

Theory and Practice in Foreign Policy

Aim and content

The aim of the **Autumn semester 2018 course** is to offer a comprehensive introduction to the theory and practice of foreign policy.

The first part of the course focuses on theory. We discuss the main theoretical traditions including various approaches within each tradition and their applicability for understanding different aspects of foreign policy. Discussion include International Relations theories such as Realism, Liberalism, Constructivism and Post-Structuralism as well as specific theories and models for foreign policy analysis.

The second part of the course focuses on practice. To balance the security policy focus of much foreign policy analysis, we zoom in on foreign economic policy, both the hard foreign economic policy (sanctions, unilateralism and trade war) and the soft foreign economic policy (incentives, multilateralism and persuasion). We discuss diplomacy, both the classical diplomacy and new diplomatic challenges, before we turn to the foreign policies of the United States, Germany, China, Russia and the Nordic countries.

Students will choose their own paper topics within the overall thematic of the course and discuss these with other students and a supervisor in two paper workshops.

Detailed structure

- I. History and evolution of Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA)
- II. Classical FPA Theories
- III. New (and enhanced?) FPA Theories
- IV. Foreign economic policy
- V. Cluster supervision I: Paper puzzle and synopsis
- VI. Diplomacy
- VII. Great power foreign policy
- VIII. Cluster supervision II: Theory and analysis
- IX. Nordic foreign policy

Teaching team

Anders Wivel, PhD, is Professor with special responsibilities in the Department of Political Science, University of Copenhagen. Anders coordinates the course, heads the cluster seminars, where we discuss paper drafts, and teaches Nordic foreign policy. His research and teaching interests include foreign policy, power politics, small states and Nordic politics. If you have any questions regarding the course or the exam, you are most welcome to send Anders an e-mail at aw@ifs.ku.dk

Alexander Reichwein, Dr. Phil., is Assistant Professor at Justus-Liebig-Universität Gießen and Guest Lecturer at the University of Copenhagen. Alex is co-editor and co-author of the Palgrave Macmillan book series 'Trends in European IR Theory'. Alex teaches the first theoretical part of the course in September and October and comes back to Copenhagen to discuss German foreign policy in November. E-mail: alexander.reichwein@sowi.uni-giessen.de

Jens Ladefoged Mortensen, PhD, Associate Professor in the Department of Political Science, University of Copenhagen. Jens is an expert on international political economy and teaches the section on foreign economic policy. E-mail: jlm@ifs.ku.dk

Martin Marcussen, PhD, Professor in the Department of Political Science, University of Copenhagen. Martin is an expert on diplomacy having written several books on the subject. He teaches the section on classical diplomacy and new diplomatic challenges. E-mail: mm@ifs.ku.dk

Birthe Hansen, PhD, Associate Professor in the Department of Political Science, University of Copenhagen. Birthe is the author of several publications on the American world order. She teaches US foreign policy. E-mail: bha@ifs.ku.dk

Guest lectures and panel discussions with leading experts from Dartmouth College, Royal Danish Defence College, Danish Institute for International Studies and the University of Iceland.

Time and place

Mondays, 15-17, CSS 7-0-28 & Tuesdays, 13-15, CSS 2-0-30

Teaching and learning methods

A mix of in-class lectures, student group work, invited guest-lectures and workshops on draft papers. We expect students to participate actively in class discussions.

Exam

Credit: 15 ECTS

Type of assessment: Written examination, Free assignment

Marking scale: 7-point grading scale

Censorship form: External censorship

Course plan

Authors and pages of obligatory readings are marked in **bold** in the course plan.

Monday, 3rd September 2018

1. 15.15 – 16.00 **Welcoming and introduction (Anders Wivel and Alex Reichwein)**

Obligatory reading:

HELLMANN, Gunther / JORGENSEN, Knud Erik 2015: Introduction, in: Hellmann, G./Jørgensen, K.E. (eds.), *Theorizing Foreign Policy in a Globalized World*. Basingstoke, Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, **1-11**.

