

“U.S. Hegemony & International Order”  
Wednesday, 6 – 8 p.m., SR 02.034 (IPW)

# U.S. Hegemony & International Order

## Syllabus



Teacher

Gordon Friedrichs, M.A.

Winter term 2017/18

This course examines themes and patterns of U.S. global power since the end of World War II by drawing on a variety of International Relations theories and concepts. The aim is to familiarize students with the central schools of thought in international politics and to apply and test their assumptions in selected policy areas of U.S. hegemony. How has U.S. hegemony interacted with international order over time and how can we explain change and continuity in U.S. foreign policy?

In the first part, students will learn about four grand theories of International Relations, including key terms, propositions, as well as assumptions about international order. In the second part, students will engage with a broad variety of empirical cases of U.S. hegemony and its effect on international order, including international regimes and organizations, military interventions and alliances, global trade, diplomacy and international crises, and human rights. In addition, the course covers U.S. policy towards pivotal areas such as Europe, Asia, and the Middle East. Besides acquiring theoretical and empirical knowledge, students should also develop the skills to critically evaluate and understand the processes behind shifts of U.S. power under the current Trump administration.

### Literature:

Art, Robert J., and Robert Jervis. 2013. *International Politics: Enduring Concepts and Contemporary Issues*. 11 ed. New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

Baylis, John, Steve Smith, and Patricia Owens. 2014. *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

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.

Dunne, Tim, Kurki, Milja, and Smith, Steve. 2016. *International Relations Theories. Discipline and Diversity*, 4 ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hastedt, Glenn P. 2017. *American Foreign Policy: Past, Present, and Future*. 11 ed. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield.

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.

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

Reus-Smit, Christian, and Duncan Snidal. 2010. *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Schimmelfennig, Frank 2017. *Internationale Politik*, 5. Auflage. Paderborn: Schöningh/UTB.

Schieder, Siegfried, and Spindler, Manuela. 2014. *Theories of International Relations*. New York: Routledge.

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

Course requirements

- Regular Attendance** – all students are required to be present at all classes. If you must excuse yourself from attending a class, please do so not later than **24 hours** prior to class. Two absences are permitted.
- Class Participation** – all students taking the class for a grade will be graded on the quantity and quality of their participation in classroom discussion. For this reason, students must arrive at lectures prepared to discuss all the week’s required readings. Occasionally, students will be asked to provide a brief **oral summary of the required readings** in class.  
 Students can access the required readings for each week via the online learning platform Moodle (<http://elearning2.uni-heidelberg.de>). **For legal reasons it is forbidden to share the Moodle password with others who are not participants of this course!**  
 Alternatively, or in addition, you can buy a print version of all required readings (“Reader”) at the “Kopierzentrum Peker”, Römerstraße 3.
- Presentation** – all students are required to give a **15-20 min** presentation on a topic of the syllabus. The topics will be handed out in the first week of classes. Every student is asked to see me at least one week prior to his/her presentation date. You are expected to prepare the required reading and a preliminary structure of your presentation, including a research question. Details about structure and format of the presentation are accessible on Prof. Harnisch’s webpage:  
<http://www.uni-heidelberg.de/fakultaeten/wiso/ipw/mitarbeiter/harnisch/lehre/leitfaden.html>.
- Students will also be asked to give a **five minute commentary** on one of the presentations; **or, alternatively, a short response paper**. Response papers cover the required readings, summarize key findings, and discuss differences or novel arguments brought forth in the articles. Students can choose which week they want to cover. Response papers are to be 2 to 3 pages long, typed, double-spaced, with one-inch margins, using a 12 point font. Students must hand in a printed-out version at the end of class.
- Final exam.** Students are required to write a final exam at the end of the semester. The final exam consists of a “Vorlesungsteil” and a “Seminaranteil”. The final exam takes place on **February 2, 2019 from 10 am to 12 pm at Heuscheuer I & II**. The second date for the final exam is **March 20, 2019 from 10 am to 12 pm at Hörsaal 12 & 13 at Neue Universität**.

