

INSTITUTE OF POLITICAL SCIENCE  
PROF. DR. SEBASTIAN HARNISCH  
BERGHEIMER STRASSE 58  
69115 HEIDELBERG

TEL.: 06221 - 54 2859  
FAX: 06221 - 54 2896  
MAIL: [sebastian.harnisch@ipw.uni-heidelberg.de](mailto:sebastian.harnisch@ipw.uni-heidelberg.de)

RUPRECHT-KARLS-  
UNIVERSITÄT  
HEIDELBERG



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## Syllabus

### U.S. Foreign Policy in the Trump era

Fall semester 2020; 10/19; 10/28-10/30/2020

Lecturer: Prof. Dr. Sebastian Harnisch

Online-Course held in Heiconf-System: <https://heiconf.uni-heidelberg.de/3j9c-m4rz-ucn6-9xtk>

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### Course description

This course examines various themes and patterns of U.S. foreign policy in the light of the current Trump administration. Students will explore institutions and individuals responsible for foreign policy decision making while considering different levels of analysis, i.e. the international system, domestic politics, as well as organizational and bureaucratic explanations. We will examine causes from different levels of analysis and a variety of theoretical perspectives. The goal is to obtain a fundamental understanding about the more general forces shaping U.S. foreign policy and apply this knowledge to the Trump presidency.

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### Requirements

Students are required to participate actively in the online seminar session, give an oral presentation and comment on one of the presentations by other students. Because of the digitalization of courses, all oral presentations (ppt slides) are due to be send to me ([sebastian.harnisch@ipw.uni-heidelberg.de](mailto:sebastian.harnisch@ipw.uni-heidelberg.de)) for uploading on the HeiBox-Cloud-System a week before the course begins. Other students will then be able to engage with the material beforehand; you can sign up for commentaries two days after the upload of the presentations by again sending an email to me.

### Grading

The final grade is based on seminar participation (30%), the oral presentation (50%) and the commentary (20%). The grading scales are: A – excellent; B - very good; C – good; D – satisfactory; E – sufficient; F – failed. The respective evaluation system is: 100 - 95 points = A; 94 - 88 points = B; 87 - 77 points = C; 76 - 68 points = D; 67 - 60 points = E; less than 60 points = F = failed.

**Don't forget: Sign up for your oral presentation (HeiBox-List; deadline: 15.10.2020) and for your comment (by mail to me; deadline: 26.10.2020)!**

**Prof. Dr. Sebastian Harnisch**  
Institute for Political Science  
Bergheimer Str. 58  
69115 Heidelberg, Germany  
E-Mail: Sebastian.Harnisch@ipw.uni-heidelberg.de

## Literature

Literature (required reading) will be accessible via this Cloud-Storage HeiBOX-Link:  
<https://heibox.uni-heidelberg.de/d/8258e5682c314905baf6/?dl=1>

Course: U.S. Foreign Policy in the Trump era

## Excuse notes

If you cannot attend a session, please send your reasons via e-mail to [ib-seminar2@ipw.uni-heidelberg.de](mailto:ib-seminar2@ipw.uni-heidelberg.de), if possible, at least 24 hours prior to the seminar. You are allowed to miss two sessions.

## Sessions

Session	Date	Time	Topic
1	10/19/2020	9:00-10:00 am	<b>Preparatory class: Q &amp; A on presentations</b>
2	10/28/2020	2:00-3:00 pm	Introduction
3		3:00-4:30 pm	Realism/Liberalism
4		5:00-6:30 pm	Social Constructivism
5	10/29/2020	8:00-9:30 am	An imperial president? The executive branch and presidential leadership
6		10:00-11:30 am	The “deep state” and Bureaucratic Politics
		11:00 am-2:00 pm	<i>Lunch break</i>
7		2:00-3:30 pm	Polarization and the power of Congress
8		4:00-5:30 pm	Burden-Sharing & U.S.-Europe relations
9	10/30/2020	8:00-9:30 am	U.S.-China Policy: U.S.-China trade war
10		10:00-11:30 am	Two-Level Diplomacy & U.S.-Iran Policy
		11:00am-2:00 pm	<i>Lunch Break</i>
11		2:00-3:30 pm	U.S.-Climate Policy: The Paris Agreement
12		4:00-5:30 pm	Concluding Session

