

Multilateralism in Uncertain Times - Challenges and Opportunities in Transatlantic Relations

VM5 Seminar; Wednesdays, 2pm-4pm (s.t.), beginning on October 20, 2021; Room: 019.

Seminar-Outline:

Where are transatlantic relations headed in the face of a seemingly faltering liberal international order that faces domestic challenges on both sides of the Atlantic and that has to address rising competition from China and Russia? How has American engagement in world affairs evolved in recent history and what role do European countries see for themselves in a multipolar world? We will take into account different theoretical perspectives on transatlantic relations in flux set in an ever-changing international context, before moving on to explore explanatory factors for transatlantic turbulences as discussed in selected empirical studies. We will move on to review and assess different policy areas aiming to carve out challenges as well as opportunities for a strained partnership that is trying to recover from the impact of the Trump-Administration. We will discuss these topics together with students from the UNC at Chapel Hill in transatlantic joint live sessions on Zoom. Overall, this class aims to account for different perspectives on transatlantic multilateralism in order to prepare students to explore their own research interests pertaining to these broad topics. Hence, the course is set up as a research seminar aiming to foster and enhance the student's own research agendas by teaching the principles of working research designs in political science.

Requirements for Participation:

Completed BM5; Extensive grasp of the English and German language.

Studienleistung (term assignments **OPTION 1**):

- I. One **essay** in a module of your own choosing (except for module IV; 1.300 words + list of references; please refer to the handout "essay" on Stud.IP)
- II. Prepare a **discussion-question** for one session of module II or III based on the required readings and be ready to substantiate it in class. The respective sessions will be allocated during the very first session on October 20. Submit your question 24h prior to the respective session.

Studienleistung (term assignments **OPTION 2**):

- I. Active participation in the three joint live session with the TAM-program (UNC at Chapel Hill) + writing a blog on the topic assigned to each transatlantic group (see handout "Transatlantic Exchange" on Stud.IP), which will be published on the UNC website (1.500 words incl. references per transatlantic group; Deadline: December 1, 2021).
- II. Prepare a **discussion-question** (see above)

Prüfungsleistung (graded examination; Sign-up period: November 1 – November 18, 2021):

- **Term Paper** (Requirements are corresponding to the framework set by the Prüfungsordnung)
 - ⇒ Hand in an Exposé (see respective handouts on stud.IP) by **January 18, 2022**
 - ⇒ "Themenausgabe" in the final session of our seminar
- Oral Examination (Requirements are corresponding to the framework set by the Prüfungsordnung)
 - ⇒ Hand in a theses-paper at least three days prior to the examination, which takes place on **February 2, 2022**

Recommended Reading:

Lemke, Christiane; Wiedekind, Jakob (2021): [Der Kampf um das Weiße Haus](#) – Die US Präsidentschaftswahl 2020 im Zeichen von Polarisierung, Corona-Pandemie und gesellschaftlichen Spannungen. Wiesbaden: Springer VS.

Syllabus

Introduction to the Seminar	
1st Week October 20	<p><u>Today's Topic:</u> <i>Administrative basics and getting started on the seminar's topic</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Introduction to this seminar's structure and the participation requirements • Organizing the discussion-question • Approaching the seminar's overarching topic • Preparations for the Joint Zoom Sessions with UNC (6pm on November 3 and 7pm on November 10 and 17, each 1 hour) <p><u>Required Reading:</u> De Hoop Scheffer, Alexandra; Quencez; Weber, Gesine (2021): Seizing Biden's Pivot to Europe: Time for Responsibility-Sharing. Policy Brief. The German Marshal Fund of the United States. https://www.gmfus.org/publications/seizing-bidens-pivot-europe-time-responsibility-sharing. Accessed: September 17, 2021.</p>
Module I	Multilateralism – Early Research and Contemporary Debates
2nd Week October 27	<p><u>Today's Topic:</u> <i>Multilateralism – Early Research Agenda</i></p> <p><u>Required Reading:</u> Keohane, Robert O. (1990): Multilateralism – An Agenda for Research. <i>International Journal</i> 45 (4): 731-764.</p> <p><u>Further Reading:</u> Ikenberry, John G. (2009): Liberalism in a Realist World. In: <i>International Studies</i> 46 (1-2), S. 203–219.</p>
3rd Week November 3	<p><u>Today's Topic:</u> <i>Multilateralism in Crisis? + TRANSATLANTIC SEMINAR</i></p> <p><u>Required Reading:</u> Riddervold, Marianne, and Akasemi Newsome (2018): Transatlantic Relations in Times of Uncertainty: Crises and EU-US relations. <i>Journal of European Integration</i> 40(5): 505-521.</p> <p><u>Further Reading:</u> Skidmore, David (2012): The Obama Presidency and US Foreign Policy: Where's the Multilateralism? <i>International Studies Perspectives</i> 13: 43-64.</p>

