

April 1, 2019

POLISCI 242 | POLISCI 342 | INTLPOL 232

Foreign Policy Decision Making in Comparative Perspective

Term: Spring 2019

Units: 3 units

Instructor: Michael McFaul, mcfaul@stanford.edu

Teaching Coordinator: Bronte Kass, bkass@stanford.edu

Time: Mondays 2:30 pm – 4:20 pm

Location: Encina West 106

Course Description

This seminar will examine how countries and multilateral organizations make decisions about foreign and international policy. The hypothesis to be explored in the course is whether individuals, bureaucracies, and interest groups shape foreign policy decisions. That hypothesis will be tested against other more structural explanations of how countries and organizations behave in the international system. After a brief review of the academic literature in the first part of the course, the seminar will focus on several cases studies of foreign policy decision-making by the United States (Bush, Obama, Trump), China, Russia, Iran, and the United Nations. Specifically, we will seek to explain:

- The U.S. (or Bush administration) decision to invade Iraq;
- The U.S. (or Obama administration) decision to expand the war in Afghanistan;
- The U.S. (or Trump administration) decision to engage directly with Kim Jong-un on denuclearization negotiations;
- The Chinese decision to launch One Belt, One Road;
- The Russian decision to invade Ukraine;
- The Iranian decision to sign the JCPOA;
- The United Nations Security Council decision to intervene in Libya, but not Syria.

Office Hours

Friday afternoons and by appointment only. Please schedule with Mahlorei Bruce Apalis, mahlorei@stanford.edu.

Assignments

We will meet once a week for two hours. Students are expected to attend every class session and complete all required readings before each session. Students with an excused absence

must notify the course assistant in writing before the start of class. More than one excused absence will affect class participation grading. Students must attend each class prepared to interview our guest speakers in the first hour and to discuss the readings and engage in discussion in the second hour. This course is not a lecture class. Sessions will be highly participatory.

Beginning on April 15th, two students (or two groups of students) will prepare a short paper (5-8 pages) on the outcome to be discussed, one arguing that individuals, institutions (regimes), or bureaucratic politics produced the foreign policy outcome and the other arguing that realist or structuralist explanations offer a better explanation for the outcome in question. These papers will be posted every Friday and are to be discussed and debated on the following Monday.

In the hour before our discussion of these papers, we will have a guest expert on the foreign policy outcome in question for that week. During this hour, students will be expected to ask questions that will then help inform the subsequent discussion in the second hour. Guests are not being asked to “lecture.” All students need to come to class with at least one question (if you have poor questions, you will generate a poor discussion, and vice versa.)

In addition to this short group paper, everyone will write a final paper (10-12 pages), explaining one of the decisions examined in the course. Final papers will be due on June 10th at 9 am.

Evaluation

25%: class participation.

25%: short paper and presentation.

50%: final paper.

Technology Policy

The use of laptops, tablets, mobile phones, and any recording devices is prohibited during seminar discussions. This condition is important to me. If you cannot abide by it, please do not take this class.

Course Materials

Readings will be posted on Canvas, available to order through the bookstore, or for reference with the Green Library course reserves.

COURSE SCHEDULE

April 1: Introduction

Get ahead on the readings now!

April 8: Review of Theories

Required Readings:

Mearsheimer, John. "Introduction" and "Anarchy and the Struggle for Power." In *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*, 1-54. W.W. Norton & Company, 2014.

Owen, John M. "How Liberalism Produces Democratic Peace." *International Security* 19, no. 2 (Fall 1994): 87-125. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2539197>.

Huntington, Samuel P. "Clash of Civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs*, Summer 1993. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/1993-06-01/clash-civilizations>.

Allison, Graham T. "Conceptual Models of the Cuban Missile Crisis." *American Political Science Review* 63, no. 3 (September 1969): 689-718. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1954423>.

Duedney, Daniel, and John Ikenberry. "Liberal World: The Resilient Order." *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2018. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/world/2018-06-14/liberal-world>.