**Prof. Dr. Sebastian Harnisch**  
Institute for Political Science  
Bergheimer Str. 58  
69115 Heidelberg, Germany  
E-Mail: Sebastian.Harnisch@ipw.uni-heidelberg.de

## Basic Literature

- Alden, Chris, and Amnon Aran. 2017. *Foreign Policy Analysis: New Approaches*. 2 ed. London: Routledge.
- Beach, Derek. 2012. *Analyzing Foreign Policy*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Beasley, Ryan K. 2013. *Foreign Policy in Comparative Perspective: Domestic and International Influences on State Behavior*. London: CQPress.
- Breuning, Marijke. 2007. *Foreign Policy Analysis: A Comparative Introduction*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Brook, Stephen, and William Wohlforth. 2016. *America Abroad: The United States' Global Role in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*. Oxford, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Brummer, Klaus, und Oppermann, Kai. 2018. *Außenpolitikanalyse*. 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition. De Gruyter Oldenburg.
- Daalder, Ivo H., and James M. Lindsay. 2018. *The Empty Throne: America's Abdication of Global Leadership*. New York: PublicAffairs.
- Herring, George C. 2011. *From Colony to Superpower: U.S. Foreign Relations since 1776*. 1 ed, Oxford History of the United States. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hook, Steven W. 2017. *U.S. Foreign Policy: The Paradox of World Power*. 4. ed. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press.
- Hudson, Valerie M. 2014. *Foreign Policy Analysis: Classic and Contemporary Theory*. 2 ed. Lannham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Kaufman, Joyce P. 2017. *A Concise History of U.S. Foreign Policy*. 4 ed. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Mearsheimer, John J. *The Great Delusion: Liberal Dreams and International Realities*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Mintz, Alex, and Karl R. DeRouen. 2010. *Understanding Foreign Policy Decision Making*. New York: Cambridge Univ. Press.
- Patrick, Stewart. 2009. *The Best Laid Plans: The Origins of American Multilateralism and the Dawn of the Cold War*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Smith, Steve. 2012. *Foreign Policy: Theories, Actors, Cases*. Vol. 2. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Thompson, John A. 2015. *A Sense of Power: The Roots of America's Global Role*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Walt, Stephen M. 2018. *The Hell of Good Intentions: America's Foreign Policy Elite and the Decline of U.S. Primacy*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

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**Session 1 (Monday, 01/19/2020 9:00-10:00 am)**

Preparatoy Session: Q & A on presentations

**Prof. Dr. Sebastian Harnisch**  
Institute for Political Science  
Bergheimer Str. 58  
69115 Heidelberg, Germany  
E-Mail: Sebastian.Harnisch@ipw.uni-heidelberg.de

## Session 2 (Wednesday 2:00-3:00 pm)

### Introduction

#### Required reading:

Wittkopf, Eugene R., Christopher M. Jones, and Jr. Charles W. Kegley. 2008. "Principle, Power, and Pragmatism: The Goals of American Foreign Policy in Historical Perspective." In *American Foreign Policy: Pattern and Process*, 29-74. Belmont, CA: Thomson Wadsworth.

Norrlof, Carla. 2018. "Hegemony and inequality: Trump and the liberal playbook." *International Affairs*, 94:1, 63-88.

Macdonald, Paul K. 2018. "America First? Explaining Continuity and Change in Trump's Foreign Policy." *Political Science Quarterly*, 133:3, 401-434.

#### Further reading:

Brands, Hal. "U.S. Grand Strategy in an Age of Nationalism: Fortress America and its Alternatives." *The Washington Quarterly*, 40:1, 73-94.

Brook, Stephen, and William Wohlforth. 2016. *America Abroad: The United States' Global Role in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*. Oxford, NY: Oxford University Press.

Grygiel, Jakub J., and A. Wess Mitchell. 2016. *The Unquiet Frontier: Rising Rivals, Vulnerable Allies, and the Crisis of American Power*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Haas, Richard. 2017. *A World in Disarray: American Foreign Policy and the Crisis of the Old Order*. New York: Penguin Press.

