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RUPRECHT-KARLS-  
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## Syllabus

### **U.S. Foreign Policy, Trumpian Populism and beyond**

Fall semester 2021; 10/29; 12/01-03/2021

Lecturer: Prof. Dr. Sebastian Harnisch

Offline-Course held in Brno

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### **Course description**

This course examines various themes and patterns of U.S. foreign policy in the light of the Populism of the Trump administration and the policies of the current Biden 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 for U.S. policies over time, 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 and Biden presidencies.

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### **Requirements**

Students are required to participate actively in the offline seminar session, give an oral presentation and comment on one of the presentations by other students. Because of the workshop character of the course, 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 and 48 hours before the respective course session begins. After the Upload of presentations 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. Since there may be up to 40 students in the class, oral presentations may be held in groups of up to three students.

### **Grading**

The final grade is based on seminar participation (30%), the oral presentation (50%) and the commentary (20%). Students have to gain at least 60 points out of 100 to pass the course.

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**Don't forget: Sign up for your oral presentation (HeiBox-List; deadline: 25.10.2021) and for your comment (by mail to me; deadline: 30.10.2021)!**

## Literature

Literature (required reading) will be accessible via this Cloud-Storage HeiBOX-Link: <https://heibox.uni-heidelberg.de/d/81194fee258d4864b70f/>

Course: U.S. Foreign Policy, Trumpian Populism and beyond

## Excuse notes

If you cannot attend a session, please send your reasons via e-mail to [sebastian.harnisch@ipw.uni-heidelberg.de](mailto:sebastian.harnisch@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	10/29/2021	9:00-10:00 am	<b>Preparatory class: Q &amp; A (online)</b>
2	12/01/2021	4:00-5:30 pm	Introduction
3		6:00-7:30 pm	Realism/Liberalism
4		12/02/2021	8:00-9:30 am
5		10:00-11:30 am	An imperial president? The executive branch and presidential leadership
		11:30 am-1:30 pm	<i>Lunch break</i>
6		2:00-3:30 pm	Power of Congress & Polarization
7		4:00-5:30 pm	U.S.-Europe relations & Burden-Sharing
8		6:00-7.30 pm	U.S.-Europe relations & Nord Stream II
9		12/03/2021	8:00-9:30 am
10		10:00-11:30 am	U.S.-Afghanistan Policy & withdrawal
		11:30 am-1:30 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

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### 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: CQ Press.
- Böller, Florian/Werner, Welf (Eds.) 2021. *Hegemonic Transition: Global Economic and Security Orders in the Age of Trump*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- 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.
- Cooley, Alexander/Nexon, Daniel 2020: *Exit from hegemony: the unraveling of the American global order*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- 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.
- Homan, Patrick/ Lantis, Jeffrey S. 2020. *The Battle for U.S. Foreign Policy: Congress, Parties, and Factions in the 21st Century*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Hook, Steven W. 2019. *U.S. Foreign Policy: The Paradox of World Power*. 6th. 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.
- Rapp-Hooper, Mira 2020. *The Triumph and Peril of America's Alliances*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Smith, Steve. 2016. *Foreign Policy: Theories, Actors, Cases*. 2<sup>nd</sup>. ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Thompson, John A. 2015. *A Sense of Power: The Roots of America's Global Role*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Turner, Oliver/Parmar, Inderjeet (Hrsg.) 2020. *United States in the Indo-Pacific: Obama's legacy and the Trump transition*, Manchester: Manchester UP.
- 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 (Friday, 10/29/2021, 9:00-10:00 am)**

Preparatory Session: Q & A on presentations

**Session 2 (Wednesday, 12/01/2021 4:00-5:30 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.
- Sloan, Stanley 2020. US Foreign Policy in 2021. *Atlantisch Perspectief*, 44:5, 38-43.

Further reading:

- Brands, Hal. 2017. "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.
- Macdonald, Paul K. 2018. "America First? Explaining Continuity and Change in Trump's Foreign Policy." *Political Science Quarterly*, 133:3, 401-434.
- Norrlöf, Carla. 2018. "Hegemony and inequality: Trump and the liberal playbook." *International Affairs*, 94:1, 63-88.
- Norrlöf, 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.
- Steff, Reuben. 2021. *US foreign policy in the age of Trump: drivers, strategy and tactics*, London: 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: Norton.

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### Session 3 (Wednesday 6:00-7:30 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.
- Ettinger, Aaron. 2020. Principled realism and populist sovereignty in Trump's foreign policy, *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 33:3, 410-431
- 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.
- Ettinger, Aaron 2021. Rumors of restoration: Joe Biden's foreign policy and what it means for Canada, *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal*, 27:2, 157-174.

