

Guest Lecturer Autumn Semester 2017

University of Copenhagen
Department of Political Science
Master's Programme Political Science
Security Risk Management
IR, Diplomacy and Conflict Studies

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***Geopolitics, Democracy Promotion, or Cultural Identity?
Explaining Foreign Policy from different theoretical perspectives***

How do we explain foreign and security policy? The analysis of states' external behavior has a long tradition which goes back to the 1950s, when scholars such as James Rosenau and Richard Snyder started theorizing US foreign and security policy under the conditions of the Cold War. But at least since the debate between Kenneth N. Waltz and Colin Elman in the 1990s about whether realism is a theory of international politics or/and about foreign policy, Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA) has become a subfield of the IR discipline. FPA is a complex field, with a diverse range of different (realist, liberal, constructivist) theoretical perspectives (and various approaches within each of the traditions such as power balancing and geopolitics, bureaucratic politics and societal group decision-making, or theories focusing on psychological or societal and cultural factors driving and shaping a state's external behavior). As Stephen Walt has stated in his famous 1998 article, we have "one world, many theories". The seminar will provide an **introduction** (this is why the theoretical and case study menu is rather mainstream instead of integrating discourse analysis- or post-structuralist approaches such as post-colonial theory, or the foreign policies of Asian, African or American states) to theoretically informed FPA as a method to analyze the foreign and security policies of different (liberal, authoritarian, revisionist) Western states in times of global power shifts. In the first part of the seminar, we reconstruct the history of FPA and define a theoretical roadmap. In the second part, different theoretical traditions including various approaches within each tradition are introduced. In the third part, we deal with different topics of German, US and Russian foreign and security policy in order to discuss whether states either pursue goals of maximizing security or power (which is the realist core argument), or free markets, democracy promotion and human rights protection (which is the core argument of different liberal approaches), or collective goals such as integration or identity formation (which is in line with constructivist ideas about a state's self-conception, or role theory causing the state's behavior as a result of identity, political culture, or norms), or sometimes a mixed agenda. As a major aim of the seminar, we discuss whether neoclassical realism, which offers a multi-level framework integrating systemic, domestic and cognitive factors, is a rather degenerative or progressive approach at the FPA theory market.

Exam / Credit: 7,5 ECTS (Full Degree Master); **Workload: 28 hours** (à 45 minutes)

Performance requirements:

- **active participation** in the seminar, min. 75% attendance
- **reading** a minimum of 900 and maximum of 1200 pages (2-3 texts for each of the 14 lessons on different topics in the seminar schedule)
- one **presentation** of the student's own assignment(s) and one opposition to another seminar participant's assignment in the seminar;

I use a session of the seminar in the last week to do a **small workshop** where the students present synopsis of their papers and me and the other students can comment on them

- **individual written assignment:** a thesis on a topic of the seminar; min. 24.000 key strokes (10 pages paper), max. 36.000 key strokes (15 pages paper); passed/not passed (no external evaluation); For practical and pedagogical reasons, I set a **deadline** for paper submission 2-3 weeks after the end of the seminar (which is 15 October). I ask the students to submit by e-mail or using the assignment function in Absalon. Deadline for evaluation of the final version of the paper is 26 January 2018.

- No oral exams, no external evaluation.

Academic Qualifications to attend:

The prerequisites to attend the course/seminar are

- an interest in international politics, IR theories, and FPA theories
- a basic knowledge of IR theories (BA level)
- an interest in contemporary international politics, e.g. German foreign policy, Russian foreign policy, U.S. foreign policy, or the foreign policies of revisionist states (North-Korea, Iran) and new emerging/rising powers (such as China, India, Russia).

Competency Description / professional qualifications

This course enhances the student's ability to

- understand what Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA) is about
- to distinguish between different theoretical approaches to analyze foreign policy, and thereby deepen knowledge about FPA
- to use theoretical approaches in order to analyze the foreign policies of particular states
- to understand the foreign policies of particular states

The course is a good starting point to deepen FPA and IR theories, and it is relevant to students who aim a career in, for example, diplomacy, the government, or public administration in the country or in the EU.

Knowledge, skills and competences

- Students will obtain concrete knowledge on IR and FPA theories and case studies
- Students will learn to distinguish between different theoretical approaches in IR/FPA
- Students will be able to use theories in order to analyze specific cases of foreign policies of different states
- Students will be able to evaluate different theories (pitfalls/shortcomings and opportunities)
- Students will get an introduction and overview on FPA, and deepen competences in IR

Teaching and Learning Methods

The seminar will consist of a combination of presentations (mini-lectures) by the teacher (introduction and conclusion in each lesson) and student presentations (to each theoretical approach and empirical case study), discussion of the texts, group discussion about theoretical perspectives and case studies, and possibly external speakers/guest lectures.