I. HISTORY & EVOLUTION of Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA) (Alex Reichwein)

2. 16.15 – 17.00 **IR and 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**.

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

Additional reading:

HELLMANN, Gunther/URRESTARAZU, Ursula Stark 2013: Theories of Foreign Policy, in: Oxford Bibliographies in International Relations (Online), ed. by David Armstrong, New York: Oxford University Press.

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

17.00- Quiz, “hygge” and a glass of wine: Please join Alex and Anders for an informal get-together with a glass of wine or soft drink, a foreign policy quiz and the opportunity to get to know the other students on the course.

Tuesday, 4th September

3. 13.15 – 14.00 **History and evolution of FPA: a roadmap**

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**.

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**.

4. 14.15 – 15.00 **FPA in a globalized world**

KEUKELEIRE, Stefan / SCHUNZ, Simon 2015: Analyzing Foreign Policy in a Context of Global Governance, in: Hellmann, Gunther/Jørgensen, Knud Erik (eds.), *Theorizing Foreign Policy in a Globalized World*. Basingstoke, Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, **58-80**.

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

Monday, 10th September

5. 15.15 – 16.00 **Vocabulary: actors, structure, process, levels of analysis**

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**.

CARLSNAES, Walter 2015: The Analysis of Foreign Policy in its Historical Context, in: Jørgensen, K.E./Aastaad, A.K./Dieskens, E./Laatikainen, K./Tonra, B. (eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of European Foreign Policy* Vol. 1. London: SAGE Publications, **30-53**.

II. Classical FPA Theories (Alex Reichwein)

(1) Realism: Analysing foreign policy from the systemic level

6. 16.15 – 17.00 **Realism as a foreign policy theory?**

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

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**.

MOURITZEN, Hans 1997: Kenneth Waltz: a critical rationalist between international politics and foreign policy, in: Neumann, Iver B./Waever, Ole (eds.), *The Future of International Relations: Masters in the Making*. London: Routledge, 66-89.

WALTZ, Kenneth N. 1979: Reductionist Theories, in: *Theory of International Politics*, New York: MacGraw-Hill, 18-37.

WALTZ, Kenneth N. 1990: Realist Thought and Neorealist Theory, in: *Journal of International Affairs* 44: 1, 21-37.

Tuesday, 11th September

7. 13.15 – 14.00 **Realism and foreign policy**

ALLISON, Graham / ZELIKOV, Philip 1999: Model I: The Rational Actor, in: *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*. New York: Longman, **13-76, here 26-33**.

DONNELLY, Jack 2018: What Do We Mean by Realism? And How—And What—Does Realism Explain?, in: Belloni, R./Viotti, P./Della Sala, V. (eds.), *Fear and Uncertainty in Europe: The Return to Realism?* London: Palgrave Macmillan (Global Issues Series), **13-33**.

WIVEL, Anders 2017: Realism in Foreign Policy Analysis, in: Thompson, William R. (eds.), *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics* (**25 pages**).

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**.

BARKIN, Samuel 2009: Realism, prediction, and foreign policy, in: *Foreign Policy Analysis* 5: 3, 233-246.

BROOKS, Stephen 1997: Dueling Realisms, in: *International Organization* 51: 3, 445-477.

8. 14.15 – 15.00 **Classical realism as a rational foreign policy guide – and critique**

MORGENTHAU, Hans J. 1951: The Moral Dilemma in Foreign Policy, in: *Yearbook of World Affairs* 5, **12-36**.

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

MYERS, Robert J. 1997: Hans Morgenthau's Realism and American Foreign Policy, in: *Ethics & International Affairs* 11, **253-270**.

MORGENTHAU, Hans J. 1951: *In Defense of the National Interest – A Critical Examination of American Foreign Policy*. New York: Alfred Knopf & Praeger.

MORGENTHAU, Hans J. 1952: Another "Great Debate". The National Interest of the United States, in: *American Political Science Review* 46: 4, 961-988.