##### 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*, 4:1, 105-125.
- Karkour H. L. 2020. Illiberal and irrational? Trump and the challenge of liberal modernity in US foreign policy. *International Relations*. September 2020. doi:10.1177/0047117820954231
- 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*, 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* 19 (3):5-49.
- 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* 51:1, 144-172.
- Schweller, Randall 2018. Three Cheers for Trump's Foreign Policy: What the Establishment Misses, *Foreign Affairs* 97, 133-143
- Walt Stephen M. 2018. US grand strategy after the Cold War: Can realism explain it? Should realism guide it? *International Relations*. 32:1, 3-22.
- Waltz, Kenneth N. 1988. "The Origins of War in Neorealist Theory." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 18:4, 615-628.

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#### **Session 4 (Thursday, 8:00-9:30 am)**

##### 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.
- Borg, Stefan (2021) Cancelling the West. Transatlantic relations in the era of culture wars, *Global Affairs*, DOI: 10.1080/23340460.2021.1952469

##### Further reading:

- Bentley, Michelle & Maxine David 2021. Unpredictability as doctrine: Reconceptualising foreign policy strategy in the Trump era, *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 34:3, 383-406.
- 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* 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.
- Deyermond, Ruth 2020. "You think our country's so innocent?" The Trump administration's policy on democratic practices in Russia and the challenge to US identity, *Global Affairs*, 6:1, 105-120,
- Doty, Roxanne Lynn. 1993. "Foreign Policy as Social Construction." *International Studies Quarterly* 37:2, 297-320.
- Goldstein, J., and R. O Keohane. 1993. *Ideas and Foreign Policy: Beliefs, Institutional and Political Change*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Houghton, David Patrick. 2007. "Reinvigorating the Study of Foreign Policy Decision-Making: Toward a Constructivist Approach." *Foreign Policy Analysis* 3:1, 24-45.
- 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.
- Schneiker, Andrea 2021. Norm Sabotage: Conceptual Reflection on a Phenomenon That Challenges Well-Established Norms, *International Studies Perspectives*, 22:1, 106–123.
- 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* 46:2, 391-425.
- Wendt, Alexander. 1995. "Constructing International Politics." *International Security* 20:1, 71-81.

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### Session 5 (Thursday 10:00-11:30 am)

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

##### Required reading:

- 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.
- Cottam, Martha 2021. Foreign Policy Decision Making in the Trump Administration. In: Renshon S., Suedfeld P. (eds) *The Trump Doctrine and the Emerging International System. The Evolving American Presidency*. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-45050-2\\_5](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-45050-2_5)

##### Further reading:

- Breuning, Marijke. 2007. "How leaders make sense of the world." In *Foreign Policy Analysis: A Comparative Introduction*, 53-84. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
- 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.
- Herr, Lukas D. 2021. Reviving American Exceptionalism: Joe Biden und der präsidentielle Führungsanspruch in der Außenpolitik in: Böller, Florian et al. (Hg.). *Die Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik der USA nach der Ära Trump*, Baden-Baden-Nomos, 51-72.
- Herr, Lukas D. 2021. *The President as Communicator-in-Chief: Präsidentsche Rhetorik, amerikanischer Exzeptionalismus und exekutiver Handlungsspielraum während des Kosovo-, Irak- und Libyen-Krieges*, Baden-Baden: Nomos.
- 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* 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* 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* 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 2:00-3:30 pm)

### Power of Congress & Polarization

#### Required reading:

Böller, Florian & Lukas D. Herr 2020 From Washington without love: congressional foreign policy making and US-Russian relations under president Trump, *Contemporary Politics*, 26:1, 17-37, DOI: 10.1080/13569775.2019.1617655

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

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

#### Further reading:

Kupchan, Charles, and Peter Trubowitz. 2007. "Dead Center The Demise of Liberal Internationalism in the United States." *International Security* 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* 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* 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.

Müller, Marcus/Söhnke Schreyer 2021 Madison's Nightmare? Der Kongress und die Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik in der Ära Trump in: Böller, Florian et al. (Hg.). *Die Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik der USA nach der Ära Trump*, Baden-Baden: Nomos, 27 – 50.

Putnam, Robert. 1988. "Diplomacy and Domestic Politics." *International Organization* 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.