Criteria for achieving the goals (standard formulation for all courses and graded seminars)

- Grade 12 is given for an outstanding performance: the student lives up to the course's goal description in an independent and convincing manner with no or few and minor shortcomings
- Grade 7 given for a good performance: the student is confidently able to live up to the goal description, albeit with several shortcomings
- Grade 02 is given for an adequate performance: the minimum acceptable performance in which the student is only able to live up to the goal description in an insecure and incomplete manner.'

Reading List

- Alden, Chris/Aran, Amnon 2017:** *Foreign policy analysis, new approaches*, 2nd Edition. New York: Routledge.
- Allison, Graham/Zelikov, Philip 1999:** *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*. New York: Longman.
- Bentley, Michelle/ Holland, Jack (eds.) 2017:** *The Obama doctrine: a legacy and continuity in US foreign policy?* London/New York: Routledge.
- Freire, Maria Raquel/Kanet, Roger E. (eds.) 2012:** *Russia and its Near Neighbours: Identity, Interests and Foreign Policy*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Hansel, M./Khan, R./Levaillant, M. (eds.) 2017:** *Theorizing Indian Foreign Policy*. London: Routledge.
- Hellmann, G./Fahrmeir, A./Vec, M. (eds.) 2016:** *The Transformation of Foreign Policy: Drawing and Managing Boundaries from Antiquity to the Present*. Oxford: University Press.
- Hellmann, Gunther/Jorgensen, Knud Erik (eds.) 2015:** *Theorizing Foreign Policy in a Globalized World*. Basingstoke, Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Hill, Christopher 2003:** *The Changing Politics of Foreign Policy*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Hudson, Valerie M. 2007:** *Foreign Policy Analysis: Classic and Contemporary Theory*. New York: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Hudson, Valerie M. (ed.) 1997:** *Culture and Foreign Policy*. London: Lynne Rienner.
- Jorgensen, K. E./Alejandro, A./Reichwein, A./Rösch, F./Turton, H. 2017:** *Trends in European IR Theory, Vol. 1: Reappraising European IR Theoretical Traditions*. London/New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Jorgensen, K.E./Aatstad, A.K./Dieskens, E./Laatikainen, K./Tonra, B. (eds.) 2015,** *The SAGE Handbook of European Foreign Policy* Vol. 1. London: SAGE Publications.
- Kegley, Charles W. (ed.) 1995:** *Controversies in International Relations Theory: Realism and the Neoliberal Challenge*. New York: St Martin's Press.
- Larsen, Henrik 1997:** *Foreign Policy and Discourse Analysis: France, Britain and Germany*. London: Routledge.
- Lobell, S. E./Ripsman, N. M./Taliaferro, J. W. (eds.) 2009:** *Neoclassical Realism, The State, and Foreign Policy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mauil, Hanns W./Harnisch, Sebastian (eds.) 2001:** *Germany as a Civilian Power? The foreign policy of the Berlin Republic*. Manchester: University Press.
- Mauil, Hanns W. (eds.) 2006:** *Germany's uncertain power: foreign policy of the Berlin Republic*. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Mouritzen, Hans/Wivel, Anders (eds.) 2007:** *The Geopolitics of Euro-Atlantic Integration*. London: Routledge.
- Mouritzen, Hans/Wivel, Anders 2012:** *Explaining Foreign Policy. International Diplomacy and the Russo-Georgian War*. Boulder/Col./London: Lynne Rienner.

Neack, L./Hey, J.A./Haney, P.J. 1995: *Foreign Policy Analysis: Continuity and Change in Its Second Generation*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Ripsman, N. M./Taliaferro, J. W./Lobell, S. E. (eds.) 2016: *Neoclassical realist theory of international politics*. Oxford: University Press.

Rittberger, Volker (ed.) 2001: *German Foreign Policy since Unification: An Analysis of Foreign Policy Continuity and Change*. Manchester: University Press.

Skidmore, David/Hudson, Valerie M. (eds.) 1993: *The Limits of State Autonomy: Societal Groups and Foreign Policy Formulation*. Boulder: Westview Press.

Smith, Karen E./Light, Margot (eds.) 2007: *Ethics and Foreign Policy*. Cambridge: University Press.