MORGENTHAU, Hans J. 1954: A Theory of International Politics, in: *Politics Among Nations. The Struggle for Power and Peace*. Second Edition. New York: Knopf, 3-15.

MORGENTHAU, Hans J. 1969: *A New Foreign Policy for the United States*. London: Praeger.

MYERS, Robert J. 1999: *US Foreign Policy in the Twenty-First Century: The Relevance of Realism*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.

REICHWEIN, Alex (forthcoming): Classical Realism and Neoclassical Realism, in: James, Patrick (ed.), *Oxford Bibliographies in International Relations*. New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press.

WRIGHTSON, Patricia S. 1996: Morality, Realism, and Foreign Affairs: A Normative Realist Approach, in: Frankel, Benjamin (ed.): *Realism: Restatement and Renewals*. London: Frank Cass., 354-386.

Monday, 17th September

9. 15.15 – 16.00 **Neo-Realism, defensive and offensive**

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

WALTZ, Kenneth N. 1979: Anarchic Orders and Balances of Power, in: *Theory of International Politics*, New York: McGraw-Hill, **102-128**.

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

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.

BROOKS, Stephen 1997: Dueling Realisms, in: *International Organization* 51: 3, 445-477.

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

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

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.

RYNNING, Sten/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.

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

SNYDER, Glenn H. 2002: Mearsheimer's World-Offensive Realism and the Struggle for Security: A Review Essay, in: *International Security* 27: 1, 149-173.

TALIAFERRO, Jeffrey 2001: Security Seeking under Anarchy: Defensive Realism Revisited, in: *International Security* 25: 3, 128-161.

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

10. 16.16 – 17.00 **Promises and limits of realist FPA**

ALLISON, Graham / ZELIKOV, Philip 1999: Model I: The Rational Actor, in: *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*. New York: Longman, 13-76.

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.

QUINN, Adam 2018: Realisms, in: Gheciu, Alexandra/Wohlforth, William C. (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of International Security Online*.

REICHWEIN, Alex 2015: Realism and European Foreign Policy: Promises and Shortcomings, in: Aarstadt, A.K./Drieskens, E./Jørgensen, K. E./Laatikainen, K./Tonra, B. (eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of European Foreign Policy*. London/New Delhi/Singapore/Thousand Oaks: SAGE, 99-120 (peer-reviewed), 99-120.

Tuesday, 18th September

(2) Liberalism: Analysing foreign policy from the domestic level

11. 13.15 – 14.00 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**.

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

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.

MORAVCSIK, Andrew 2008: The New Liberalism, in: Reus-Smit, Christian/Snidal, Duncan (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations*, Oxford: University Press, 235-254.

PUTNAM, Robert D. 1988: Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games, in: *International Organization* 42: 3, 427-460.

12. 14.15 – 15.00 Bureaucratic/ Governmental politics, domestic actors, Group Decision-Making, and public opinion

ALLISON, Graham / ZELIKOV, Philip 1999: Model III: Governmental Politics, in: *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*. New York: Longman, **255-325**.

HANSEL, Mischa 2017: India and Liberal IR Theory: What Role for Public Opinion? in: Hansel, M./Khan, R./Levaillant, M. (eds.) 2017: *Theorizing Indian Foreign Policy*. London: Routledge, **136-160**.

BLAREL, Nicolas 2017: Inside Out? Assessing the Domestic Determinants of India's External Behaviour: in: Hansel, M./Khan, R./Levaillant, M. (eds.) 2017: *Theorizing Indian Foreign Policy*. London: Routledge, **203-220**.

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.

Monday, 24th September

13. 15.15 – 16.00 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**.

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

HELLMANN, Gunther/HERBORTH, Benjamin 2008: Fishing in the Mild West. Democratic Peace and Militarized Interstate Disputes in the Transatlantic Community, in: *Review of International Studies*, 34: 3, 481-506.