Office hours / Presentation discussion

Office hours are **Wednesday, 4. to 5.30 p.m.** (Room 03.016, IPW).

Hand-/Semesterapparat

A “Handapparat” is arranged at the Campus library in Bergheim. You can find the **Handapparat 927** on the first floor of the library, right-handed, next to the stairs.

Course outline

Week	Date	Topic
1	October 17	Introduction
Part I: Theories		
2	October 24	Realism and Neo-Realism: Power and Insecurity
3	October 31	Institutionalism: Interdependency and Cooperation
4	November 7	Liberalism: State and Society
5	November 14	Constructivism: Social Norms and Culture
6	November 21	Hegemony, Global Order, and International Relations Theory
Part II: Empirical cases		
7	November 28	Balanced Hegemony: The US and the Cold War
8	December 5	Hegemon among friends? NATO and Transatlantic Order
9	December 12	A peaceful Hegemon? The US and Military Interventions
10	December 19	Declining Hegemon? The US and the Rise of China
Part III: Intensive Workshop		
11	December 21	Hegemony challenged? The US and the spread of Nuclear Weapons
11	December 21	A “green” Hegemon? The US and Global Climate Change
11	December 21	A „just“ Hegemon? The US and International Law
11	December 21	Dollar Hegemony? The US and the Global Economy

Week 1 (October 17)

Introduction: The United States and International Order

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.

Further reading:

Brooks, Stephen G., and William C. Wohlforth. 2016. "The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers in the Twenty-first Century." *International Security* 40 (3):7-53.

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.

Hils, Jochen, Jürgen Wilzewski, and Reinhard Wolf. 2012. *Assertive Multilateralism and Preventive War: Die Außen- und Weltordnungspolitik der USA von Clinton zu Obama aus theoretischer Sicht*. Baden-Baden: Nomos.

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

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

Kagan, Robert. 2012. *The world America made*. New York: Knopf.

Kaufman, Joyce P. 2006. *A Concise History of U.S. Foreign Policy*. Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield.

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.

Nasr, Vali. 2013. *The Dispensable Nation: American Foreign Policy in Retreat*. Edited by Vali Nasr. New York: Doubleday.

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

Pauly Jr., Robert J. 2010. *The Ashgate research companion to US foreign policy*. Farnham, England: Burlington.

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

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

Week 2 (October 24)

Realism and Neorealism: Power and Insecurity

Required reading:

Morgenthau, Hans. 2005. *A Realist Theory of International Politics*. Edited by Hans J. Morgenthau, Kenneth W. Thompson and David Clinton. Vol. 7, Politics among Nations. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Waltz, Kenneth. 1986. "Political Structures." In *Neorealism and Its Critics*, ed. Robert O. Keohane. New York: Columbia University Press. Reprint, 1977. 70-97.

Further reading:

Buzan, Barry, Charles A. Jones, and Richard Little. 1993. *The Logic of Anarchy: Neorealism to Structural Realism*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Donnelly, Jack. 2000. *Realism and International Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Glaser, Charles. 1997. "The Security Dilemma Revisited." *World Politics* 50: 171-201.

Herz, John H. 1950. "Idealist Internationalism and the Security Dilemma." *World Politics* 2: 157-80.

Huntington, Samuel. 1993. "Why International Primacy Matters." *International Security* 4.

Jacobs, Andreas. 2010. "Realismus." In *Theorien Der Internationalen Beziehungen*, eds. Siegfried Schieder and Manuela Spindler. Vol. 3. Opladen: Budrich. 39-63.

Jervis, Robert. 1998. "Realism in the Study of World Politics." *International Organization* 52: 971-92.

Jervis, Robert. 1978. "Cooperation under the Security Dilemma." *World Politics* 30: 167-214.