Smith, S./Hadfield, A./Dunne, T. (eds.) 2008: *Foreign Policy. Theories, Actors, Cases*. Oxford: Univ Press.

Snyder, R. C./Bruck, H. W. S./Hudson, V. M./Chollet, D. M./Goldgeier, J. M. (eds.) 2002: *Foreign Policy Decision-Making (Revisited)*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Tewes, Henning 2002: *Germany, Civilian Power and the New Europe. Enlarging Nato and the EU*. Houndmills/Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Toje, Asle (ed.) 2017: *Will China's Rise Be Peacefully? Security, Stability, and Legitimacy*. Oxford: University Press.

Toje, Asle/Kunz, Barbara (eds.) 2012: *Neoclassical Realism in Europe: Bringing Power Back In*. Manchester: University Press.

Course Schedule & Syllabus

Tuesday, 5th September

1. 15.15 – 16.00 **INTRODUCTION**

I. BASICS / HISTORY

2. 16.15 – 17.00 **The History and Evolution of FPA – a Roadmap**

Text(s) we discuss in the seminar:

HUDSON, Valerie M. 2008: The history and evolution of foreign policy analysis, in: Smith, Steve/Hadfield, Amelia/Dunne, Timothy (eds.) 2008: *Foreign Policy. Theories, Actors, Cases*. Oxford: University Press, **12-29**.

3. 17.15 – 18.00 **FPA Theory Market**

HOLSTI, Ole R. 1995: Theories of International Relations and Foreign Policy: Realism and Its Challengers, in: Kegley, Charles W. (ed.), *Controversies in International Relations Theory: Realism and the Neoliberal Challenge*. New York: St Martin's Press, **35-65**.

Further Reading (at home, to prepare an assignment/paper at the end of the seminar):

CARLSNAES, Walter 2015: The Analysis of Foreign Policy in its Historical Context, in: Jorgensen, K.E./Aastaad, A.K./Dieskens, E./Laatikainen, K./Tonra, B. (eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of European Foreign Policy* Vol. 1. London: SAGE Publications.

CARLSNAES, Walter 2008: Actors, structures, and foreign policy analysis, in: Smith, S./Hadfield, A./Dunne, T. (eds.), *Foreign Policy. Theories, Actors, Cases*. Oxford: University Press, 86-100.

HUDSON, Valerie M. 2007: Introduction: The Situation and Evolution of Foreign Policy Analysis: A Roadmap, in: *Foreign Policy Analysis: Classic and Contemporary Theory*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 3-33.

MORAVCSIK, Andrew/LEGRO, Jeffrey 1999: Is Anybody Still a Realist? in: *International Security* 24: 2, 5-55.

NEUMANN, Iver B. 2015: Foreign Policy in an Age of Globalization, in: Hellmann, Gunther/Jorgensen, Knud Erik (eds.) 2015: *Theorizing Foreign Policy in a Globalized World*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 45-57.

WALT, Stephen S. 1998: International Relations: One World, Many Theories, in: *Foreign Policy* 110, 29-46.

II. THEORY

Wednesday, 6th September

Realism and FPA

4. 12.15 – 13.00 **Realism as a foreign policy theory?**

ELMAN, Colin 1996: Cause, Effect and Consistency. A Response to Kenneth Waltz, in: *Security Studies* 6: 1; **58-61**.

WALTZ, Kenneth N. 1996: International Politics is Not Foreign Policy, in: *Security Studies* 6: 1, **52-55**.

5. 13.15 – 14.00 **Realism and foreign policy**

WOHLFORTH, William C. 2008: Realism and foreign policy, in: Smith, S./Hadfield, A./Dunne, T. (eds.) *Foreign Policy. Theories, Actors, Cases*. Oxford: University Press, **31-48**.

6. 14.15 – 15.00 Promises and Limits of realist FPA

WIVEL, Anders 2005: Explaining why state X made a certain move last Tuesday: then promise and limitations of realist foreign policy analysis, in: *Journal of International Relations and Development* 8: 4, **355–380**.

Further Reading:

BAUMANN, Rainer/RITTBERGER, Volker/WAGNER, Wolfgang 2001: Neorealist Foreign Policy Theory, in: Rittberger, Volker (ed.), *German Foreign Policy since Unification: An Analysis of Foreign Policy Continuity and Change*. Manchester: University Press, 37–67.

ELMAN, Colin 1996: Horses for Courses: Why Not Neorealist Theories of Foreign Policy? in: *Security Studies* 6: 1, 7-51.