Ikenberry, G. John 2018. "The End of liberal international order?" *International Affairs* 94:1, 7-23.

Ikenberry, G. John. 2011. *Liberal Leviathan: The Origins, Crisis, and Transformation of the American World Order*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Lieber, Robert J. 2012. *Power and Willpower in the American Future: Why the United States Is Not Destined to Decline*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Norrlof, Carla. 2010. *America's Global Advantage: US Hegemony and International Cooperation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Skidmore, David. 2011. *The unilateralist temptation in American foreign policy, Foreign policy analysis*. New York: Routledge.

Stokes, Doug. 2018. "Trump, American hegemony and the future of the liberal international order." *International Affairs*, 94:1, 133-150.

Thompson, John A. 2015. *A Sense of Power: The Roots of America's Global Role*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Zakaria, Fareed. 2008. *The post-American world*. 1. edition. ed. New York ; London: Norton.

**Prof. Dr. Sebastian Harnisch**  
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69115 Heidelberg, Germany  
E-Mail: Sebastian.Harnisch@ipw.uni-heidelberg.de

### **Session 3 (Wednesday 3:00-4:30 pm)**

#### Realism & Liberalism

##### Required reading:

Wohlforth, William C. 2012. "Realism and foreign policy." In *Foreign policy: theories, actors, cases*, edited by Steve Smith, Amelia Hadfield and Tim Dunne, 35-53. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Doyle, Michael C. 2012. "Liberalism and foreign policy." In *Foreign policy: theories, actors, cases*, edited by Steve Smith, Amelia Hadfield and Tim Dunne, 54-77. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

##### Further reading:

Beach, Derek. 2012. "System-Level Factors." In *Analyzing Foreign Policy*, 31-57. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

Elman, Colin. 1996. "Horses for Courses: Why not Neorealist Theories of Foreign Policy." *Security Studies* no. 6 (1):7-53.

Heinze, Eric A. 2008. "The New Utopianism: Liberalism, American Foreign Policy, and the War in Iraq." *Journal of International Political Theory* no. 4 (1):105-125.

Karns, Margaret P., and Karen A. Mingst. 1987. "International Organizations and Foreign Policy: Influence and Instrumentality." In *New Directions in the Study of Foreign Policy*, edited by Charles F. Hermann, Jr. Charles W. Kegley and James N. Rosenau. Boston: Allen & Unwin.

Keohane, Robert O., and Joseph S. Nye. 2011. "Power and Interdependence." In, 3-18. London: Pearson.

Lipson, Charles. 1984. "International Cooperation in Security and Economic Affairs." *World Politics* no. 37:1-23.

Lobell, Steven E., Norrin M. Ripsman, and Jeffrey W. Taliaferro. 2009. *Neoclassical Realism, the State, and Foreign Policy*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.

Mearsheimer, John J. 1994. "The False Promise of International Institutions." *International Security* no. 19 (3):5-49.

Morgenthau, Hans. 2005. *A Realist Theory of International Politics*. Edited by Hans J.

Ripsman, M. Norrin, Jeffrey W. Taliaferro, and Steven E. Lobell. 2016. *Neoclassical Realist Theory of International Politics*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Rose, Gideon. 1998. "Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy." *World Politics* no. 51 (1):144-172.

Waltz, Kenneth N. 1988. "The Origins of War in Neorealist Theory." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* no. 18 (4):615-628.

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69115 Heidelberg, Germany  
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#### **Session 4 (Wednesday 5:00-6:30 pm)**

##### Constructivism

##### Required reading:

Flockhart, Trine. 2012. "Constructivism and foreign policy." In *Foreign policy: theories, actors, cases*, edited by Steve Smith, Amelia Hadfield and Tim Dunne, 78-93. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Houghton, David Patrick. 2007. "Reinvigorating the Study of Foreign Policy Decision-Making: Toward a Constructivist Approach." *Foreign Policy Analysis* no. 3 (1):24-45.

##### Further reading:

Cambell, David. 1999. *Writing Security: US Foreign Policy and the Politics of Identity*. Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press.