Kapstein, Ethan B., and Michael Mastanduno. 1999. *Unipolar Politics: Realism and State Strategies after the Cold War*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Mearsheimer, John. 2001. "Anarchy and the Struggle for Power." In *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company. 29-54.

Schörning, Niklas. 2010. "Neorealismus." In *Theorien Der Internationalen Beziehungen*, eds. Siegfried Schieder and Manuela Spindler. Vol. 3. Opladen: Budrich. 65-96.

Thucydides. 2009. *The Peloponnesian War*. Oxford Oxford University Press.

Waltz, Kenneth N. 2000. "Structural Realism after the Cold War." *International Security* 25: 5-41.

Waltz, Kenneth N. 2010. *Theory of International Politics*. Long Grove, IL: Waveland. Reprint, 1977.

Week 3 (October 31)

Institutionalism: Interdependency and Cooperation

Required reading:

Keohane, Robert O., and Joseph S. Nye. 2011. "Power and Interdependence." Vol. 4, Longman Classics in Political Science. London: Pearson. Reprint, 1977. 3-18.

Keohane, Robert O. 1989. "Neoliberal Institutionalism: A Perspective on World Politics." In *International Institutions and State Power: Essays in International Relations Theory*, ed. Robert O. Keohane. Boulder: Westview Press. 1-20.

Spindler, Manuela. 2014. "Interdependence." In: *Theories of International Relations*, ed. Siegfried Schieder & Manuela Spindler. New York: Routledge. 56-75.

Further reading:

Axelrod, Robert M. 2006. *The Evolution of Cooperation*. Cambridge, MA: Basic Books.

Baldwin, David Allen. 1993. *Neorealism and Neoliberalism: The Contemporary Debate*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Barnett, Michael, and Martha Finnemore. 1999. "The Politics, Power, and Pathologies of International Organizations." *International Organization* 53: 699-732.

Cox, Michael. 2010. *Soft Power and US Foreign Affairs: Theoretical, Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*. London: Routledge.

Haas, Ernst B. 2008. *Beyond the Nation State: Functionalism and International Organization*. Edited by Alan Ware and Vincent Hoffmann-Martinot. Colchester: ECPR Press. Reprint, 1964.

Hasenclever, Andreas, Peter Mayer, and Volker Rittberger. 2002. *Theories of International Regimes*. Vol. 5. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Khaler, Miles. 1998. "Rationality in International Relations." *International Organization* 52: 919-41.

Krasner, Stephen D. 1983. *International Regimes*. New York: Cornell University Press.

Mearsheimer, John. 1995. "The False Promise of International Institutions." *International Security* 19: 5-49.

Ruggie, John Gerard. 1997. "Multilateralism: The Anatomy of an Institution." In *International Relations Theory: Realism, Pluralism, Globalism and Beyond*, eds. Paul Viotti and Mark Kauppi. Boston: Allyn and Bacon. 331-39.

Spindler, Manuela. 2010. "Interdependenz." In *Theorien Der Internationalen Beziehungen*, eds. Siegfried Schieder and Manuela Spindler. Opladen: Budrich. 97-130.

Stein, Arthur A. 2008. "Neoliberal Institutionalism." In *The Oxford of International Relations*, eds. Christian Reus-Smit and Duncan Snidal. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 201-21.

Weber, Steven. 1997. "Institutions and Change." In *New Thinking in International Relations Theory*, eds. Michael Doyle and John Ikenberry. Boulder, CO: Westview Press. 229-65.

Week 4 (November 7)

Liberalism: State and Society

Required reading:

Moravcsik, Andrew. 1997. "Taking Preferences Seriously: A Liberal Theory of International Politics." *International Organization* 51: 513-53.

Schieder, Siegfried. 2014. "New liberalism." In: *Theories of International Relations*, ed. Siegfried Schieder & Manuela Spindler. New York: Routledge. 107-129.