MEARSHEIMER, John J. 1990: Back to the future: instability in Europe after the Cold War, in: *International Security* 15: 1, 5-56.

MEARSHEIMER, John J. 2001: Anarchy and the Struggle for Power, in: *Tragedy of Great Power Politics*. New York: Norton, 29-54.

MORGENTHAU, Hans 1977: The Pathology of American Power, in: *International Security* 1: 3, 3-20.

REICHWEIN, Alexander 2015: Realism and European Foreign Policy: Promises and Shortcomings, in: Jorgensen, K.E./Aatstad, A.K./Dieskens, E./Laatikainen, K./Tonra, B. (eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of European Foreign Policy* Vol. 1. London: SAGE Publications, 99-120.

REICHWEIN, Alexander 2017: Classical Realism, in: James, P. (ed.), *Oxford Bibliographies in International Relations*. New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Waltz, K.N. 1979: Anarchic Orders and Balance of Power, in: *Theory of International Politics*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 102-128.

WALTZ, Kenneth N. 1993: The Emerging Structure of International Politics, in: *International Security* 18: 2, 44-79.

WALTZ, Kenneth N. 2000: Structural Realism after the Cold War, in: *International Security* 25: 1, 5-41.

WALT, STEPHEN S 1987: Explaining Alliance Formation, in: *The origins of alliances*. Ithaca/NY: Cornell University Press, 17-50.

Thursday, 7th September

Liberalism and FPA

7. 10.15 – 11.00 Liberalism and foreign policy

DOYLE, Michael W. 2008: Liberalism and Foreign Policy, in: Smith, S./Hadfield, A./Dunne, T. (eds.), *Foreign Policy. Theories, Actors, Cases*. Oxford: University Press, **49-70**.

8. 11.15 – 12.00 Utilitarianism, networks, domestic actors & politics

FREUND, Corinna/RITTBERGER, Volker 2001: Utilitarian-liberal foreign policy theory, in: Rittberger, Volker (ed.), *German Foreign Policy since Unification: An Analysis of Foreign Policy Continuity and Change*. Manchester: University Press, **68-103**.

9. 12.15 – 13.00 Why Democracies go to war

DAASE, Christopher 2006: Democratic Peace - Democratic War: Three Reasons Why Democracies Are War-prone, in Geis, Anna/Müller, Harald/Brock, Lothar (eds), *Democratic Wars: Looking at the Dark Side of Democratic Peace*. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, **74–89**.

Further Reading:

HANSEL, Mischa 2017: India and Liberal IR Theory: What Role for Public Opinion? Mischa Hansel, in: Hansel, M./Khan, R./Levaillant, M. (eds.) 2017: *Theorizing Indian Foreign Policy*. London: Routledge.

MORAVCSIK, Andrew 1997: Taking Preferences Seriously: A Liberal Theory of International Politics, *International Organization* 51: 4, 513-553.

MÜLLER, Harald/RISSE-KAPPEN, Thomas 1993: From the Outside In and From the Inside Out: International Relations, Domestic Politics, and Foreign Policy, in: Skidmore, D./Hudson, V. M. (eds.), *The Limits of State Autonomy: Societal Groups and Foreign Policy Formulation*. Boulder: Westview Press, 24-48.

RISSE-KAPPEN, Thomas 1995: Democratic Peace - Warlike Democracies? A Social Constructivist Interpretation of the Liberal Argument, in: *European Journal of International Relations* 1: 4, 491-517.

Tuesday, 19th September

Constructivism and FPA

10. 15.15 – 16.00 Constructivism and foreign policy: the nature of the beast

CHECKEL, Jeffrey 2008: Constructivism and foreign policy, in: Smith, S./Hadfield, A./Dunne, T. (eds.), *Foreign Policy. Theories, Actors, Cases*. Oxford: University Press, **72-82**.

11. 16.15 – 17.00 Norms and socialization: driving forces of a state's foreign policy

BOEKLE, Henning/RITTBERGER, Volker/WAGNER, Wolfgang 2001: Constructivist foreign policy theory, in: Rittberger, Volker (ed.), *German Foreign Policy since Unification: An Analysis of Foreign Policy Continuity and Change*. Manchester: University Press, **105-137**.

