

“U.S. Foreign Policy in the Trump era“  
Wednesday, 6 – 8 p.m., SR 02.034

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

### Syllabus



### Teacher

Gordon Friedrichs, M.A.

Summer term 2019

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

Besides acquiring theoretical and analytical knowledge, students will engage with a broad variety of empirical cases on how U.S. foreign policy (and international order) has been shaped by the Trump presidency, across various policy areas. This includes, but is not limited to cases of policy towards pivotal areas such as Europe, Latin America, Asia, and the Middle East.

The course will use readings, discussions, case studies, and practical examinations to illuminate general patterns and processes, but also specific choices and trade-offs of U.S. foreign policy in the Trump Era and beyond.

### Literature:

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

### Course requirements

1. **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.
2. **Class Participation** – all students taking the class for a grade will be graded on the quantity and quality of their **participation in classroom discussions**. For this reason, students must arrive at lectures prepared to discuss all the week’s required readings. Students will also be asked to give a **five minute commentary** on one presentation.
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. **Handout/PPT** will have to be sent to the teacher no later than **24h before class**. Every student is asked to see the teacher during office hours **at least one week prior** to his/her presentation date.
4. **Writing Assignment** - each student will have to complete **three writing assignments**:
  - I. **One response paper**. A response paper should answer a set of guiding questions that the teacher will present to you in the first week of class and draws on the first two weeks of reading. The response paper is to be 3 pages long (excluding citations), typed, double-spaced, with one-inch margins, using a 12 point font, and is **due on March 8**. Students must hand in a printed-out version at the end of class.
  - II. **One review of articles**. A review covers the required readings, summarize key findings, and discuss differences or novel arguments brought forth in the articles. The review is a comment on the quality of work. The review is to be 2 pages long (excluding citations), 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. Students can choose which week they want to cover (**week 4 to 9**).
  - III. **One case study (report)**. The case report should examine lessons and/or implications of the chosen case for our understanding of U.S. foreign policy (e.g. the goals, the factors influencing the choices, the tradeoffs, etc.). As you craft your report, you will want to consider such things as: presidents and advisers; the nature and challenges of bureaucracy; working with Congress; and general issues about the foreign policy environment (societal and international). Three to five significant lessons suffice. Students can decide on the case they want to cover, either one between **week 10 and 14**. The memo is to be 5-6 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.
5. **In-class simulation participation and report**. Students will be divided into groups and assume roles of various actors within U.S. foreign policy making (i.e. National Security Council) in order to devise a policy. Relying on the material we learned in class, previous cases, the required readings, and practical observation, students will need to analyze the costs and benefits of possible solutions when deciding on the most appropriate policy. Each group will present its policy to the class and write a brief report highlighting its response to the crisis. The report must focus on advice to the president on how to manage the policymaking process and deal with the politics of U.S foreign policy effectively. The reports are to be 5-6 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.

### Office hours / Presentation discussion

1. Office hours are **Wednesdays, 4 to 5.30 p.m.** (room 03.016).
2. Every student is asked to see me **at least one week prior** to his/her presentation date. You are expected to prepare the required readings and a preliminary structure of your presentation, including a research question.

### Moodle / Access to the required readings

Students can access the required reading digitally via the Moodle E-learning platform (<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!**

In addition, students have the option to purchase a “reader” with all the required readings at the copy center “Peker” at the Römerstraße 3.

A “Handapparat” is arranged at the Campus library in Bergheim. You can find the Handapparat (**number 910**) on the first floor of the library, right-handed, next to the stairs.