Further reading:

Bienen, Derk, Corina Freund, and Volker Rittberger. 1999. "Gesellschaftliche Interessen Und Außenpolitik: Die Außenpolitiktheorie Des Utilitaristischen Liberalismus." *Tübinger Arbeitspapiere zur internationalen Politik*. <http://tobias-lib.uni-tuebingen.de/volltexte/2000/146/>. (26.09.2014).

Fearon, James. 1994. "Domestic Political Audiences and the Escalation of International Disputes." *American Political Science Review* 88: 577-92.

Frieden, Jeffrey A. 1999. "Actors and Preferences in International Relations." In *Strategic Choice and International Relations*, eds. David A. Lake and Robert Powell. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 39-76.

Gourevitch, Peter. 1978. "The Second Image Reversed: The International Sources of Domestic Politics." *International Organization* 32: 881-912.

Kupchan, Charles, and Peter Trubowitz. 2007. "Dead Center the Demise of Liberal Internationalism in the United States." *International Security* 32: 7-44.

MacMillan, John. 1998. *On Liberal Peace: Democracy, War and the International Order*. New York: I.B.Tauris.

Milner, Helen V. 1997. *Interests, Institutions, and Information: Domestic Politics and International Relations*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Moravcsik, Andrew. 2008. "The New Liberalism." In *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations*, eds. Christian Reus-Smit and Duncan Snidal. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 234-254.

Owen, John M. 2000. *Liberal Peace, Liberal War: American Politics and International Security*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

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

Schultz, Kenneth. 2013. "Domestic Politics and International Relations." In *Handbook of International Relations*, eds. Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse and Beth A. Simmons. Los Angeles: Sage. 478-502.

Wittkopf, Eugene R., and James M. McCormick. 2008. *The Domestic Sources of American Foreign Policy: Insights and Evidence*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Week 5 (November 14)

Constructivism: Social Norms and Culture

Required reading:

Wendt, Alexander. 1992. "Anarchy Is What States Make of It." *International Organization* 46: 391-425.

Ulbert, Cornelia. 2014. "Social constructivism." In: *Theories of International Relations*, ed. Siegfried Schieder & Manuela Spindler. New York: Routledge. 248-268.

Further reading:

Adler, Emanuel. 2013. "Constructivism in International Relations: Sources, Contributions, and Debates." In *Handbook of International Relations*, eds. Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse and Beth A. Simmons. Los Angeles: Sage. 112-44.

Checkel, Jeffrey. 1998. "The Constructivist Turn in International Relations Theory." *World Politics* 50: 324-58.

Finnemore, Martha, and Kathryn Sikkink. 1998. "International Norm Dynamics and Political Change." *International Organization* 54: 887-917.

Harnisch, Sebastian. 2007. "Ansätze des Konstruktivismus." In *Handbuch Der Internationalen Politik*, eds. Andreas Wilhelm and Carlo Masala. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag.

Hopf, Ted. 1998. "The Promise of Constructivism in International Relations Theory." *International Security* 23: 170-200.

Jackson, Robert, and Georg Sørensen. 2013. "Social Constructivism." In *Introduction to International Relations: Theories and Approaches*, eds. Robert Jackson and Georg Sørensen. Vol. 5. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 208-30.

Jepperson, Ronald L., Alexander Wendt, and Peter J. Katzenstein. 1996. "Norms, Identity, and Culture in National Security." In *The Culture of National Security*, ed. Peter J. Katzenstein. New York: Columbia University Press. 33-78.

Onuf, Nicholas. 1998. "Constructivism: A Users "Manual"." In *International Relations in a Constructed World*, eds. Vendulka Kubalkova, Nicholas Onuf and Paul Kowert. New York: M.E. Sharpe. 58-78.

Ulbert, Cornelia, and Christoph Weller. 2005. *Konstruktivistische Analysen Der Internationalen Politik*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag.

Wendt, Alexander. 1999. *Social Theory of International Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wendt, Alexander. 1995. "Constructing International Politics." *International Security* 20: 71-81.