Schultz, Kenneth. "Domestic Politics and International Relations." In *Handbook of International Relations*, edited by Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse, and Beth Simmons, 478-502. London: Sage Publications, 2012.

Saunders, Elizabeth N. "Transformative Choices Leaders and the Origins of Intervention Strategy." *International Security* 34, no. 2 (Fall 2009): 119-161. <https://doi.org/10.1162/isec.2009.34.2.119>.

Recommended Readings:

Walt, Stephen. "One World, Many Theories." *Foreign Policy*, Spring 1998.

Tomz, Michael, and Jessica L.P. Weeks. "Public Opinion and the Democratic Peace." *American Political Science Review* 107, no. 4 (November 2013): 849-865. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055413000488>.

Weeks, Jessica L. "Strongmen and Straw Men: Authoritarian Regimes and the Initiation of International Conflict." *American Political Science Review* 106, no. 2 (May 2012): 326–347. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055412000111>.

Drezner, Daniel. "Ideas, Bureaucratic Politics and the Crafting of Foreign Policy." *American Journal of Political Science* 44, no. 4 (October 2000): 733-749.

Doyle, Michael. "Kant, Liberal Legacies, and Foreign Affairs." *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 12, no. 3 (Summer 1983): 205–235.

Jervis, Robert. "Do Leaders Matter and How Would We Know?" *Security Studies* 22, no. 2 (April 2013): 153–179.

Goldgeier, James, and Michael McFaul, "A Tale of Two Worlds: Core and Periphery in the Post-Cold War Era." *International Organization* 46, no. 2 (Spring 1992): 467-491. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020818300027788>.

Howell, William G., and Jon C. Pevehouse. "When Congress Stops Wars: Partisan Politics and Presidential Power." *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2007. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/iraq/2007-09-01/when-congress-stops-wars>.

George, Alexander L. "The 'Operational Code': A Neglected Approach to the Study of Political Leaders and Decision-Making." *International Studies Quarterly* 13, no. 2 (June 1969): 1-53.

Krasner, Stephen. "Are Bureaucracies Important (Or Allison Wonderland)." *Foreign Policy*, no. 7 (Summer 1972): 159-179.

Hermann, Margaret, and Charles Hermann, "Who Makes Foreign Policy Decisions and How: An Empirical Inquiry." *International Studies Quarterly* 33, no. 4 (December 1989): 361-387.

Ikenberry, John G. "Liberal Internationalism 3.0: America and the Dilemmas of Liberal World Order," *Perspectives on Politics* 7, no. 1 (March 2009): 71-87. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592709090112>.

April 15: The Chinese Decision to Launch One Belt One Road

Guest Speaker: Professor Jean Oi

Required Readings:

Jisi, Wang. “‘Marching Westwards’: The Rebalancing of China’s Geostrategy.” *The World in 2020 According to China: Chinese Foreign Policy Elites Discuss Emerging Trends in International Politics* 2 (June 2014): 129-136. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004273917_008.

Xue, Li. “China’s Foreign Policy Decision-Making Mechanism and ‘One Belt One Road’ Strategy.” *Journal of Contemporary East Asia Studies* 5, no. 2 (2016): 23-35. <https://doi.org/10.1080/24761028.2016.11869095>.

Ye, Min. “Fragmentation and Mobilization: Domestic Politics of the Belt and Road in China.” *Journal of Contemporary China* (February 2019): 1-16, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10670564.2019.1580428>.

Allison, Graham. “China vs. America: Managing the Next Clash of Civilizations.” *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2017. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/usa/2017-08-15/china-vs-america?pgtype=hpg>.

Economy, Elizabeth C. “Introduction” and “The Lion Awakens.” In *The Third Revolution: Xi Jinping and the New Chinese State*, 1-19 and 186-230. Oxford University Press, 2018.

“Transcript of Vice Foreign Minister Le Yucheng’s exclusive interview with the Financial Times.” *China Daily*, September 26, 2018. <http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/a/201809/26/WS5bab2f67a310c4cc775e8304.html>.