Course outline

Week	Date	Topic
1	April 17	History of U.S. Foreign Policy & the Trump presidency
2	April 24	<i>Reading week (no regular meeting!)</i> What is Foreign Policy Analysis and how to use it?
3	May 1	<i>Statutory holiday</i>
Theories of foreign policy analysis		
4	May 8	Realism & Liberalism
5	May 15	Constructivism
The politics of U.S. foreign policy		
6	May 22	An imperial president? The executive branch and presidential leadership
7	May 29	The “deep state” and Bureaucratic Politics
8	June 5	Polarization and the power of Congress
9	June 12	The populist revolt? Public opinion & the media
Empirical cases		
10	June 19	Case study I: Two-Level Diplomacy & U.S.-Iran Policy
11	June 26	Case study II: Lobby Groups & U.S.-Israel relations
12	July 3	Case study III: Foreign Policy Change & U.S. North Korea Policy
13	July 10	Case study IV: Foreign Policy Belief Systems & U.S. Trade Policy
Simulation Game		
14	July 17	Briefing: U.S.-Latin America relations
15	July 24	Simulation game: Collapse in Venezuela

Week 1 (April 17)

History of U.S. Foreign Policy & the Trump presidency

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.

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

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

Further reading:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### Reading week

#### What is Foreign Policy Analysis and how to use it?

##### Required reading:

Hudson, Valerie M. 2014. "Introduction: The Situation and Evolution of Foreign Policy Analysis: A Road Map." In *Foreign Policy Analysis: Classic and Contemporary Theory*, 2 ed. 3-36. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.

Breuning, Marijke. 2007. "Why study Foreign Policy comparatively." In *Foreign Policy Analysis: A Comparative Introduction*, 1-26. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

Beach, Derek. 2012. "Introduction." In Derek Beach (eds.) *Analyzing Foreign Policy*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

##### Further reading:

Hill, Christopher. 2003. *The Changing Politics of Foreign Policy*. New York: Palgrave.

Hellmann, Gunther/Jørgensen, Knud Erik (Hg.) 2015: *Theorizing Foreign Policy in a Globalized World*, Houndmills/Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Holsti, Ole R. 1989. "Models of International Relations and Foreign Policy." *Diplomatic History* no. 13 (1):15-43.

Hudson, Valerie M. 2012. "The History and evolution of Foreign Policy Analysis." In *Foreign policy: theories, actors, cases*, edited by Steve Smith, Amelia Hadfield and Tim Dunne, 13-34. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Maoz, Zeev. 1990. *National Choices and International Processes*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Neack, Laura. 2013. *The New Foreign Policy: Power Seeking in a Globalized Era*. 3 ed. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.

Rosenau, James N. 1968. "Comparative Foreign Policy: Fad, Fantasy, or Field?" *International Studies Quarterly* no. 12 (3):296-329.

Shimko, Keith. 2015. *The Foreign Policy Puzzle: Interests, Threats, and Tools*. Oxford, MS: Oxford University Press.

Singer, J. David. 1961. "The Levels-of-Analysis Problem in International Relations." *World Politics* no. 14 (1):77-92.

Smith, Steve. 1987. "Foreign Policy Analysis and International Relations." *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* no. 16 (2):345-348.

Starr, Harvey. 1988. "Rosenau, Pre-theories, and the Evolution of the Comparative Study of Foreign Policy." *International Interactions* no. 14 (1):3-15.

Waltz, Kenneth N. 1959. *Man, the State, and War*. New York: Columbia University Press.

### Week 4 (May 8)

#### Realism & Liberalism

##### Required reading:

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

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

##### Further reading:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Week 5 (May 15)

### Constructivism

#### Required reading:

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

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

#### Further reading:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Week 6 (May 22)

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

#### Required reading:

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

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

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

#### Further reading:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Wittkopf, Eugene R., Christopher M. Jones, and Jr. Charles W. Kegley. 2008. "Presidential Preeminence in Foreign Policy Making." In *American Foreign Policy: Pattern and Process*, 327-366. Belmont, CA: Thomson Wadsworth.

Week 7 (May 29)

The “deep state” and Bureaucratic Politics

Required reading:

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

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

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

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

Further reading:

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

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

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

Breuning, Marijke. 2007. "Leaders are not alone: The Role of Advisors and Bureaucracies." In *Foreign Policy Analysis: A Comparative Introduction*, 85-113. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Week 8 (June 5)

Polarization and the power of Congress

Required reading:

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

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

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

Further reading:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Week 9 (June 12)

The populist revolt? Public opinion & the media

Required reading:

Rosati, Jerel, and James Scott. 2011. "The Public and its Beliefs." In *The Politics of United States Foreign Policy*, 328-361. Cengage Learning.