Checkel, Jeffrey. 1998. "The Constructivist Turn in International Relations Theory." *World Politics* no. 50 (2):324-348.

Checkel, Jeffrey T. 2008. "Constructivism and foreign policy." In *Foreign Policy Theories, Actors, Cases*, edited by Steve Smith, 71-82. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Doty, Roxanne Lynn. 1993. "Foreign Policy as Social Construction." *International Studies Quarterly* no. 37 (2):297-320.

Goldstein, J., and R. O Keohane. 1993. *Ideas and Foreign Policy: Beliefs, Institutional and Political Change*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Jervis, Robert. 1979. *Perceptions and Misperceptions in International Politics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Katzenstein, Peter. 1996. *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*. New York: Columbia University.

Kowert, P. 2001. "Toward A Constructivist Theory of Foreign Policy." In *Foreign Policy in A Constructed World*, edited by V. Kubalkova. London & New York: M. E. Sharpe.

Schonberg, Karl K. 2009. *Constructing 21st Century U.S. Foreign Policy: Identity, Ideology, and America's World Role in a New Era*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Smith, Steve. 2001. "Foreign Policy Is What States Make of It." In *Foreign Policy in A Constructed World*, edited by V. Kubalkova. London & New York: M. S. Sharpe.

Wendt, Alexander. 1992. "Anarchy is what states make of it." *International Organization* no. 46 (2):391-425.

Wendt, Alexander. 1995. "Constructing International Politics." *International Security* no. 20 (1):71-81.

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69115 Heidelberg, Germany  
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### **Session 5 (Thursday 8:00-9:30 am)**

#### An imperial president? The executive branch and presidential leadership

##### Required reading:

Breuning, Marijke. 2007. "How leaders make sense of the world." In *Foreign Policy Analysis: A Comparative Introduction*, 53-84. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

Hook, Steven W. 2011. "Presidential Power." In *U.S. Foreign Policy: The Paradox of World Power*, 102-135. 3 ed. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press.

##### Further reading:

Hermann, Margaret G. 2003. "Assessing Leadership Style: Trait Analysis." In *The Psychological Assessment of Political Leaders*, edited by Jerrold M. Post, 178-214. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.

George, Alexander L., and Juliette L. George. 1998. *Presidential Personality & Performance*. Boulder, CO: Westview.

Greenstein, Fred I. 2009. *The Presidential Difference: Leadership Style from FDR to Barack Obama*. 3 ed. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Hermann, Margaret G. 1980. "Explaining Foreign Policy Behavior Using the Personal Characteristics of Political Leaders." *International Studies Quarterly* no. 24 (1):7-46.

Howell, William G. 2005. "Introduction: Unilateral Powers: A Brief Overview." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 35 (3): 417-439.

Mintz, Alex, and Karl DeRouen Jr. 2010. *Understanding Foreign Policy Decision Making*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Moe, Terry M., and William G. Howell. 1999. "Unilateral Action and Presidential Power: A Theory." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* no. 29 (4): 850-873.

Nelson, Michael. 2008. "Person and Office: Presidents, the Presidency, and Foreign Policy." In *The Domestic Sources of American Foreign Policy: Insights and Evidence*, edited by Eugene Wittkopf and James McCormick, 159-167. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Pfiffner, James P. 2011. "Decision Making in the Obama White House." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* no. 41 (2):244–262.

Rosati, Jerel, and James Scott. 2011. "Presidential Power and Leadership." In *The Politics of United States Foreign Policy*, 56-94. Cengage Learning.

Stein, Janice Gross. 2008. "Foreign policy decision-making: rational, psychological, and neurological models." In *Foreign Policy Theories, Actors, Cases*, edited by Steve Smith et al. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

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### **Session 6 (Thursday 10:00-11:30 am)**

#### The “deep state” and Bureaucratic Politics

##### Required reading:

Rosati, Jerel, and James Scott. 2011. "Bureaucracy, Presidential Management, and the National Security Council." In *The Politics of United States Foreign Policy*, 95-126. Cengage Learning.