<p>4th Week November 10</p> <p>Joint Live Session on Zoom, 7pm</p> <p>“Group Projects”</p> <p>Sign-up for examinations</p>	<p><u>Today's Topic:</u> <i>Debates on Revitalization + TRANSATLANTIC SEMINAR</i></p> <p><u>Required Reading:</u> Moller, Sara Bjerg, and Sten Rynning (2021): Revitalizing Transatlantic Relations: NATO 2030 and beyond. <i>Washington Quarterly</i> 44(1): 177-197.</p> <p><u>Further Reading:</u> Anderson, Jeffrey J. (2018): Rancor and resilience in the Atlantic Political Order: the Obama years. <i>Journal of European integration</i> 40 (5): 621-636.</p>
<p>5th Week November 17</p> <p>Joint Live Session on Zoom, 7pm</p> <p>“Initial Results”</p> <p>Sign-up for examinations</p>	<p><u>Today's Topic:</u> <i>TRANSATLANTIC SEMINAR</i></p> <p><u>Only Joint Session: Presentation of Preliminary findings per group!</u></p> <p><u>No session in the afternoon to compensate for the joint live sessions!</u></p> <p><u>Required Reading:</u> Lemke, Christiane; Wiedekind, Jakob (2021): <u>Der Kampf um das Weiße Haus</u> – Die US Präsidentschaftswahl 2020 im Zeichen von Polarisierung, Corona-Pandemie und gesellschaftlichen Spannungen. Wiesbaden: Springer VS. Kapitel 10 & 11: 195-220.</p>
<p>Module II</p> <p>6th Week November 24</p>	<p>American Engagement in International Affairs</p> <p><u>Today's Topic:</u> <i>American Foreign Policy – A Historical Review</i></p> <p><u>Required Reading:</u> Nye, Joseph (2019): The Rise and Fall of American Hegemony from Wilson to Trump. <i>International Affairs</i> 95:1. 63-80.</p> <p><u>Further Reading:</u> Jahn, Beate (2018): Liberal Internationalism. Historical trajectory and current prospects. <i>International Affairs</i> 94:1 43-61.</p> <p>Haas, Richard N. (2018): Liberal World Order, R.I.P. Council on Foreign Relations, March 21, 2018. https://www.cfr.org/article/liberal-world-order-rip. Accessed: March 16, 2021.</p> <p><u>Recommended Reading:</u> Nye Jr., Joseph (2020): Do Morals Matter? Presidents and Foreign Policy from FDR to Trump, New York: Oxford University Press.</p>

7th Week: December 1	<p><u><i>Today's Topic: Domestic Foundations of Overseas Engagement</i></u></p> <p><u>Required Reading:</u> Harris, Peter (2018): Why Trump Won't Retrench: The Militarist Redoubt in American Foreign Policy. <i>Political Science Quarterly</i> 133 (4): 611-640.</p> <p><u>Further Reading:</u> Böller, Florian; Herr, Lukas D. (2019): From Washington without Love: Congressional Foreign Policy Making and US-Russian Relations under President Trump. <i>Contemporary Politics</i> (May 2019): 1-21.</p>
Module III	<p>Cooperation in the Liberal International Order</p> <p><u><i>Today's Topic: Explaining Contestation</i></u></p> <p><u>Required Reading:</u> Börzel, Tanja A., and Michael Zürn (2021): Contestation of the Liberal International Order: From Liberal Multilateralism to Postnational Liberalism. <i>International Organization</i> 75(2): 282-305.</p> <p><u>Further Reading:</u> Lake, David A., Lisa L. Martin and Thomas Risse (2021): Challenges to the Liberal Order: Reflections on International Organization. <i>International Organization</i> 75 (2).</p>
9th Week December 15	<p><u><i>Today's Topic: Uncertain Transatlantic Relations</i></u></p> <p><u>Required Reading:</u> Aggestam, Lisbeth; Hyde-Price, Adrian (2019): Double Trouble: Trump, Transatlantic Relations and European Strategic Autonomy. <i>Journal of Common Market Studies</i>. 57 (1): 114-127.</p> <p><u>Further Reading:</u> Lemke, Christiane; Wiedekind, Jakob (2021): Der Kampf um das Weiße Haus – Die US Präsidentschaftswahl 2020 im Zeichen von Polarisierung, Corona-Pandemie und gesellschaftlichen Spannungen. Wiesbaden: Springer VS. Kapitel 9.</p> <p>Ohnesorge, Hendrik W. (2020): Joe Biden and the Future of Transatlantic Relations. E-International Papers. https://www.e-ir.info/2020/12/01/joe-biden-and-the-future-of-transatlantic-relations/. Accessed: March 16, 2021.</p>