Zehfuss, Maja. 2002. *Constructivism in International Relations: The Politics of Reality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Week 6 (November 21)

Hegemony, Global Order, and International Relations Theory

Required reading:

Norrlöf, Carla. 2017. "Hegemony, Hierarchy, and Unipolarity: Theoretical and Empirical Foundations of Hegemonic Order Studies." *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*.

Patrick, Stewart. 2016. World Order: What, Exactly, are the Rules? *The Washington Quarterly* 39:1, 7-27.

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

Further reading:

Baker, Andrew. 2011. *Constructing a Post-War Order: The Rise of US Hegemony and the Origins of the Cold War*. London: Tauris.

Brands, Hal. 2017. "U.S. Strategy in an Age of Nationalism: Fortress America and its Alternatives." In *The Washington Quarterly* no. 40 (1): 73-94.

Clark, Ian. 2011. "Hegemony and IR Theory." In *Hegemony in International Society*, ed. Ian Clark. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 15-33.

Cox, Robert W. 1983. "Gramsci, Hegemony and International Relations." *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 12: 162-74.

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

Hausken, Kjell, and Thomas Plümper. 1996. "Hegemonic Decline and International Leadership." *Politics Society* 24: 273-95.

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

Keohane, Robert O. 1984. *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Lake, David A. 1993. "Leadership, Hegemony, and the International Economy: Naked Emperor or Tattered Monarch with Potential? ." *International Studies Quarterly* 37: 459-89.

Lebow, Richard Ned, and Barry Strauss. 1991. *Hegemonic Rivalry: From Thucydides to the Nuclear Age*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Lee, Lavina Rajendram. 2010. *US Hegemony and International Legitimacy: Norms, Power and Followership in the Wars on Iraq*. New York: Routledge.

Rapkin, David P., and Dan Braaten. 2009. "Conceptualising Hegemonic Legitimacy." *Review of International Studies* 35: 113-49.

Week 7 (November 28)

Balanced Hegemony: The US and the Cold War

Required reading:

Nye, Joseph S. 2007. "The Cold War." In *Understanding International Conflicts. An Introduction to Theory and History*, ed. Joseph S. Nye. Vol. 6. New York: Longman. 115-56.

Waltz, Kenneth. 1964. "The Stability of a Bipolar World." *Daedalus* 93: 881-909.

Further reading:

Carter, Ralph G, and James M. Scott. 2014. "Hitting the Russian Reset Button: Why is Cooperation so hard?" In *Contemporary Cases in U.S. Foreign Policy: From Terrorism to Trade*, edited by Ralph G. Carter, 190-221. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press.

Duffield, John S. 2001. "Transatlantic Relations after the Cold War." In: *The Real and the Ideal: Essays on International Relations in Honor of Richard H. Ullman*, ed. Anthony Lake and David Ochmanek, Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield. 237-268.

Gaddis, John Lewis. 1987. "The Long Peace: Elements of Stability in the Postwar International System." In *The Long Peace. Inquiries into the History of the Cold War*, ed. John Lewis Gaddis. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press. 215-45.

Goldgeier, James M., and Michael McFaul. 2003. *Power and Purpose: US Policy toward Russia after the Cold War*. Washington: Brookings.

Hill, Kenneth L. 1993. *Cold War Chronology: Soviet-American Relations, 1945-1991*. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly.

Jervis, Robert. 2001. "Was the Cold War a Security Dilemma?". *Journal of Cold War Studies* 3: 36-60.

Lebow, Richard N. 1994. "The Long Peace, the End of the Cold War, and the Failure of Realism." *International Organization* 48: 249-77.

Leffler, Melvyn. 2008. *For the Soul of Mankind: The United States, the Soviet Union and the Cold War*. New York: Hill and Wang.