Lampton, David M. “The World.” In *Following the Leader: Ruling China, from Deng Xiaoping to Xi Jinping*, 108-136. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2013.

Lampton, David M., Selina Ho, and Cheng-Chwee Kuik. “Railway Politics in China.” In *Rivers of Iron: High-Speed Rail in Southeast Asia and China’s Quest for Power* (forthcoming).

Hu, Angang. “The Belt and Road: Revolution of Economic Geography and the Era of Win-Winism.” In *China’s Belt and Road Initiatives: Economic Geography Reformation*, edited by Wei Liu, 15-32. Springer: Singapore, 2018. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-13-0101-8_2.

Recommended Readings:

Yu, Hong. “Motivation behind China’s ‘One Belt, One Road’ Initiatives and Establishment of the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank.” *Journal of Contemporary China* 26, no.105 (2017): 353-368. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10670564.2016.1245894>.

Rolland, Nedège. “China’s ‘Belt and Road Initiative’: Underwhelming or Game-Changer?” *The Washington Quarterly* 40, no. 1 (Spring 2017): 127-142. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0163660X.2017.1302743>.

Perlez, Jane, and Yufan Huang. "Behind China's \$1 Trillion Plan to Shake Up the Economic Order." *New York Times*, May 13, 2017. <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/13/business/china-railway-one-belt-one-road-1-trillion-plan.html>.

Lampton, David M. "China's Foreign and National Security Policy-Making Process: Is It Changing, and Does It Matter?" In *The Making of Chinese Foreign and Security Policy in the Era of Reform*, 1-36. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001.

Liu, Hai Yue, Ying Kai Tang, Xiao Lan Chen, and Joanna Poznanska. "The Determinants of Chinese Outward FDI in Countries Along 'One Belt One Road.'" *Emerging Markets Finance and Trade* 53, no. 6 (2017): 1374-1387. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1540496X.2017.1295843>.

Jakobson, Linda, and Ryan Manuel. "How are Foreign Policy Decisions Made in China?" *Asia & the Pacific Policy Studies* 3, no.1 (January 2016): 101-110. <https://doi.org/10.1002/app5.121>.

Cai, Peter. "Understanding China's Belt and Road Initiative." *Lowy Institute for International Policy*, March 22, 2017. <https://www.lowyinstitute.org/publications/understanding-belt-and-road-initiative>.

Zhang, Junhua. "What's Driving China's One Belt, One Road Initiative?" *East Asia Forum*, September 2, 2016. <https://www.eastasiaforum.org/2016/09/02/whats-driving-chinas-one-belt-one-road-initiative/>.

Torigian, Joseph. "Historical Legacies and Leaders' Worldviews: Communist Party History and Xi's Learned (And Unlearned) Lessons." *China Perspectives*, no. 1-2 (June 2018): 7-15.

McFaul, Michael. "A Cold War with China is a Choice, Not a Destiny." *Medium*, November 28, 2018. <https://medium.com/freeman-spogli-institute-for-international-studies/a-cold-war-with-china-is-a-choice-not-a-destiny-ca71745a915b>.

Miller, Alice. "Valedictory: Analyzing the Chinese Leadership In An Era Of Sex, Money, and Power." *China Leadership Monitor*, no. 57 (Fall 2018), 1-17.

Melton, Oliver, and Jessica Batke. "Why Do We Keep Writing About Chinese Politics As If We Know More Than We Do?" *ChinaFile*, October 16, 2017. <http://www.chinafile.com/reporting-opinion/viewpoint/why-do-we-keep-writing-about-chinese-politics-if-we-know-more-we-do>.

Bell, Daniel A. "Comparing Political Values in China and the West: What Can Be Learned and Why It Matters." *Annual Review of Political Science* 20 (January 2017): 93-110. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-polisci-051215-031821>.