Drezner, Daniel W. 2019. “Present at the Destruction: The Trump Administration and the Foreign Policy Bureaucracy.” *The Journal of Politics* 81 (2): 723-730.

##### Further reading:

Allison, Graham. 2008. "The Cuban Missile Crisis." In *Foreign Policy Theories, Actors, Cases*, edited by Steve Smith et al., 207-228. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Mitchell, David. 2005. "Centralizing Advisory Systems: Presidential Influence and the U.S. Foreign Policy Decision-Making Process." *Foreign Policy Analysis* no. 1 (2):181-206.

Allison, Graham. 1971. *Essence of Decision. Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*. New York: HarperCollins.

Art, Robert. 1973. "Bureaucratic Politics and American Foreign Policy: A Critique." *Policy Sciences* no. 4 (4):467–490.

Bendor, Jonathan, and Thomas H. Hammond. 1992. "Rethinking Allison’s Models." *American Political Science Review* no. 86 (2):301–322.

Freedman, Lawrence. 1976. "Logic, Politics and Foreign Policy Processes: A Critique of the Bureaucratic Politics Model." *International Affairs* no. 52 (3):434–449.

Halperin, Morton H., Priscilla A. Clapp, and Arnold Kanter. 2006. *Bureaucratic politics and foreign policy*. 2 ed. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press.

Hook, Steven W. 2011. “The Foreign Policy Bureaucracy.” In *U.S. Foreign Policy: The Paradox of World Power*, 171-209. 3 ed. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press.

Jones, Christopher M. 2010. "Bureaucratic Politics and Organizational Process Models." In *The International Studies Encyclopedia*, edited by Robert A. Denemark, 151-168. Malden, MA: John Wiley and Sons.

Kowert, Paul A. 2002. *Groupthink or Deadlock: When Do Leaders Learn from Their Advisors?* Albany: State University of New York Press.

Pfiffner, James P. “The Contemporary Presidency: Organizing the Trump Presidency.” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 48 (1): 153-167.

Wittkopf, Eugene R., Christopher M. Jones, and Jr. Charles W. Kegley. 2008. "The Foreign Policy Bureaucracy and Foreign Policy Making." In *American Foreign Policy: Pattern and Process*, 367-412. Belmont, CA: Thomson Wadsworth.



**Prof. Dr. Sebastian Harnisch**  
Institute for Political Science  
Bergheimer Str. 58  
69115 Heidelberg, Germany  
E-Mail: Sebastian.Harnisch@ipw.uni-heidelberg.de

## **Session 7 (Thursday 2:00-3:30 pm)**

### Polarization and the power of Congress

#### Required reading:

Rosati, Jerel, and James Scott. 2011. "Congress and Interbranch Politics." In *The Politics of United States Foreign Policy*, 291-326. Cengage Learning.

Schultz, Kenneth. 2017. "Perils of Polarization for U.S. Foreign Policy." *The Washington Quarterly* 40 (4): 7-28.

#### Further reading:

Kupchan, Charles, and Peter Trubowitz. 2007. "Dead Center The Demise of Liberal Internationalism in the United States." *International Security* no. 32 (2):7-44.

Breuning, Marijke. 2007. "Leaders in Context I: Domestic constraints on Foreign Policy Making." In *Foreign Policy Analysis: A Comparative Introduction*, 115-139. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

Carter, Ralph G., and James M. Scott. 2009. *Choosing to lead: Understanding Congressional foreign policy entrepreneurs*. Durham, London: Duke University Press.

Chaudoin, Stephen, Helen V. Milner, and Dustin H. Tingley. 2010. "The Center Still Holds Liberal Internationalism Survives." *International Security* no. 35 (1):75-94.

Hersman, Rebecca K.C. 2000. *Friends and Foes: How Congress and the President Really Make Foreign Policy*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings.

Hook, Steven W. "Congress beyond the 'Water's Edge'." 2011. In *U.S. Foreign Policy: The Paradox of World Power*, 136-170. 3 ed. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press.

Jacobson, Gary C. 2011. "Legislative Success and Political Failure: The Public's Reaction to Barack Obama's Early Presidency." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* no. 41 (2):220-243.