MÜLLER, Harald 2004: The Antinomy of Democratic Peace, in: *International Politics* 41: 4, 494-520.

(3) Constructivism: Analysing foreign policy from the cognitive level

14. 16.15 – 17.00 **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**.

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

HOUGHTON, David 2017: Constructivist Analyses of Foreign Policy, in: Thompson, William R. (eds.), *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*.

HOPF, Ted 1998: The Promise of Constructivism in International Relations Theory, in: *International Security* 23: 171-200.

Tuesday 25th September

15. 13.15 – 14.00 **Norms & 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**.

SCHIMMELFENNIG, Frank 1993: State Characteristics and Foreign Policy. Industrialized Countries and the UNESCO Crisis, in: *Cooperation and Conflict* 28: 2, 143-180.

16. 14.15 – 15.00 **Guest Lecture Professor Stephen Brooks (Dartmouth)**

The economic factor in international politics

BROOKS, Stephen (forthcoming), Revisiting and Clarifying the Contrast between two Canonical Theoretical Traditions in Political Economy, in: *Political Economy of International Security*. Princeton: University Press, **32-54**.

Stephen Brooks is a leading authority on the theory and practice of American foreign policy. He is the author of e.g. *America Abroad: Why the Sole Superpower Should Not Pull Back from the World* (Oxford University Press, 2016, co-authored with William C. Wohlforth). You can read more about Professor Brooks' work at <https://home.dartmouth.edu/faculty-directory/stephen-g-brooks>

Monday 1st October

17. 15.15 – 16.00 **Foreign policy and role theory**

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

THIES, Cameron 2017: Role theory and foreign policy, in: Denemark, Robert A./Bennett-Marlin, Renee (eds.), *The International Studies Encyclopedia*. Oxford University Press (**25 pages**).

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.

THIES, Cameron 2017: Role Theory and Foreign Policy Analysis in Latin America, in: *Foreign Policy Analysis* 13: 3, 662–681.

THIES, Cameron 2010: State socialization and structural realism, in: *Security Studies* 19: 4, 689-717.

18. 16.15 – 17.00 Foreign policy and culture & identity

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

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

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.

STAUN, Jorgen 2017: Normal at Last? German Strategic Culture and the Holocaust, Royal Danish Defence College, Report October 2017.

III. New (and enhanced?) FPA Theories (Alex Reichwein)

Tuesday 2nd October

(1) Neoclassical Realism – the Water’s Edge?

19. 13.15 – 14.00 NEOclassical Realism in the U.S.: opening the black box state

LOBELL, Steven E. 2009: Threat assessment, the state, and foreign policy: a neoclassical realist model, in: S.E. Lobell/N. M. Ripsman/J.W. Taliaferro (eds.), *Neoclassical Realism, The State, and Foreign Policy*. Cambridge: University Press, **42-74**.

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

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.

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

SCHWELLER, Randall S. 2009: Neoclassical realism and state mobilization: expansionist ideology in the age of mass politics, in: S.E. Lobell/N.M. Ripsman/J.W. Taliaferro (eds.), *Neoclassical Realism, The State, and Foreign Policy*. Cambridge: University Press, 227-250.

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

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.

20. 14.15 – 15.00 European NeoCLASSICAL Realism: the statesman, domestic politics, and ideas and all that

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**.

REICHWEIN, Alex 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**.

FOULON, Michiel 2015: Neoclassical Realism: Challengers and Bridging Identities, in: *International Studies Review* 17: 4, 635-661.

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.

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.

REICHWEIN, Alex 2018: *Looking Back to the Future: What Neoclassical Realists can learn from Hans J. Morgenthau*. Paper presented at the International Studies Association (ISA)'s 59th Annual Convention, San Francisco/CAL, 7. April 2018.

SMITH, Keith 2017: A reassessment of E.H. Carr and the realist tradition: Britain, German-Soviet Relations and neoclassical realism, in: *International Politics* 54: 1, 89–103.

Monday, 8th October

21. 15.15 – 16.00 Via media: Playing 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**.