12. 17.15 – 18.00 Foreign policy culture, identity and role theory

TEWES, Henning 2002: What is a Civilian Power? in: *Germany, Civilian Power and the New Europe. Enlarging Nato and the EU*. Houndmills/Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan., **9-32**.

or

URRESTARAZU-STARK, Ursula 2015: 'Identity' in International Relations and Foreign Policy Analysis, in: Hellmann, Gunther/Jorgensen, Knud Erik (eds.) 2015: *Theorizing Foreign Policy in a Globalized World*. Basingstoke, Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, **126-149**.

Further Reading:

AGGESTAM, Lisbeth 1999: Role Conceptions and the Politics of Identity in Foreign Policy. *ARENA Working Paper* 8/1999.

BANCHOFF, Thomas 1997: German Policy towards the European Union: The Effects of Historical Memory', *German Politics* 6: 1, 60-76.

BANCHOFF; Thomas 1999: German Identity and European Integration, in: *European Journal of International Relations* 5: 3, 259-289.

BERGER, Thomas U. 1996: Norms, Identity, and National Security in Germany and Japan', in: Katzenstein Peter J. (ed.): *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*, New York: Columbia University Press, 317-356.

HANSEN, Lene 2012: Discourse Analysis, post-structuralism, and foreign policy, in: Smith, S./Hadfield, A./Dunne, T. (eds.), *Foreign Policy. Theories, Actors, Cases*. 2nd Edition. Oxford: University Press, **94-109**.

HARNISCH, Sebastian (ed.) 2011: *Role theory in international relations: approaches and analyses*. London: Routledge.

HOLSTI, K. J. 1970: National Role Conceptions in the Study of Foreign Policy, in: *International Studies Quarterly* 14, 233-309.

HOUGHTON, David P. 2007: Reinvigorating the Study of Foreign Policy Decision Making: Toward a Constructivist Approach, in: *Foreign Policy Analysis* 3: 1, 24-45.

HUDSON, Valerie M. 2007: Culture and National Identity, in: *Foreign Policy Analysis: Classic and Contemporary Theory*. New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 103-123.

HUDSON, Valerie M. 1997: Culture and Foreign Policy: Developing a Research Agenda, in: Hudson, V. M. (ed.), *Culture and Foreign Policy*. London: Lynne Rienner, 1-24.

TONRA, Ben 2003: Constructing the Common Foreign and Security Policy: The Utility of a Cognitive Approach, in: *Journal of Common Market Studies* 4: 4, 731–56.

Wednesday, 20th September

Neoclassical Realism – a Water’s Edge?

13. 12.15 – 13.00 **NCR as an US tradition: Bringing the state back in!**

TALIAFERRO, Jeffrey W./LOBELL, Steven E./RIPSMAN, Norrin M. 2009: Introduction: Neoclassical Realism, The State, and Foreign Policy, in: Lobell, S. E./Ripsman, N. M./Taliaferro, J. W. (eds.), *Neoclassical Realism, The State, and Foreign Policy*. Cambridge: University Press, **1-41**.

14. 13.15 – 14.00 **NCR as an European tradition: Bringing the statesman + back in!**

REICHWEIN, Alexander 2012: The tradition of neoclassical realism, in: Toje, A./Kunz, B. (eds.), *Neoclassical Realism in Europe: Bringing Power Back In*. Manchester: University Press, **30-60**.

15. 14.15 – 15.00 **Middle road: Playing a three-level game, bringing geopolitics in!**

MOURITZEN, Hans/WIVEL, Anders 2012: A New Explanatory Framework, in: *Explaining Foreign Policy. International Diplomacy and the Russo-Georgian War*. Boulder/London: Lynne Rienner, **19-55**.

Further Reading:

BYMAN, Daniel L./POLLACK, Kenneth M. 2001: Let Us Now Praise Great Men: Bringing the Statesman Back In, in: *International Security* 25: 4, 107–146.

DEVLEN, Balkan/ÖZDAMAR, Oezgur 2009: Neoclassical Realism and Foreign Policy Crises, in: Freyberg-Inan, Annette/Harrison, Ewan/James, Patrick (eds.), *Rethinking Realism in International Relations: Between Tradition and Innovation*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 136-163.

HADFIELD, Amelia 2010: *British foreign policy, national identity, and neoclassical realism*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

KITCHEN, Nicholas 2010: Systemic Pressures and Domestic Ideas: A Neoclassical Realist Model of Grand Strategy Formation, in: *Review of International Studies* 36: 1, 117-143.

MOURITZEN, Hans 2009: Past versus present geopolitics: cautiously opening the realist door to the past, in: Freyberg-Inan, Annette/Harrison, Ewan/James, Patrick (eds.), *Rethinking Realism in International Relations: Between Tradition and Innovation*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 164-190.