10th Week December 22	<p><u>Today's Topic: What Future for the Liberal International Order?</u> (Realism)</p> <p><u>Required Reading:</u> Mearsheimer, John J. (2019): Bound to Fail: The Rise and Fall of the Liberal International Order. <i>International Security</i> 43 (4): 7-50.</p> <p><u>Further Reading:</u> Glaser, Charles L. (2019): A Flawed Framework – Why the Liberal International Order Concept is Misguided. <i>International Security</i> 43 (4): 51-87.</p>
11th Week January 12	<p><u>Today's Topic: What Future for the Liberal International Order?</u> (Liberalism)</p> <p><u>Required Reading:</u> Ikenberry, John G. (2018): The end of liberal international order? <i>International Affairs</i> 94 (1): 7-23.</p> <p><u>Further Reading:</u> Friedman Lissner, Rebecca; Rapp-Hooper, Mira (2018): The Day after Trump: American Strategy for a New International Order, <i>The Washington Quarterly</i>, 41:1, 7-25.</p>
Module IV	Research Design
12th Week January 19	<p><u>Today's Topic: Principles of Research Design I</u></p> <p><u>Required Reading:</u> Panke, Diana (2018): Research Design and Method Selection – Making Good Choices in the Social Sciences. London: Sage Publications. Chapter 1: 1-31.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Preparations for the graded exams: See handouts on Stud.IP! • Seminar Evaluation <p><u>Further Reading:</u> Gschwend, Thomas; Schimmelfennig, Frank (2011): Introduction: Designing Research in Political Science – A Dialogue between Theory and Data. In: Gschwend, Thomas; Schimmelfennig, Frank (Eds.): Research Design in Political Science – How to Practice What They Preach. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan. Chapter 1: 1-18.</p>

13th Week January 26	<p><i>Today's Topic: Principles of Research Design II & Final Session</i></p> <p><u>Required Reading:</u> Panke, Diana (2018): Research Design and Method Selection – Making Good Choices in the Social Sciences. London: Sage Publications. Chapters 2 & 3: 33-119.</p> <p>Concluding Remarks for this seminar:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Discussion of Evaluation and Additional Feedback • <u>Extensive Round of Open Questions</u> • “Themenausgabe” and “SL-Scheine” • Closing Remarks
---	---

List of References + Additional Literature:

Abramowitz, Alan I. (2018): The Great Alignment – Race, Party Transformation, and the Rise of Donald Trump. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Abramowitz, Alan I.; McCoy, Jennifer (2019): United States: Racial Resentment, Negative Partisanship, and Polarization in Trump’s America. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 681(1): 137-156.

Aggestam, Lisbeth; Hyde-Price, Adrian (2019): Double Trouble: Trump, Transatlantic Relations and European Strategic Autonomy. *Journal of Common Market Studies*. 57 (1): 114- 127.

Anderson, Jeffrey J. (2018): Rancor and resilience in the Atlantic Political Order: the Obama years. *Journal of European integration* 40 (5): 621-636.

Archik, Kristin; Akhtar, Shayerah I.; Belkin, Paul; Mix, Derek E. (2020): Transatlantic Relations: U.S. Interests and Key Issues. Congressional Research Service.

<https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/R/R45745>. Accessed: March 16, 2021.

Binder, Sarah (2018): Congress and the President – Legislating in Polarized Times. In: Thurber, James; Tama, Jordan (Eds.) (2018): Rivals for Power – Presidential-Congressional Relations (6th Edition). New York: Rowman & Littlefield. 31-51.

Böller, Florian; Herr, Lukas D. (2019): From Washington without Love: Congressional Foreign Policy Making and US-Russian Relations under President Trump. *Contemporary Politics* (May 2019): 1-21.

Börzel, Tanja A., and Michael Zürn (2021): Contestation of the Liberal International Order: From Liberal Multilateralism to Postnational Liberalism. *International Organization* 75(2): 282-305

Busby, Joshua; Kafura, Craig; Monten, Jonathan; Tama, Jordan (2020): Multilateralism and the Use of Force: Experimental Evidence on the Views of Foreign Policy Elites. *Foreign Policy Analysis* 16: 118-129.