Leffler, Melvyn P., and Odd Arne Westad. 2010. *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lundestad, Geir. 2003. *The United States and Western Europe Since 1945: From "Empire" by Invitation to Transatlantic Drift*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Pechatnov, Vladimir O. 2013. "Soviet-American Relations through the Cold War." In *The Oxford Handbook of the Cold War*, eds. Richard H. Immerman and Petra Goedde. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 107-23.

Walt, Stephen M. 1985. "Alliance Formation and the Balance of Power." *International Security* 9: 3-43.

Wohlfarth, William C. 1994. "Realism and the End of the Cold War." *International Security* 19: 91-129.

Week 8 (December 5)

Hegemon among friends? NATO and Transatlantic Order

Required reading:

Walt, Stephen M. 1997. "Why Alliances Endure or Collapse." *Survival* 39: 156-79.

Webber, Mark. 2013. "NATO after 9/11: Theoretical Perspectives." In: *NATO beyond 9/11: The Transformation of the Atlantic Alliance*, ed. Ellen Hallams, Luca Ratti, Benjamin Zyla. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. 27-53.

Hallams, Ellen. 2013. "Between Hope and Realism: The United States, NATO and a Transatlantic Bargain for the 21st Century." In: *NATO beyond 9/11: The Transformation of the Atlantic Alliance*, ed. Ellen Hallams, Luca Ratti, Benjamin Zyla. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. 217-238.

Further reading:

Adler, Emanuel. 2008. "The spread of security Communities: Communities of Practice, Self-Restraint and NATO's Post Cold War Transformation." *European Journal of International Relations* 14: 195-230.

Anderson, Jeffrey, G. John Ikenberry, and Thomas Risse. 2008. *The End of the West? - Crises and Change in the Atlantic Order*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Hallams, Ellen, Luca Ratti, and Benjamin Zyla. 2013. *NATO Beyond 9/11: The Transformation of the Atlantic Alliance*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Heard, Graeme P., John Kriendler. 2014. *Understanding NATO in the 21st Century*. New York: Routledge.

Kupchan, Charles A. 2000. "The Origins and Future of NATO Enlargement." *Contemporary Security Policy* 21: 127-48.

Mayer, Sebastian. 2014. *NATO's Post-Cold War Politics: The Changing Provision of Security*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Moore, Rebecca. 2007. *NATO's New Mission: Projecting Stability in a Post-Cold War World*. Westport, Connecticut: Praeger Security International. 9-32.

Rees, Wyn. 2011. *The US-EU Security Relationship: The Tensions between a European and a Global Agenda*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Schmidt, Peter. 2008. *A Hybrid Relationship: Transatlantic Security Cooperation Beyond NATO*. Frankfurt am Main: Lang.

Sloan, Stanley R. 2010. *Permanent Alliance? NATO and the Transatlantic Bargain from Truman to Obama*. New York and London: Continuum.

Snyder, Glenn H. 2007. *Alliance Politics*. Vol. 2. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Walt, Stephen M. 1985. "Alliance Formation and the Balance of Power." *International Security* 9: 3-43.

Webber, M., J. Sperling, M. Smith. 2012. *NATO's Post-Cold War Trajectory: Decline or Regeneration*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Week 9 (December 12)

Peaceful Hegemon? The US and Military Interventions

Required reading:

Müller, Harald, and Jonas Wolff. 2006. „Democratic Peace: Many Data, Little Explanation?“ In: *Democratic Wars: Looking at the Dark Side of Democratic Peace*, edited by Anna Geis, Lothar Brock and Harald Müller, 41-73, Basingtoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Daase, Christopher. 2006. “Democratic Peace – Democratic War: Three Reasons Why Democracies Are War-prone”. In: *Democratic Wars: Looking at the Dark Side of Democratic Peace*, edited by Anna Geis, Lothar Brock and Harald Müller, 74-89, Basingtoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Further reading:

Bellamy, Alex J. 2013. "The Responsibility to Protect: Added value or hot air?" *Cooperation and Conflict* no. 48 (3):333-357.