MOURITZEN, Hans/WIVEL, Anders 2007: Constellation Theory, in: Mouritzen. H./Wivel, A. (eds.), *The Geopolitics of Euro-Atlantic Integration*. London: Routledge, 15-43.

RIPSMAN, Norrin M./TALIAFERRO, Jeffrey W./LOBELL, Steven E. (eds.) 2016: *Neoclassical realist theory of international politics*. Oxford: University Press.

ROSE, Gideon 1998: Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy, in: *World Politics* 51: 1, 144-172.

STERLING-FOLKER, Jennifer 1997: Realist Environment, Liberal Process, and Domestic-Level Variables, in: *International Studies Quarterly* 41: 1, 1–25.

TOJE, Asle/KUNZ, Barbara (eds.) 2012: *Neoclassical Realism in Europe: Bringing Power Back In*. Manchester: University Press.

ZAKARIA, Fareed 1992: Realism and Domestic Politics: A Review Essay, in: *International Security* 17: 1, 177–198.

Thursday, 21th September

Theoretical Summary

16. 10.15 – 11.00 **NCR as an enhanced and progressive approach in FPA**

RATHBUN, Brian 2008: A Rose By Any Other Name: Neoclassical Realism as the Logical and Necessary Extension of Structural Realism, in: *Security Studies* 17: 2, **294–321**.

17. 11.15 – 12.00 The promises, limits and pitfalls of NCR

SEARS, Nathan Alexander 2017: The neoclassical realist research program: Between progressive promise and degenerative dangers, in: *International Politics Reviews* 5: 1, **21–31**.

18. 12.15 – 13.00 Theorizing countries?

HERBORTH, Benjamin 2015: Do we need 195 Theories of Foreign Policy, in: Hellmann, Gunther/Jorgensen, Knud Erik (eds.) 2015: *Theorizing Foreign Policy in a Globalized World*. Basingstoke, Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, **101-125**.

Further Reading:

FORDHAM, Benjamin O. 2009: The Limits of Neoclassical Realism: Additive and Interactive Approaches to Explaining Foreign Policy Preference, in: Lobell, S. E./Ripsman, N. M./Taliaferro, J. W. (eds.), *Neoclassical Realism, The State, and Foreign Policy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 251–279.

JUNEAU, Thomas 2015: Squandered Opportunity. Neoclassical Realism and Iranian Foreign Policy. Stanford University Press.

MORAVCSIK, Andrew/LEGRO, Jeffrey 1999: Is Anybody Still a Realist? in: *International Security* 24: 2, 5–55.

SCHWELLER, Randall L. 2004: Unanswered Threats: A Neoclassical Realist Theory of Underbalancing, in: *International Security* 29: 2, 159–201.

SCHWELLER, Randall L. 2003: The Progressiveness of Neoclassical Realism, in: Elman, Colion/Elman, Fendius M. (eds.), *Progress in International Relations Theory: Appraising the Field*, Cambridge: MIT Press, 311–347.

VASQUEZ, John 1997: The Realist Paradigm and Degenerative versus Progressive Research Programs, in: *American Political Science Review* 91: 4: 899-912.

III. CASE STUDIES

Tuesday, 26th September

Continuity or Change of German Foreign Policy since Unification?

19. 15.15 – 16.00 ‘Culture of Restraint’? Germany and military interventions

HARNISCH, Sebastian 2001: Change and continuity in post-unification German foreign policy, in: *German Politics* 10: 1, **35-60**.

or

MAULL, Hanns. W. 2001: Germany’s foreign policy, post-Kosovo: still a “Civilian Power”?, in: Maull, Hanns W./Harnisch, Sebastian (eds.) 2001: *Germany as a Civilian Power? The foreign policy of the Berlin Republic*. Manchester: University Press, **106-128**.

20. 16.15 – 17.00 Security and NATO enlargement

BAUMANN, Rainer 2001: German security policy within NATO, in: Rittberger, Volker (ed.), *German Foreign Policy since Unification: An Analysis of Foreign Policy Continuity and Change*. Manchester: University Press, **141-184**.

21. 17.15 – 18.00 Germany as a European power

BANCHOFF; Thomas 1999: German Identity and European Integration, in: *European Journal of International Relations* 5: 3, 259-289.

and

HELLMANN, Gunther 2016: Germany's world: power and followership in a crisis-ridden Europe, in: *Global Affairs* 2: 1, 3-20.

or

HELLMANN, Gunther 2009: Fatal Attraction? German Foreign Policy and IR/Foreign Policy Theory, in: *Journal of International Relations and Development* 12: 3, 257–292.