MOURITZEN, Hans / OLESEN, Mikkel Runge 2010: The interplay of geopolitics and historical lessons in foreign policy: Denmark facing German post-war rearmament, in: *Cooperation and Conflict* 45: 4, **406-427**.

MOURITZEN, Hans 2016: Combining 'incompatible' foreign policy explanations. How a realist can borrow from constructivism, in: *Journal of international relations and development*, 20: 3, 631-658.

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

MOURITZEN, Hans/WIVEL, Anders 2012: Explaining Foreign Policy, in: *Explaining Foreign Policy. International Diplomacy and the Russo-Georgian War*. Boulder/London: Lynne Rienner, 1-18.

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

22. 16.15 – 17.00 **NCR: a progressive or rather degenerative approach?**

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**.

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

SMITH, Nicholas Ross 2018: Can Neoclassical Realism become a genuine theory of International Relations?, in: *The Journal of Politics* 80: 2, **742-749**.

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.

NARIZNI, Kevin 2017: On Systemic Paradigms and Domestic Politics: A Critique of the Newest Realism, in: *International Security* 42: 2, 155-190

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 A. 1997: The realist paradigm and degenerative versus progressive research programs: An appraisal of neotraditional research on Waltz's balancing propositions, in: *American Political Science Review* 91: 4, 889-912.

Extra Hour: 17.15-18.00 How to write an Assignment

Tuesday, 9th October

(2) Reflexive, post-structuralist & critical approaches and FPA

23. 13.15 – 14.00 **Discourse Analysis and Pragmatism**

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**.

ROOS, Ulrich 2015: Beliefs and Loyalties in World Politics: A Pragmatist Framework of Analysis, in: Hellmann, Gunther/Jørgensen, Knud Erik (eds.) 2015: *Theorizing Foreign Policy in a Globalized World*. Basingstoke, Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, **176-198**.

OSTERMANN, Falk 2018: Introduction: Rediscovering Discourse and Identity in French Security and Defense Policy, in: Security, Defense Discourse and Identity in NATO and Europe. How France Changed Foreign Policy. London: Routledge

24. 14.15 – 15.00 Cybernetic Theory & Feedback Loops and Narratives

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

OPPERMANN, Kai / SPENCER, Alexander 2016: Telling stories of failure: narrative constructions of foreign policy fiascos, in: *Journal of European Public Policy* 23: 5, **685-701**.

(3) Critical approaches

25. 15.15 – 16.00 Theorizing countries? A Critical Assessment

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

26. 16.15 -17.00 Summary / Evaluation of the theoretical part of the course

Week 42: AUTUMN BREAK

IV. Foreign economic policy (Jens Ladefoged Mortensen)

Monday 22nd October (15.00 – 17:00): Foreign Economic Policy I

27. & 28. Hard Foreign Economic policy: sanctions, unilateralism and trade war

Case: US trade politics

MASTANDUNO, Michael 2016: “Economic Statecraft”, in Steve Smith, Amelia Hadfield and Tim Dunne *Foreign Policy: Theories, Actors, Cases*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, chapter 12, **222-241**. (This text is a mandatory reading for both October 22 and October 23)

SCHNEIDER-PETSINGER, Marianne (2017): Trade Policy Under President Trump Implications for the US and the World, Chatham House Research Paper, **2-36**, download at <https://www.chathamhouse.org/publication/trade-policy-under-president-trump-implications-us-and-world>

FORRER, JOHN, J. (2018): Secondary Economic Sanctions: Effective Policy or Risky Business? Atlantic Council, ISSUE BRIEF, MAY 2018, **1-10**, download at <http://www.atlanticcouncil.org/publications/issue-briefs/secondary-economic-sanctions-effective-policy-or-risky-business>

Case material (optional):

United States Trade Representative (2017): THE PRESIDENT'S 2017 TRADE POLICY AGENDA, <https://ustr.gov/sites/default/files/files/reports/2017/AnnualReport/Chapter%20I%20-%20The%20President%27s%20Trade%20Policy%20Agenda.pdf>