De Hoop Scheffer, Alexandra; Quencez; Weber, Gesine (2021): Seizing Biden's Pivot to Europe: Time for Responsibility-Sharing. Policy Brief. The German Marshal Fund of the United States. <https://www.gmfus.org/publications/seizing-bidens-pivot-europe-time-responsibility-sharing>. Accessed: March 16, 2021.

Friedman Lissner, Rebecca; Rapp-Hooper, Mira (2018): The Day after Trump: American Strategy for a New International Order, *The Washington Quarterly*, 41:1, 7-25.

Glaser, Charles L. (2019): A Flawed Framework – Why the Liberal International Order Concept is Misguided. *International Security* 43 (4): 51-87.

Gschwend, Thomas; Schimmelfennig, Frank (2011): Introduction: Designing Research in Political Science – A Dialogue between Theory and Data. In: Gschwend, Thomas; Schimmelfennig, Frank (Eds.): Research Design in Political Science – How to Practice What They Preach. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan. Chapter 1: 1-18.

Haas, Richard N. (2018): Liberal World Order, R.I.P. Council on Foreign Relations, March 21, 2018. <https://www.cfr.org/article/liberal-world-order-rip>. Accessed: March 16, 2021.

Harris, Peter (2018): Why Trump Won't Retrench: The Militarist Redoubt in American Foreign Policy. *Political Science Quarterly* 133 (4): 611-640.

Ikenberry, John G. (2009): Liberalism in a Realist World. In: *International Studies* 46 (1-2), S. 203–219.

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

Jahn, Beate (2018): Liberal Internationalism. Historical trajectory and current prospects. *International Affairs* 94:1 43-61.

Keohane, Robert O. (1990): Multilateralism – An Agenda for Research. *International Journal* 45 (4): 731-764.

Lake, David A., Lisa L. Martin and Thomas Risse (2021): Challenges to the Liberal Order: Reflections on International Organization. *International Organization* 75 (2).

Lemke, Christiane; Wiedekind, Jakob (2021, forthcoming): Der Kampf um das Weiße Haus – Die US Präsidentschaftswahl 2020 im Zeichen von Polarisierung, Corona-Pandemie und gesellschaftlichen Spannungen. Wiesbaden: Springer VS.

Mearsheimer, John J. (2019): Bound to Fail: The Rise and Fall of the Liberal International Order. *International Security* 43 (4): 7-50.

Moller, Sara Bjerg, and Sten Rynning (2021): Revitalizing Transatlantic Relations: NATO 2030 and beyond. *Washington Quarterly* 44(1): 177-197.

Nye, Joseph (2019): The Rise and Fall of American Hegemony from Wilson to Trump. *International Affairs* 95:1. 63-80.

Nye Jr., Joseph (2020): Do Morals Matter? Presidents and Foreign Policy from FDR to Trump, New York: Oxford University Press.

Ohnesorge, Hendrik W. (2020): Joe Biden and the Future of Transatlantic Relations. E-International Papers. <https://www.e-ir.info/2020/12/01/joe-biden-and-the-future-of-transatlantic-relations/>. Accessed: March 16, 2021.

Panke, Diana (2018): Research Design and Method Selection – Making Good Choices in the Social Sciences. London: Sage Publications.

PEW Research Center (2018): Conflicting Partisan Priorities for the U.S. Foreign Policy. <https://www.people-press.org/2018/11/29/conflicting-partisan-priorities-for-u-s-foreign-policy/>. Accessed: March 16, 2021.

Riddervold, Marianne, and Akasemi Newsome (2018): Transatlantic Relations in Times of Uncertainty: Crises and EU-US relations. *Journal of European Integration* 40(5): 505-521.

Skidmore, David (2012): The Obama Presidency and US Foreign Policy: Where's the Multilateralism? *International Studies Perspectives* 13: 43-64.

Smith, Mike (2018): The EU, the US and the crisis of contemporary multilateralism. *Journal of European Integration* 40 (5): 539-553.

Tama, Jordan (2018): Presidential-Congressional Relations in Foreign Policy. In: Thurber, James; Tama, Jordan (Eds.): *Rivals for Power – Presidential-Congressional Relations* (6th Edition). New York: Rowman & Littlefield. 217-236.

Tarzi, Shah M. (2019): The Trump Divide and Partisan Attitudes Regarding US Foreign Policy: Select Theoretical and Empirical Observations. *International Studies* 56 (1): 46-57.