Kriner, Douglas L. 2010. *After the Rubicon: Congress, Presidents, and the Politics of Waging War*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Lindsay, James M. 2008. "The Shifting Pendulum of Power: Executive-Legislative Relations on American Foreign Policy." In *The Domestic Sources of American Foreign Policy: Insights and Evidence*, edited by Eugene Wittkopf and James McCormick, 199-211. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Putnam, Robert. 1988. "Diplomacy and Domestic Politics." *International Organization* no. 42:427-460.

Snow, Donald. 2004. *United States Foreign Policy: Politics Beyond the Water's Edge*. Thomas Wadsworth: Belmont.

Wittkopf, Eugene R., Christopher M. Jones, and Jr. Charles W. Kegley. 2008. "The Congress and Foreign Policy Making." In *American Foreign Policy: Pattern and Process*, 413-451. Thomson Wadsworth.

**Prof. Dr. Sebastian Harnisch**  
Institute for Political Science  
Bergheimer Str. 58  
69115 Heidelberg, Germany  
E-Mail: Sebastian.Harnisch@ipw.uni-heidelberg.de

## Session 8 (Thursday 4:00-5:30 pm)

### NATO Burden-Sharing & U.S.-Europe relations

#### Required reading:

Simoni, Serena, and Harnisch, Sebastian. 2019. "New politics of burden-sharing in NATO? Crisis, conflict, and resilience in an era of populism." In *The politics of resilience and transatlantic order: Enduring crisis? Routledge studies on challenges, crises and dissent in world politics*, eds. Gordon Friedrichs, Sebastian Harnisch and Cameron G. Thies. London, New York: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, 71–89.

Ringsmose, Jens, and Mark Webber. 2020. "Hedging their bets? The case for a European pillar in NATO." *Defence Studies* 43 (1): 1–23.

#### Further reading:

Becker, Jordan, and Edmund Malesky. 2017. "The Continent or the 'Grand Large'? Strategic Culture and Operational Burden-Sharing in NATO." *International Studies Quarterly* 61 (1): 163–180.

Forster, Peter K., and Stephen J. Cimbala. 2005. *The U.S., NATO and Military Burden-Sharing*. London: Frank Cass.

Jakobsen, Peter, and Jens Ringmose. 2017. *Burden-Sharing in NATO. The Trump Effect Won't Last*. NUPI Policy Brief 16/2017. Oslo: Norwegian Institute of International Affairs.

Kaufman, Joyce. 2017. "The U.S. Perspective on NATO under Trump: Lessons of the Past and Prospects for the Future." *International Affairs* 93 (2): 251–266.

Mattelaer, Alexander. 2016. "U.S. Leadership and NATO. Revisiting the Principles of NATO Burden-Sharing." *Parameters* 46 (1): 25–33.

Mauß, Hanns W. 2011. "Hegemony Reconstructed? America's Role Conception and Its 'leadership' Within Its Core Alliances." In *Role Theory in International Relations. Approaches and Analyses*, edited by S. Harnisch, C. Frank, and H.W. Mauß, 167–193. London: Routledge.

Noetzel, Timo, and Benjamin Schreier. 2009. "Does a Multi-tier NATO Matter? The Atlantic Alliance and the Process of Strategic Change." *International Affairs* 85 (2): 211–226.

Sandler, Todd, and J. F. Forbes. 1980. "Burden-Sharing, Strategy, and the Design of NATO." *Economic Inquiry* 18 (3): 425–444.

Thies, Wallace. 2009. *Why NATO Endures*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Wallander, Celeste. 2000. "Institutional Assets and Adaptability: NATO after the Cold War." *International Organization* 54 (4): 705–732.

**Prof. Dr. Sebastian Harnisch**  
Institute for Political Science  
Bergheimer Str. 58  
69115 Heidelberg, Germany  
E-Mail: Sebastian.Harnisch@ipw.uni-heidelberg.de

### **Session 9 (Friday 8:00-9:30 am)**

#### U.S.-China Policy: U.S.-China trade war

##### Required reading:

Boucher, Jean-Christophe, and Cameron G. Thies. 2019. ““I Am a Tariff Man”: The Power of Populist Foreign Policy Rhetoric under President Trump.” *The Journal of Politics* 81 (2): 712–22.