Further Reading:

BANCHOFF, Thomas 1997: German Policy towards the European Union: The Effects of Historical Memory', *German Politics* 6: 1, 60-76.

BAUMANN, Rainer/WAGNER, Wolfgang/BÖSCHE, Monika/HELLMANN, Gunther (2006): German Foreign Policy in Europe. An Interactionist Framework of Analysis in: Hellmann, G. (ed.): *Germany's EU-Policy in Defence and Asylum - De-Europeanization by Default?* Houndmills/Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1-28.

BAUMANN, Rainer 2002: The Transformation of German Multilateralism. Changes in the Foreign Policy Discourse since Unification in: *German Politics and Society* 20: 4, 1-26.

BAUMANN, Rainer/HELLMANN, Gunther 2001 Germany and the Use of Military Force: 'Total War', the 'Culture of Restraint', and the Quest for Normality in: *German Politics* 10: 1, 61-82.

BERGER, Thomas U. 1996: Norms, Identity, and National Security in Germany and Japan', in: Katzenstein Peter J. (ed.): *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*, New York: Columbia University Press, 317-356.

HELLMANN, Gunther 2006: Lamed Power: Germany and European Integration, in: Hellmann, G. (ed.), *Germany's EU Policy on Asylum and Defence. De-Europeanization by Default?* Houndmills, Basingstoke, 156-184.

HELLMANN, Gunther 1996: Goodbye Bismarck? The Foreign Policy of Contemporary Germany, in: *Mershon International Studies Review* 40: 1, 1-39.

HELLMANN, G./BAUMANN, R./BÖSCHE, M./HERBORTH, B./WAGNER, W. 2005: De-Europeanization by Default? Germany's EU Policy in Defense and Asylum, in: *Foreign Policy Analysis* 1, 143-164.

HYDE-PRICE, Adrian 2009: *Germany and European order. Enlarging NATO and the EU*. Manchester: University Press.

KATZENSTEIN, PETER 1997: *Tamed power: Germany in Europe*. Ithaca/NY: Cornell University Press.

MAULL, Hans Werner (ed.) 2006: *Germany's uncertain power: foreign policy of the Berlin Republic*. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.

OVERHAUS, Marco 2006: Civilian Power under Stress: Germany, NATO and the European Security and Defense Policy, in: Maull, Hanns W. (eds.) 2006: *Germany's uncertain power: foreign policy of the Berlin Republic*. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 66-78.

TEWES, Henning 2002: Germany and EU Enlargement, in: *Germany, Civilian Power and the New Europe. Enlarging Nato and the EU*. Houndmills/Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 81-139.

TEWES, Henning 2002: Germany and Nato Enlargement, in: *Germany, Civilian Power and the New Europe. Enlarging Nato and the EU*. Houndmills/Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 140-197.

TEWES, Henning 2001: How civilian? How much power? Germany and the Eastern enlargement of NATO, in: Maull, Hanns W./Harnisch, Sebastian (eds.) 2001: *Germany as a Civilian Power? The foreign policy of the Berlin Republic*. Manchester: University Press, 10-25.

WEBBER, Douglas (ed.) 2001: *New Europe, new Germany, old foreign policy? German foreign policy since unification*. London: Cass.

Wednesday, 27th September

US Foreign Policy – The Pitfalls of Democracy Promotion and War on Terror

22. 12.15 – 13.00

America's military interventions abroad

DUECK, Colin 2009: Neoclassical Realism and the National Interest: Presidents, Domestic Politics, and Major Military Interventions, in: Lobell, Steven E./Ripsman, Norrin M./Taliaferro, Jeffrey

W. (eds.) 2009: *Neoclassical Realism, The State, and Foreign Policy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 139–169.

23. 13.15 – 14.00 Americas national culture and identity and war

DEUDNEY, Daniel/VASWANI, Sunil 2015: First in Freedom: War-Making, American Liberal National Identity and the Liberty Gradient in: Hellmann, Gunther/Jorgensen, Knud Erik (eds.) 2015: *Theorizing Foreign Policy in a Globalized World*. Basingstoke, Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 223-250.

24. 14.15 – 15.00 America's war on terror

GADINGER, Frank/PETERS, Dirk 2015: Feedback Loops as Links between Foreign Policy and International Relations: The US War on Terror, in: Hellmann, Gunther/Jorgensen, Knud Erik (eds.) 2015: *Theorizing Foreign Policy in a Globalized World*. Basingstoke, Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 150-175.