White House: National security Strategy of the United States of America, download from <https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/NSS-Final-12-18-2017-0905.pdf>

Financial Times (19/12, 2017): Trump's China strategy: trade war or American game, <https://www.ft.com/content/d6cebf7e-e449-11e7-97e2-916d4fbac0da>

Tuesday 23rd October (13:00 – 15:00): Foreign Economic Policy II

29. & 30. Soft Foreign Economic Policy: Incentives, multilateralism and persuasion

Case: EU trade politics

MEUNIER, Sophie and Kalypso NICOLAIDIS 2011: The EU as a trade power, in Christopher Hill and Michael Smith (eds.) *International Relations and the European Union*, 2nd edition, Oxford University Press, **275-298**

MORTENSEN, Jens L. 2017: Towards more effective sustainability provisions in future European trade agreements: can Europe learn from the US?, The Danish Confederation of Trade Unions, Discussion paper, **1-53**, download at <https://lo.dk/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/report-on-sustainability-provisions-in-future-european-trade-agreements.final-.pdf>

Case material (optional):

European Commission (2015): *Trade for all - Towards a more responsible trade and investment policy*, download from http://trade.ec.europa.eu/doclib/docs/2015/october/tradoc_153846.pdf

European Commission (2017): Report From The Commission To The European Parliament, The Council, The European Economic And Social Committee And The Committee Of The Regions on Implementation of Free Trade Agreements 1 January 2016 - 31 December 2016, especially pp. 1-34, download from <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:52017DC0654&from=EN>

V. Cluster supervision I: Paper puzzle and synopsis (Anders Wivel)

You are expected to upload your paper synopsis to the course webpage at Absalon by Wednesday October 24 (instructions to follow). Each synopsis must include research problem as well as

considerations on theory, methodology and sources. Maximum 800 words. Each student will serve as discussant on another student's paper.

For some sound advice on how to write a paper, please read

<https://www.belfercenter.org/publication/writing-international-security-contributors-guide> (don't worry, we do not expect you to publish your paper in *International Security* ☺, but they offer some pretty good tips in how to present an academic argument).

Tuesday 30th October (time will be announced): Cluster supervision (Anders Wivel)

31. Cluster supervision
32. Cluster supervision
33. Cluster supervision
34. Cluster supervision

VI. Diplomacy

Monday 5th November (13:00 – 18:00): Diplomacy (Martin Marcussen)

35. 13-14h: **Classical diplomacy (Martin Marcussen)**

JAMES, Alan, 2016: Diplomatic relations between states, in: Costas M. Constantinou, Pauline Kerr and Paul Sharp (eds) *The Sage Handbook of Diplomacy*, London: Sage, **257-267**.

36. & 37. 15-17h: **New Diplomatic challenges (Martin Marcussen)**

COOPER, Andrew F., Jorge HEINE and Ramesh THAKUR 2013: Introduction: The Challenges of 21st-Century Diplomacy, in Andrew F. Cooper, Jorge Heine og Ramesh Thakur, red., *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Diplomacy*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, **1-31**.

38. 17-18h: **The practice of diplomacy (joint panel with International Relations and Conflict Resolution, Anders Wivel and Isabel Bramsen), Room CSS 18.01.11**

Panel with young diplomats from the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Get a chance to learn about the real life challenges of diplomacy and the step from studying IR, foreign policy and diplomacy at university and being part of a diplomatic service in practice.

ADLER-NISSEN, Rebecca, 2016: Diplomatic Agency, in: Costas M. Constantinou, Pauline Kerr and Paul Sharp (eds) *The Sage Handbook of Diplomacy*, London: Sage, **92-103**

Tuesday 6th November: Field trip to Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark

39. & 40. The goals and means of a diplomatic service: The case of Denmark

THORHALLSSON, Baldur and Alyson J.K. BAILES 2016: Small State Diplomacy, in: Costas M. Constantinou, Pauline Kerr and Paul Sharp (eds) *The Sage Handbook of Diplomacy*, London: Sage, 294-307.