Chesterman, Simon. 2011. "'Leading from Behind': The Responsibility to Protect, the Obama Doctrine, and Humanitarian Intervention after Libya." *Ethics & International Affairs* 25: 279-85.

Choi, Seung-whan. 2013. "What determines US humanitarian intervention?" *Conflict Management and Peace Science* no. 30 (2):121-139.

Geis, Anna. 2001. „Diagnose: Doppelbefund – Ursache: ungeklärt? Die Kontroversen um den ‚Demokratischen Frieden‘.“ *Politische Vierteljahresschrift* 42 (2): 282-298.

Hehir, Aidan. 2013. "The Permanence of Inconsistency: Libya, the Security Council, and the Responsibility to Protect." *International Security* no. 38 (1):137-159.

Kant, Immanuel. 1975. "Zum Ewigen Frieden. Ein Philosophischer Entwurf." In *Werke*, ed. Immanuel Kant. Vol. 6, Schriften Zur Anthropologie, Geschichtsphilosophie, Politik Und Pädagogik. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft. 203-17.

Kuperman, Alan J. 2013. "A Model Humanitarian Intervention? Reassessing NATO's Libya Campaign." *International Security* 38: 105-36.

Lake, David A. 1992. "Powerful Pacifists – Democratic States and War." *American Political Science Review of International Studies* 86: 24-37.

Maley, William. 2013. "The ‘Americanization’ of Democratic Theory: Some Lessons from Iraq and Afghanistan." In *American Democracy Promotion in the Changing Middle East: From Bush to Obama*, ed. Shahram Akbarzadeh et al. London: Routledge. 27-44.

Marsh, Kevin. 2014. "'Leading from Behind': Neoclassical Realism and Operation Odyssey Dawn." *Defense & Security Analysis* 30: 120-32.

Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce, James Morrow, Randolph Siverson, and Alastair Smith. 1999. "An Institutional Explanation of the Democratic Peace." *American Political Science Review* 93: 791-807.

Paris, Roland. 2014. "The ‘Responsibility to Protect’ and the Structural Problems of Preventive Humanitarian Intervention." *International Peacekeeping* no. 21 (5):569–603.

Week 10 (December 19)

Declining Hegemon? The US and the Rise of China

Required reading:

Snow, Donald M. 2018. "Power and Rising Power: The Case of China." In *Cases In International Relations: Principles And Applications*, edited by Rowman & Littlefield, 43-62. Lanham.

Harding, Harry. 2015. "Has U.S. China Policy Failed?" *The Washington Quarterly* 38:3, 95-122.

Further reading:

Allison, Graham. 2017. *Destined for War: Can America and China Escape Thucydides's Trap?* Boston & New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt.

Chen, Dingding, Xiaoyu Pu, and Alastair Iain Johnston. 2014. "Debating China's Assertiveness." *International Security* 38 (3):176-183.

Friedberg, Aaron. 2005. "The Future of U.S.-China Relations: Is Conflict Inevitable?" *International Security* 30:2: 7-45.

Heilmann, Sebastian, and Dirk H. Schmidt. 2014. *China's Foreign Political and Economic Relations*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Hook, W. Steven, and John Spanier. 2016. "China's Pacific Challenge." In *American Foreign Policy Since World War II*. 20 ed. 334-338, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Ikenberry, John, Zhu Feng and Wang Jisi. 2015. *America, China and the struggle for world order*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Malawer, Stuart S. 2017. "Trump's China Trade Policies: Threats and Constraints" *China and WTO Review* 2017 (1): 109-120.

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Week 11 (December 21)

Hegemony challenged? The US and the spread of Nuclear Weapons

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Week 11 (December 21)

A "green" Hegemon? The US and Global Climate Change

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Week 11 (December 21)

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Week 11 (December 21)

Dollar Hegemony? The US and the Global Economy

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