Schweller, Randall. 2018. “Opposite but Compatible Nationalisms: A Neoclassical Realist Approach to the Future of US–China Relations.” *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 11 (1): 23–48.

##### Further reading:

Chan, Steve. 2012. *Looking for Balance: China, the United States, and Power Balancing in East Asia* [In English]. *Studies in Asian Security*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Gilpin, Robert. 2010. *War and Change in World Politics*. Cambridge University Press.

John J. Mearsheimer, and Stephen M. Walt. 2016. “The Case for Offshore Balancing: A Superior U.S. Grand Strategy.” *Foreign affairs* 95 (4): 70–83.

Johnston, Alastair I. 2013. “How New and Assertive Is China's New Assertiveness?” *International Security* 37 (4): 7–48.

Leonard, Mark. 2013. “Why Convergence Breeds Conflict: Growing More Similar Will Push China and the United States Apart Essay.” [eng]. *Foreign affairs* 92 (5): [i]-135.  
<https://heinonline.org/HOL/P?h=hein.journals/fora92&i=1239>.

Rose, Gideon. 1998. “Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy.” *World Politics* 51 (1): 144–72.

Ross, Robert S. 2013. “The Domestic Sources of China’s “Assertive Diplomacy,” 2009–10 Nationalism and Chinese Foreign Policy.” In *China Across the Divide*, ed. Rosemary Foot. Oxford University Press, 72–88.

Shan, Weijian. 2019. “The Unwinnable Trade War Essays.” [eng]. *Foreign affairs* 98 (6): 99–108.  
<https://heinonline.org/HOL/P?h=hein.journals/fora98&i=1201>.

Waltz, Kenneth N. 2000. “Structural Realism after the Cold War.” *International Security* 25 (1): 5–41.

Wang, Zheng. 2014. *Never forget national humiliation - historical memory in Chinese politics a. CONTEMPORARY ASIA IN THE WORLD*. Columbia University Press.

Weiss, Jessica C. 2014. *Powerful Patriots*. Oxford University Press.

Zhao, Suisheng. 2013. “Foreign Policy Implications of Chinese Nationalism Revisited: the strident turn.” *Journal of Contemporary China* 22 (82): 535–53.

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E-Mail: Sebastian.Harnisch@ipw.uni-heidelberg.de

### **Session 10 (Friday 10:00-11:30 am)**

#### Two-Level Diplomacy & U.S.-Iran Policy

##### Required reading:

Hurst, Steven. 2016. "The Iranian Nuclear Negotiations as a Two-Level Game: The Importance of Domestic Politics." *Diplomacy & Statecraft* 27 (3): 545-567.

Tajbakhsh, Kian. 2018. "Who Wants What from Iran Now? The Post-Nuclear Deal U.S. Policy Debate." *The Washington Quarterly* 41 (3): 41-61.

##### Further reading:

Aghazadeh, Mahdiah. 2013. "A Historical Overview Of Sanctions On Iran And Iran's Nuclear Program." *Journal of Academic Studies* no. 14 (56):137-160.

Bowen, Wyn Q., and Jonathan Brewer. 2011. "Iran's Nuclear Challenge: Nine Years and Counting." *International Affairs* 87: 923-43.

Hurst, Steven. 2012. "Obama and Iran." *International Politics* no. 49 (5):545-567.

Jervis, Robert. 2013. "Getting to Yes With Iran: The Challenges of Coercive Diplomacy." *Foreign Affairs* no. 92:105-115.

Kaussler, Bernd. 2013. *Iran's Nuclear Diplomacy: Power Politics and Conflict Resolution*. New York: Routledge.

Kaye, E. 2012. "Containing Iran: What Does It Mean?" *Middle East Policy* no. 19 (1):51-63.

Mehta, Simi. 2015. "P5+1 - Iran Nuclear Agreement -- a Silver Lining in US-Iran Relations." *Journal of Diplomacy & International Relations* 16: 101-16.

Mousavian, Seyed Hossein, and Sina Toossi. 2017. "Assessing U.S.-Iran Nuclear Engagement". *The Washington Quarterly* 40:3, 65-95.