THORHALLSSON, Baldur 2012: Small states in the UN Security Council: means of influence? *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*, 7.2: 135-160.

WIVEL, Anders 2014: Still Living in the Shadow of 1864? Danish Foreign Policy Doctrines and the Origins of Denmark's Pragmatic Activism, in: Nanna Hvidt and Hans Mouritzen (eds) *Danish Foreign Policy Yearbook 2014*, Copenhagen: Danish Institute for International Studies, 109-139.
http://pure.diiis.dk/ws/files/83717/DIIS_Yearbook_2014.pdf

SMED, Ulrik Trolle; WIVEL, Anders, 2017: Vulnerability without capabilities? Small state strategy and the international counter-piracy agenda *European Security*, 26.1: 79-98.

VII. Great power foreign policy

Monday 12th November (15:00 – 17:00) – Birthe Hansen & Alex Reichwein

41. & 42. U.S. foreign policy

BROOKS, Stephen, G., G. John IKENBERRY and William WOHLFORTH 2012/2013: Don't Come Home, America: The Case Against Retrenchment, *International Security*, 37: 3, 7-51.

GHOLZ, Eugene/PRESS, Daryl G./SAPOLSKY, Harvey M. 1997: Come Home, America: The Strategy of Restraint in the Face of Temptation, in: *International Security* 21: 4, 5-48.

KRISTENSEN, Peter Marcus, 2017: After Abdication: America Debates the Future of Global Leadership. *Chinese Political Science Review*, 2.4: 550-566.

HENRIKSON, Alan K 2016: American Diplomacy, in: Costas M. Constantinou, Pauline Kerr and Paul Sharp (eds) *The Sage Handbook of Diplomacy*, London: Sage, 319-335.

Tuesday, 13th November (13:00 – 15:00) - Alex Reichwein

43. & 44. **Should Europe Fear Rising Power Germany? Some Realist Reflections**

HELLMANN, Gunther 2016: Germany's World. Power and Followership in a Crisis-ridden Europe, in: *Global Affairs* 2: 1, **3-20**.

REICHWEIN, Alex 2018: Germany's growing power in Europe: From multilateral collectivism towards re-nationalization and destabilization?, in: Belloni, R./Viotti, P./Della Sala, V. (eds.), *Fear and Uncertainty in Europe: The Return to Realism?* London: Palgrave Macmillan (Global Issues Series), **85-108**.

WIVEL, Anders / WÆVER, Ole 2018: The Power of Peaceful Change: The Crisis of the European Union and the Rebalancing of Europe's Regional Order, in: *International Studies Review* Online, **1-9**

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

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

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

STAUN, Jørgen 2017: *Normal at Last? German Strategic Culture and the Holocaust*, Royal Danish Defence College, Report October 2017.

Monday, 26th November (10.00 – 12:00) - Camilla Sørensen

45. & 46. **Chinese foreign policy**

Camilla Sørensen, PhD, is an Associate Professor at the Royal Danish Defence College. She is an expert on Chinese foreign policy East Asian security.

SØRENSEN, Camilla T. N. 2017: Constraints on the Soft Power Efforts of Authoritarian States: The Case of the 2015 Military Parade in Beijing. *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs* 46: 2, **111-134**.

KIM, Samuel S. 2018: Chinese foreign policy in theory and practice. In: Samuel S. KIM (ed.) *China and the World*, 4th edition, London: Routledge, 2018, **3-33**.

JOHNSTON, Alastair Iain 2018: International structures and Chinese foreign policy. In: Samuel S. KIM *China and the World* 4th edition, London: Routledge, 55-87.

Monday, 26th November (13.00 – 15.00) - Flemming Splidsboel Hansen

47. & 48. Russian foreign policy

Flemming Splidsboel Hansen, PhD, is a Senior Researcher at the Danish Institute for International Studies (DIIS). He is an expert on Russian foreign and security policy.

