. Presenting groups will also be required to post 2-3 open-ended discussion questions relating to the readings and their presentations at least 48 hours ahead of the class in which they present. PowerPoint presentations must also be uploaded to the appropriate discussion thread at least 30 minutes before the start of the class in which they will present. Failure to do so on time will result in a late penalty for the assignment.

Final Essay (35%)

The final essay will be on a topic of the student's choosing and directly related to the course material/themes, grounded in one of the weeks of the course and referring to at least one reading from two other weeks. The essay will be 10-13 (4806) 13-15 (5803) standard pages of double spaced, times new roman, 1-inch margin text in length (excluding references) and will be graded on demonstrated research ability, mastery of course material, and originality. The essay should outline an original and open-ended research question which should be answered by a clear thesis statement/argument that will be effectively supported through the essay with a minimum of 10 relevant academic/peer reviewed sources. The final essay will be due August 14 by 23:59.

Components of Final Mark

Evaluation format	Weight	Date
Synchronous participation	20%	All semester
Reading reflections	15%	All semester
Critical analyses (must submit 2, can submit 3 and drop lowest grade)	20%	At least 1 by Jul 17 Last chance July 31
Reading introduction	10%	Once throughout semester
Final research paper	35%	August 14

Attendance

Class attendance is necessary to successfully complete this course.

COVID 19:

We continue to live in challenging and changing times. If you are sick, have been in close contact with someone who is sick or has tested positive, or think you might be positive or sick with anything, please do not come to class. Let me know by email and we will work with the situation presented to us.

Grading Assessment Inquiries

Students who think there is an error in the correction of an assessment in one of the course graded items may request a re-correction. Those requests must be submitted to the professor by email (and not during office hours directly) no earlier than 24 hours after the publication of the grade on Brightspace (as students need time to review and digest the grades they receive) and no later than 7 days from the first day the graded item is available for review. Submissions before the first 24h and after 7 days will not be considered. Also, to request a re-correction, students must have a **valid reason** and expose it in the email sent to the professor. Without a valid reason, the item will not be considered for re-correction. Please include in the email the question number(s)/aspect(s) that you think was (were) not assessed properly. However, students should be advised that the whole graded item will be put up for revision and that the new score could be lower, the same, or higher than the original score. Once an item has been regraded, the decision is final. Assignments or tests that have been altered in any way will be forwarded to the Dean's office.

Time Commitment

In order to succeed in a 0.5-credit course, alongside the standard 3 hours of in-class instruction, students should expect to spend a minimum of 6 hours per week outside of the classroom engaged in activities related to the course, e.g. homework, reading, studying, etc., and should expect a minimum time commitment of 9 hours per week per course (on average).

Language Expectations

This course is delivered in English, and in class interactions, including the online discussion boards, and feedback will also be managed in English. As part of your evaluation will be on your writing abilities, it is recommended to take the appropriate measures to avoid mistakes such as spelling, syntax, punctuation, inappropriate use of terms, etc. You may be penalized up to 15% for poorly written materials, to the professor's discretion.

Food in class

We all have busy schedules but please try to eat prior to or following class as needed so as to avoid disrupting students around you.

Mobile Devices

Unless explicitly requested, please refrain from using mobile devices during class. As in class time is quite limited, I would ask that you prioritize using this time to engage with class discussions and other content-related activities. Active participation and engagement with the content and your peers helps ensure full participation marks for your contributions this semester.

Professional conduct:

Students are expected to engage with their colleagues and with the instructor in a professional and respectful manner. The course will be a safe and enjoyable online space to share thoughts and ideas. There will be zero tolerance for cases of harassment, belittling, or discourtesy.

Inability to fulfill assessment requirements:

Students who know they will be unable to complete either of the assignments due to religious observances, pre-scheduled hospitalizations or similarly compelling reasons must notify the instructor via e-mail (or in writing) immediately so that alternative arrangements may be made. Students who miss assignment deadlines due to serious illness must provide appropriate documentation from university medical services. Other cases will be dealt with on a case-by-case basis and in accordance with university policy.

Late Assignments

All assignments are to be submitted by their due date and time.

All late submissions will be immediately docked 5%, with an additional 5% for each subsequent day late to a maximum of 3 days, *including weekends*. **After 3 days all outstanding assignments will be given a zero (0%) grade.**

VIII Course schedule

July 3 Introductions
July 8 The Transatlantic Scene in 2024
July 10 The Purpose of NATO
July 15 NATO in the 90s
July 17 NATO After 9/11
July 22 15 NATO After Afghanistan
July 24 NATO and Russia's War in Ukraine
July 29 Burden Sharing & Defence Spending
July 31 Cyber War
August 7 Climate Change & the Arctic
August 12 Conclusions & What's Next?
August 14 No Class

Course Calendar/Bibliography

July 3: 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-chinamilitary-deterrence/>

July 8 The Transatlantic Scene in 2024

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.

July 10: The Purpose of NATO

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.

July 15: NATO in the '90s

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.

July 17: NATO After 9/11

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

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.

July 22: NATO After Afghanistan

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.

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.

July 24: NATO and Russia's War in Ukraine

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.

July 29: Burden Sharing & Defence Spending

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.

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

July 31: Cyber War

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

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.

August 7: Climate Change & the Arctic

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.

August 12: What's Next?

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

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

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

August 14 Flex Week

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:

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.