Mead, Walter Russell. 2017. "The Jacksonian Revolt." *Foreign Affairs* 96 (2): 2-7.

Robinson, Piers. 2012. "The role of media and public opinion." In *Foreign Policy Theories, Actors, Cases*, edited by Steve Smith et al., 168-187. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Baum, Matthew A., and Philip B. K. Potter. 2019. "Media, Public Opinion, and Foreign Policy in the Age of Social Media." *The Journal of Politics* 81 (2): 747-756.

Further reading:

Drezner, Daniel W. 2008. "The Realist Tradition in American Public Opinion." *Perspectives on Politics* no. 6 (1):51-70.

Foyle, Douglas C. 1999. *Counting the Public In: Presidents, Public Opinion, and Foreign Policy*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Gelpi, Christopher, Peter D. Feaver, and Jason Reifler. 2009. *Paying the Human Costs of War: American Public Opinion and Casualties in Military Conflicts*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Holsti, Ole R. 2002. "Public Opinion and Foreign Policy." In *Eagle Rules? Foreign Policy and American Primacy in the Twenty-First Century*, edited by Robert J. Lieber, 16-46. Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall.

Knecht, Thomas, and M. Stephen Weatherford. 2006. "Public Opinion and Foreign Policy: The Stages of Presidential Decision Making." *International Studies Quarterly* no. 50 (3):705-27.

McCormick, James M. 2009. "American foreign policy after the Bush administration: Insights from the public." In *New Directions in US Foreign Policy*, edited by Inderjeet Parmar, Linda B. Miller and Mark Ledwidge, 136-149. London, New York: Routledge.

Powlick, Philip J., and Andrew Z. Katz. 1998. "Defining the American Public Opinion/Foreign Policy Nexus." *Mershon International Studies Review* no. 42:29-61.

Risse-Kappen, Thomas R. 1991. "Public Opinion, Domestic Structure, and Foreign Policy in Liberal Democracies." *World Politics* no. 43 (4):479-512.

Wittkopf, Eugene R., Christopher M. Jones, and Jr. Charles W. Kegley. 2008. "Americans' Values, Beliefs, and Preferences: Political Culture and Public Opinion in Foreign Policy." In *American Foreign Policy: Pattern and Process*, 241-282. Belmont, CA: Thomson Wadsworth.

Wittkopf, Eugene R. 1990. *Faces of Internationalism: Public Opinion and American Foreign Policy*. Duke University Press

Week 10 (June 19)

Case study I: Two-Level Diplomacy & U.S.-Iran Policy

Required reading:

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

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

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

Further reading:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Week 11 (June 26)

Case study II: Lobby Groups & U.S.-Israel relations

Required reading:

Mearsheimer, John J., and Stephen M. Walt. 2006. "The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy." *Middle East Policy* XIII: 29-87.

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Further reading:

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Mead, Walter Russell. 2008. "The New Israel and the Old: Why Gentile Americans Back the Jewish State." *Foreign Affairs* no. 87 (4):28-46.

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Petras, James. 2014. *The Politics of Empire: The US, Israel and the Middle East* Atlanta: Clarity Press.

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Saltzman, Ilai Z. 2017. "Not So "Special Relationship"? US-Israel Relations During Barack Obama's Presidency." *Israel Studies* 22 (1): 50-75.

Siniver, Asaf. 2011. "Change Nobody Believes In: Obama and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict." *Diplomacy & Statecraft* no. 22 (4).

Tov, Yaacov Bar Siman. 1998. "The United States and Israel since 1948: A "Special Relationship?"" *Diplomatic History* no. 22 (2):231-262.

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Zanotti, Jim. 2015. "Israel: Background and U.S. Relations." *Congressional Research Service*.

Week 12 (July 3)

Case study III: Foreign Policy Change & U.S. North Korea Policy

Required reading:

Hermann, Charles F. 1990. "Changing Course: When Governments Choose to Redirect Foreign Policy." *International Studies Quarterly* 34 (1): 3-21.

Kim, Dongsoo. 2016. "The Obama administration's policy toward North Korea: the causes and consequences of strategic patience." *Journal of Asian Public Policy* 9 (1):32-44.