Oren, Ido. 2011. "Why Has the United States Not Bombed Iran? The Domestic Politics of America's Response to Iran's Nuclear Programme." *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 24: 659-84.

Pillar, Paul R. 2013. "Nuclear Negotiations with Iran." *International Security* no. 38 (1):174-192.

Putnam, Robert D. 1988. "Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games." *International Organization* 42: 427-60.

Sebenius, James K., and Michael K. Singh. 2012. "Is a Nuclear Deal with Iran Possible? An Analytical Framework for the Iran Nuclear Negotiations." *International Security* 37: 52-91.

Snow, Donald. 2012. "Iran: Facing Down Regional Aspirations and Nuclear Weapons." In *Cases in American Foreign Policy*, edited by Donald Snow, 55-78. London: Pearson.

Sterio, Milena. 2016. "President Obama's Legacy: The Iran Nuclear Agreement?". *Case Western Reserve Journal of International Law* 48: 69-82.

**Prof. Dr. Sebastian Harnisch**  
Institute for Political Science  
Bergheimer Str. 58  
69115 Heidelberg, Germany  
E-Mail: Sebastian.Harnisch@ipw.uni-heidelberg.de

### **Session 11 (Friday 2:00-3:30 pm)**

#### U.S.-Climate Policy: The Paris Agreement

##### Required reading:

Jotzo, Frank, Joanna Depledge, and Harald Winkler. 2018. "US and international climate policy under President Trump." *Climate Policy* 18 (7): 813–17.

Ritthaler-Andree, Ronja. 2016. *The U.S. Climate Policy and the 2016 Presidential and Congressional Elections*. Kaiserslautern: Atlantische Akademie. Atlantische Themen, 1/2016. [https://www.atlantische-akademie.de/fileadmin/user\\_upload/Publikationen/At-Themen/AT-1-2016/AA-R2E-No1.pdf](https://www.atlantische-akademie.de/fileadmin/user_upload/Publikationen/At-Themen/AT-1-2016/AA-R2E-No1.pdf) (Accessed October 5, 2020).

##### Further reading:

Bomberg, Elizabeth. 2017. "Environmental politics in the Trump era: an early assessment." *Environmental Politics* 26 (5): 956–63.

Brewer, Thomas L. 2014. *The United States in a Warming World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Farber, Daniel. 2018. "A política climática dos EUA: Obama, Trump e o futuro." *Revista de Estudos Constitucionais, Hermenêutica e Teoria do Direito* 10 (2).

Guliyev, Farid. 2020. "Trump's "America first" energy policy, contingency and the reconfiguration of the global energy order." [eng]. *Energy policy* 140: 111435.

Kemp, Luke. 2017. "US-proofing the Paris Climate Agreement." *Climate Policy* 17 (1): 86–101.

Mehling, Michael A., and Antto Vihma. 2017. *'Mourning for America' - Donald Trump's Climate Change Policy*. 8<sup>th</sup> ed. Helsinki: The Finnish Institute of International Affairs. FIIA Analysis. <https://www.fia.fi/en/publication/mourning-for-america> (Accessed October 5, 2020).

Pavone, Ilja R. 2018. "The Paris Agreement and the Trump administration: Road to nowhere?" *Journal of International Studies* 11 (1): 34–49.

Selby, Jan. 2019. "The Trump presidency, climate change, and the prospect of a disorderly energy transition." *Review of International Studies* 45 (3): 471–90.

Steinhauer, Valentin. 2018. *Leaving the Paris Agreement:: The United States' Disengagement from the Global Climate Regime and its Impact on EU Climate Diplomacy*. Bruges: Collège d'Europe. EU Diplomacy Paper. [https://www.coleurope.eu/system/tdf/research-paper/edp-4-2018\\_steinhauer\\_final.pdf?file=1&type=node&id=47214&force=](https://www.coleurope.eu/system/tdf/research-paper/edp-4-2018_steinhauer_final.pdf?file=1&type=node&id=47214&force=) (Accessed October 5, 2020).

### **Session 12 (Friday 4:00-5:30 pm)**

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