Further Reading:

BENTLEY, Michelle/ HOLLAND, Jack (eds.) 2017: *The Obama doctrine: a legacy and continuity in US foreign policy?* London/New York: Routledge.

COX, Michael/Ikenberry, John G./Inoguchi, Takashi (eds.) 2000: *American Democracy Promotion. Impulses, Strategies, and Impacts*. Oxford: University Press.

HUDSON, Valerie M. 2007: Culture and National Identity, in: *Foreign Policy Analysis: Classic and Contemporary Theory*. New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 103-123.

LIGHT, MARGOT 2007: Exporting Democracy, in: Smith, Karen E./Light, Margot (eds.) 2007: *Ethics and Foreign Policy*. Cambridge: University Press, 75-93.

MEARSHEIMER, John 2014: Why the Ukraine Crisis Is the West's Fault. The Liberal Delusions That Provoked Putin, in: *Foreign Affairs* 93: 5, 77-89.

25. 15.15-16.00 Presentation of paper abstract (thesis paper)

Thursday, 28th September

Russia and a New Revisionist Foreign Policy

26. 10.15 – 11.00 Revisionist and reckless states

MEARSHEIMER, John 2009: Reckless States and Realism, in *International Relations* 23: 2, 241–256.

or

RYNNING, Stan/RINGSMOSE, Jens 2008: Why Are Revisionist States Revisionist? Reviving Classical Realism as an Approach to Understand International Change, in: *International Politics* 45: 1, 19–39.

27. 11.15 – 12.00 Russia's expansionist strategy in the Post-Soviet near abroad

KROPATCHEVA, Elena 2012: Russian foreign policy in the realm of European security through the lens of neoclassical realism, in: *Journal of Eurasian Studies* 3: 1, 30-40.

or

MANKOFF, Jeffrey 2012: Playing with Home Field Advantage? Russia and Its Post-Soviet Neighbors, in: *Russian foreign policy: the return of great power politics*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 219-263.

or

MOURITZEN, Hans/WIVEL, Anders 2012: Georgia's Puzzling Attack on Tskhinvali, in: *Explaining Foreign Policy. International Diplomacy and the Russo-Georgian War*. Boulder/Col./London: Lynne Rienner, **57-80**.

and

MOURITZEN, Hans/WIVEL, Anders 2012: A Well-Prepared Russia Strikes Back, in: *Explaining Foreign Policy. International Diplomacy and the Russo-Georgian War*. Boulder/Col./London: Lynne Rienner, **81-96**.

28. 12.15 – 13.00

How to deal with Russia?

RYNNING, Sten 2015: The false promise of continental concert: Russia, the West and the necessary balance of power, in: *International Affairs* 91: 3, **539-552**.

SMITH, Nicholas Ross 2017: What the West Can Learn from Rationalizing Russia's Action in Ukraine, in: *Orbis* 61: 3, **354-368**.

Further Reading:

BOCK, Andreas M./HENNEBERG, Ingo/PLANK, Friedrich 2015: If you compress the spring, it will snap back hard": The Ukrainian crisis and the balance of threat theory, in: *Canada's Journal of Global Policy Analysis* 70: 1, 101-109.

DAVIDSON, Jason 2002: The Roots of Revisionism: Fascist Italy, 1922-1939, in: *Security Studies* 11: 4, 125-159.

MEARSHEIMER, John 2014: Why the Ukraine Crisis Is the West's Fault: the liberal delusions that provoked Putin , in: *Foreign Affairs* 93: 5, 77-89.

MEARSHEIMER, John 1993: The Case for a Ukrainian Nuclear Deterrent, in: *Foreign Affairs* 72: 3, 50-66.

NALBANDOV, Robert 2016: Russia and Its Near Abroad, in: *Not by Bread Alone: Russian Foreign Policy under Putin*. Dulles: Potomac Books, 185-293.

REICHWEIN, Alexander 2016: Security, Geopolitics, or Irredentism? Explaining Russian Foreign Policy from a Neoclassical Realist Perspective. Paper presented at the 57th ISA's Annual Conference, Atlanta/GA, 16-19 March 2016.

SCHWELLER, Randall L. 1994: Bandwagoning for Profit: Bringing the Revisionist State Back In, in: *International Security* 19: 1, 72-107.

SMITH, Nicholas Ross 2017: The re-emergence of a 'mirror image' in West-Russia relations?, in: *International Politics*, Online First, 1-20.