Easley, Leif-Eric. 2017. "From Strategic Patience To Strategic Uncertainty: Trump, North Korea, and South Korea's New President." *World Affairs* 180 (2):7-31.

Further reading:

Ahn, Taehyung. 2011. "Politics at the Water's Edge: The Presidency, Congress, and US Policy toward North Korea." *Pacific Focus* 26 (3): 336-359.

Cha, Victor. 2013. *The Impossible State: North Korea, Past and Future*. New York: Ecco.

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Grice, Francis. 2017. "The Improbability of Popular Rebellion in Kim Jong-un's North Korea and Policy Alternatives for the USA." *Journal of Asian Security and International Affairs* 4 (3):263-293.

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Kim, Jaechun, and David Hundt. 2011. "US Policy Toward Rogue States: Comparing the Bush Administration's Policy Toward Iraq and North Korea." *Asian Perspective* 35 (2):239-257.

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Week 13 (July 10)

Case study IV: Foreign Policy Belief Systems & U.S. Trade Policy

Required reading:

Alexander, L. George. 1969. "The 'Operational Code': A Neglected Approach to the Study of Political Leaders and Decision-Making." *International Studies Quarterly* 13 (2): 190-222.

Noland, Marcus. 2018. "US Trade Policy in the Trump Administration." *Asian Economic Policy Review* 13: 262-278.

Boucher, Jean-Christophe, and Cameron G. Thies. 2019. "I Am a Tariff Man": The Power of Populist Foreign Policy Rhetoric under President Trump." *The Journal of Politics* 81 (2): 712-722.

Colgan, Jeff D., and Robert O. Keohane. 2017. "The Liberal Order Is Rigged." *Foreign Affairs* 96 (3): 36-44.

Further reading:

Chorev, Nitsan. 2007. *Remaking U.S. trade policy: from protectionism to globalization*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Drezner, Daniel. 2015. "Is There an Exceptional American Approach to Global Economic Governance?" In *America, China, and the Struggle for World Order. Ideas, Traditions, Historical Legacies, and Global Visions*, eds. G. John Ikenberry, Wang Jisi and Zhu Feng. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 135-160.

Konings, Martijn. 2009. "The construction of US financial power." *Review of International Studies* 35 (1):69-94.

Morgan, Iwan. 2008. "The Indebted Empire: America's Current-Account Deficit Problem." *International Politics* 45:92-112.

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Week 14 (July 17)

Briefing: U.S.-Latin America Relations

Required reading:

Guida, Alessandro. 2018. "Donald Trump and Latin America." *Interdisciplinary Political Studies* 4 (1): 185-227.

De La Torre, Carlos. 2018. "Populism Revived: Donald Trump and the Latin American Leftist Populists." *The Americas* 75 (4): 733-753.

Further reading:

Biegen, Rubrick. 2017. *US power in Latin America : Renewing Hegemony*. New York: Routledge.

Dominguez, Francisco. 2017. "Trump and Latin America: continuity and change: Trump's chaotic foreign policy signals more difficulties for the left in Latin America." *A Journal of Politics and Culture* 66: 90-101.

Dominguez, Jorge I. 2016. *Contemporary US-Latin American Relations: Cooperation or Conflict in the 21st Century?* New York: Routledge.

Hakim, Peter. 2011. "The United States and Latin America: The Neighbourhood Has Changed." *The International Spectator: Italian Journal of International Affairs* 46: 63-78.

Lowenthal, Abraham F. 2011. "The Obama Administration and the Americas." In *Shifting the Balance: Obama and the Americas*, ed. Abraham F. Lowenthal. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press. 1-28.

McPherson, Alan L. 2006. *Intimate Ties, Bitter Struggles: The United States and Latin America since 1945*. Washington, D.C.: Potomac Books.

Reid, Michael. 2015. "Obama and Latin America. A Promising Day in the Neighborhood." *Foreign Affairs* 94: 45-53.

Rennack, Dianne E., and Mark P. Sullivan. 2015. "Cuba Sanctions: Legislative Restrictions Limiting the Normalization of Relations." *Congressional Research Service*.

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