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**Session 7 (Thursday 2:00-3:30 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 & 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 & 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.
- Maull, 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. Maull, 167–193. London: Routledge.
- Noetzel, Timo, and Benjamin Schreer. 2009. "Does a Multi-tier NATO Matter? The Atlantic Alliance and the Process of Strategic Change." *International Affairs* 85: 2, 211–226.
- Rapp-Hooper, Mira 2020. *Shields of the republic: the triumph and peril of America's alliances*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Sandler, Todd, and J. F. Forbes. 1980. "Burden-Sharing, Strategy, and the Design of NATO." *Economic Inquiry* 18:3, 425–444.
- Schuette, Leonard August 2021 Why NATO survived Trump: the neglected role of Secretary-General Stoltenberg, *International Affairs*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ia/iab167>
- Sperling, James/Mark Webber 2019. 'Trump's foreign policy and NATO: exit and voice', *Review of International Studies* 45: 3, 511–526
- 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.

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

### U.S.-Europe Relations & Nord Stream II

#### Required reading:

- Belkin, Paul et al. 2021 Russia's Nord Stream 2 Natural Gas Pipeline to Germany, Washington DC: CRS for Congress, <https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/IF/IF11138>
- Pfifer, Stephen 2021 Nord Stream 2: Background, Objections and Possible Outcomes, Brookings, [https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2021/04/FP\\_20210412\\_nord\\_stream\\_2\\_pifer.pdf](https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2021/04/FP_20210412_nord_stream_2_pifer.pdf)

#### Further reading:

- de Jong, Moniek & Thijs Van de Graaf & Tim Haesebrouck (2020) A matter of preference: Taking sides on the Nord Stream 2 gas pipeline project, *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, DOI: 10.1080/14782804.2020.1858763
- Gens, Bjorn. 2019. Germany's Russia policy and geo-economics: Nord Stream 2, sanctions and the question of EU leadership towards Russia." *Global Affairs* 5: 4-5, 315–334.
- Leal-Arcas, R. (2018). Natural gas, US shale dynamics and energy security: a view from the European Union. In *The international political economy of oil and gas* (pp. 73-85). Palgrave Macmillan, Cham
- Lieber, Robert J. (2021) Biden Foreign Policy: Sobered by Reality or Condemned to Repetition, *Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs*, DOI: 10.1080/23739770.2021.1938843
- Loskot-Strachota, Agata. "Sanctions against Nord Stream 2 in the US defence budget." OSW Centre for Eastern Studies, <https://www.osw.waw.pl/en/publikacje/analyses/2019-12-18/sanctions-against-nord-stream-2-us-defence-budget>.
- Mello P.A. (2021) German Foreign Policy. In: Joly J.K., Haesebrouck T. (eds) *Foreign Policy Change in Europe Since 1991*. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-68218-7\\_7](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-68218-7_7)
- Rizzo, R. 2021. Line of argument. Why Berlin and Washington should compromise on Nord Stream 2, <https://ecfr.eu/article/line-of-argument-why-berlin-and-washington-should-compromise-on-nord-stream-2/>.
- Rojansky, M. 2020. *The US, Germany and Nord Stream 2*, Washington, DC: Friedrich-Ebert Foundation, <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/usa/17088.pdf>.
- Schlegel, C. 2020 Tariffs, NATO and Nord Stream: Is Trump the Problem to a Transatlantic Free Trade Agreement? *Zeitschrift für Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik* 13, 65–81 (2020). <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12399-020-00804-x>
- Schmidt-Felzmann, A. (2020). Gazprom's Nord Stream 2 and diffuse authority in the EU: Managing authority challenges regarding Russian gas supplies through the Baltic Sea. *Journal of European Integration*, 42:1, 129-145
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### 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.
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##### Further reading:

- Ashbee, Edward & Steven Hurst (2021) The Trump administration and China: policy continuity or transformation?, *Policy Studies*, 42:5-6, 720-737, DOI: 10.1080/01442872.2021.1919299
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- Gilpin, Robert. 2010. *War and Change in World Politics*. Cambridge University Press.
- Ljunggren, Börje 2020: From Obama to Trump, and beyond: Washington’s painful search for a credible China policy, in: Turner, Oliver/Parmar, Inderjeet (Hrsg.) 2020: *United States in the Indo-Pacific: Obama's legacy and the Trump transition*, Manchester: Manchester UP, 195-209.
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- Sutter, Robert (2019) Congress and Trump Administration China Policy: Overlapping Priorities, Uneasy Adjustments and Hardening toward Beijing, *Journal of Contemporary China*, 28:118, 519-537, DOI: 10.1080/10670564.2018.1557944
- 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*, New York Columbia University Press.
- Weiss, Jessica C. 2014. *Powerful Patriots*. Oxford University Press.