Literature for the session on Russian foreign policy will follow later.

VIII. Cluster supervision II: Theory and analysis (Anders Wivel)

You are expected to upload your paper synopsis to the course webpage at Absalon by Wednesday November 21 (instructions to follow). Draft should include (parts of the) theory chapter and analysis. Each student will serve as discussant on another paper.

Tuesday, 27th November (time will be announced)

49. Cluster supervision

50. Cluster supervision

51. Cluster supervision

52. Cluster supervision

IX. Nordic foreign policy (Anders Wivel)

Tuesday, 4th December (13.00 – 16.00)

53. & 54. Nordic foreign policy (13.00 – 15.00)

INGEBRITSEN, C. 2002: Norm entrepreneurs: Scandinavia's role in world politics. *Cooperation and Conflict*, 37(1), 11-23.

MARCUSSEN, M. 2018: Scandinavian Models of Diplomacy. i P Nedergaard & A Wivel (red), *The Routledge Handbook of Scandinavian Politics*. Routledge, London; N.Y., Routledge International Handbooks, 240-253.

WIVEL, A. 2014: Birds of a feather flying apart? Explaining Nordic dissonance in the (post)unipolar world, in: Ann-Sofie Dahl and Pauli Järvenpää (eds) *Northern Security and Global Politics: Nordic-Baltic strategic influence in a post-unipolar world*, London: Routledge, 79-92.

GRØN, Caroline and Anders WIVEL 2018: ‘Scandinavia and the European Union: pragmatic functionalism reconsidered’, in: Peter Nedergaard and Anders Wivel (eds) *The Routledge Handbook of Scandinavian Politics*, London: Routledge, **269-280**

SCHOUBENBORG, L. 2015: The rise of the welfare state in international society. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 28.4, **599-620**.

JAKOBSEN, P. V. 2018: The United Nations and the Nordic four: Cautious sceptics, committed believers, cost benefit calculators. In P Nedergaard & A Wivel (red), *The Routledge Handbook of Scandinavian Politics*. Routledge, London; N.Y., Routledge International Handbooks, 281-294.

WIVEL, A. 2017: What Happened to the Nordic Model for International Peace and Security?. *Peace Review*, 29: 4, 489-496.

55. Icelandic independence 100 years: The foreign policy of a very small state (15:00 – 16:00)

Book launch (followed by reception)

In 2018, Iceland celebrates 100 years as a sovereign state following the signing of a Union Treaty, effectively freeing Iceland from Denmark. We mark this event with a book launch of Baldur Thorhallsson (ed.) *Small States and Shelter Theory: Iceland's External Affairs*, London: Routledge.

THORHALLSSON, B. 2018: A small state in world politics: Iceland's search for shelter. *Icelandic Review of Politics & Administration*, 14: 1, **61-81**.

<http://uni.hi.is/baldurt/files/2018/07/A-Small-State-in-World-Politics-Iceland's-Search-for-Shelter-by-Thorhallsson-20183906.pdf>

INGEBRITSEN, C. and A. WIVEL 2019: Why shelter theory matters: ramifications for international relations and small state studies. In Baldur Thorhallsson (ed.) *Small States and Shelter Theory: Iceland's External Affairs*, London: Routledge, **205-213**.

X. Finishing your paper workshop (Anders Wivel)

Monday, December 10, 15-17

56 & 57. Writing the conclusion, checking the coherence of the paper, self-criticism and perspectives

Assignments:

December 17, 12:00 (noon): DEADLINE for free written assignments

15 ECTS. Literature 1800–2100 standard pages

Free written assignment:

The written assignment consists of an analysis of an independently formulated problem. The extent of the assignment may not exceed: For one student: 48,000 keystrokes (20 standard pages), for two students: 79,200 keystrokes (33 standard pages), for three students: 108,000 keystrokes (45 standard pages).