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

#### U.S.-Afghanistan Policy & Withdrawal

##### Required reading:

- Brands, Hal & Michael O'Hanlon (2021) The War on Terror Has Not Yet Failed: A Net Assessment After 20 Years, *Survival*, 63:4, 33-54, DOI: 10.1080/00396338.2021.1956194
- Ettinger, Aaron 2021 After Failure: American Foreign Policy at the End of the Post–Cold War Era, *International Studies Review*, 23: 1, 248–267, <https://doi.org/10.1093/isr/viaa059>

##### Further reading:

- Azizian, Nazanin 2021. *Easier to Get into War Than to Get Out: The Case of Afghanistan*, Cambridge: Harvard Belfer Center, <https://www.belfercenter.org/sites/default/files/2021-08/EasyWar.pdf>
- Barfield, Thomas 2008. "The Roots of Failure in Afghanistan." *Current History* 107 (713): 410–17.
- Cordesman, Anthony 2021, *Learning from the War: "Who Lost Afghanistan?" versus Learning "Why We Lost"*, Washington: CSIS, [https://csis-website-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/publication/210719\\_Cordesman\\_Learning\\_War.pdf?wtdfMLGnQFrj7m3gykTuAWz4ox5Lr.Xa](https://csis-website-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/publication/210719_Cordesman_Learning_War.pdf?wtdfMLGnQFrj7m3gykTuAWz4ox5Lr.Xa)
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- DiMaggio, Anthony R. 2015 *Selling War, Selling Hope: Presidential Rhetoric, the News Media, and U.S. Foreign Policy Since 9/11*, Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Jones, Seth G. 2009 *In the Graveyard of Empires: America's War in Afghanistan*, New York: W.W. Norton.
- Lebovic, James H. 2019. *Planning to Fail: The US Wars in Vietnam, Iraq, and Afghanistan*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Mattox, Gale & Stephen Grenier (eds.) 2021 *Coalition Challenges in Afghanistan: The Politics of Alliance*, Redwood City: Stanford University Press
- Miller, Laurel (2021) Biden's Afghanistan Withdrawal: A Verdict on the Limits of American Power, *Survival*, 63:3, 37-44, DOI: 10.1080/00396338.2021.1930404
- Miles, Claire 2021 *The withdrawal of military forces from Afghanistan and its implications for peace*. London: House of Commons
- Sopko, John /SIGAR 2021. *What We Need to learn: Lessons from Twenty Years of Afghanistan Reconstruction*, Arlington VA, SIGAR, <https://www.sigar.mil/pdf/lessonslearned/SIGAR-21-46-LL.pdf>.
- Suhrke, Astri 2011 *When More is Less: The International Project in Afghanistan*, New York: Columbia University Press.
- Sprunt, Barbara 2021. *There's A Bipartisan Backlash To How Biden Handled The Withdrawal From Afghanistan*, NPR News, August 17, 2021, <https://www.npr.org/2021/08/16/1028081817/congressional-reaction-to-bidens-afghanistan-withdrawal-has-been-scathing?t=1634587283215>
- Thomas, Clayton et al. 2021 *U.S. Military Withdrawal and Taliban Takeover in Afghanistan: Frequently Asked Questions*, Washington, DC: CRS for Congress
- Waldman, Matt 2013 System failure: the underlying causes of US policy-making errors in Afghanistan, *International Affairs*, 89: 4, 825–843, <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2346.12047>

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### **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, 813–817.
- South, D., Vangala, S. and Hung, K. (2021), The Biden Administration's Approach to Addressing Climate Change. *Climate and Energy*, 37, 8-18. <https://doi.org/10.1002/gas.22222>

##### Further reading:

- Bodansky, D. (2021). Climate Change: Reversing the Past and Advancing the Future. *AJIL Unbound*, 115, 80-85. doi:10.1017/aju.2020.89
- Bomberg, Elizabeth. 2017. "Environmental politics in the Trump era: an early assessment." *Environmental Politics* 26:5, 956–963.
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- Choi, Hyeonjung, President Biden and Climate Change: Policy and Issues (May 16, 2021). Available at SSRN: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=3847183> or <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3847183>
- Elder, Mark 2021 *Optimistic Prospects for US Climate Policy in the Biden Administration*, Institute for Global Environmental Strategies, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep30503>
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- Mildenberger, Matto (2021) The development of climate institutions in the United States, *Environmental Politics*, DOI: 10.1080/09644016.2021.1947445
- 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, 471–490.
- Skjærseth, J.B., Andresen, S., Bang, G. et al. The Paris agreement and key actors' domestic climate policy mixes: comparative patterns. *International Environmental Agreements* 21, 59–73 (2021). <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10784-021-09531-w>
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### **Session 12 (Friday 4:00-5:30 pm)**

#### Concluding Session

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