Pei, Minxin. "China in 2017: Back to Strongman Rule." *Asian Survey* 58, no. 1 (January/February 2018): 21-32. <https://doi.org/10.1525/as.2018.58.1.21>.

April 22: The U.S. Decision to escalate the war in Afghanistan (2009)

Guest Speaker: Ambassador Karl Eikenberry

Required Readings:

Obama, Barack H. "Remarks by the President in Address to the Nation on the Way Forward in Afghanistan and Pakistan." *The White House*, December 2009. <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/remarks-president-address-nation-way-forward-afghanistan-and-pakistan>.

Chollet, Derek. "Rebalance, Reset, Resurge." In *The Long Game: How Obama Defied Washington and Redefined America's Role in the World*, 51-88. New York: Public Affairs, 2016.

Eikenberry, Karl. "The Limits of Counterinsurgency Doctrine in Afghanistan: The Other Side of the COIN." *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2013. <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/139645/karl-w-eikenberry/the-limits-of-counterinsurgency-doctrine-in-afghanistan>.

Landler, Mark. "Holbrooke Agonistes." In *Alter Egos: Hillary Clinton, Barack Obama, and the Twilight Struggle Over American Power*, 75-98. Random House, 2016.

Gates, Robert. "Afghanistan: A House Divided." In *Duty: Memories of a Secretary at War*, 335-386. Knopf, 2015.

Obama, Barack H. "Nobel Lecture: A Just and Lasting Peace." *The Nobel Prize*, December 2009. <https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/peace/2009/obama/26183-nobel-lecture-2009>.

Recommended Readings:

Marsh, Kevin. "Obama's Surge: A Bureaucratic Politics Analysis of the Decision to Order a Troop Surge in the Afghanistan War." *Foreign Policy Analysis* 10, no. 3 (July 2014): 265-288. <https://doi.org/10.1111/fpa.12000>.

Saunders, Elizabeth N. "Leaders, Advisers, and the Political Origins of Elite Support for War." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 62, no. 10 (October 2018): 2118-2149. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022002718785670>.

Mann, James. "Afghanistan: Flip of the COIN," "It's Not Like This Ghost in His Head" and "The Speeches: 'Evil Does Exist.'" In *The Obamians: The Struggle Inside the White House to Redefine American Power*, 117-155. Penguin Books, 2012.

April 29: The U.S. decision to invade Iraq

Guest Speaker: Professor Condoleezza Rice

Required Readings:

Rice, Condoleezza. "The World's Most Dangerous Weapons," "Saddam Again," "Confronting the International Community with a Choice" and "48 Hours." In *No Higher Honor: A Memoir of My Years in Washington*, 148-224. New York: Broadway Paperbacks, 2012.

Dawisha, Adeed. "Ideology, Realpolitik, and US Foreign Policy: A Discussion of Frank P. Harvey's *Explaining the Iraq War: Counterfactual Theory, Logic and Evidence*." *Perspectives on Politics* 11, no. 2 (June 2013): 578-581. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S153759271300087X>.

Fukuyama, Francis. "Threat, Risk, and Preventive War." In *America at the Crossroads: Democracy, Power, and the Neoconservative Legacy*, 95-113. Yale University Press, 2007.

"The National Security Strategy of the United States of America." *The White House*, September 2002, 12-16. <https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/63562.pdf>.

Baker, Peter. "Afghanistan was too easy," "A brutal, ugly, repugnant man," "You could hear the hinge of history turn" and "Maybe we'll get lucky." In *Days of Fire: Bush and Cheney in the White House*, 188-269. New York: Doubleday, 2013.

Recommended Readings:

Fukuyama, Francis. "The Neoconservative Moment." *The National Interest*, June 1, 2004. <https://nationalinterest.org/article/the-neoconservative-moment-811>.

Kaufmann, Chaim. "Threat Inflation and the Failure of the Marketplace of Ideas: The Selling of the Iraq War." *International Security* 29, no. 1 (Summer 2004): 5-48.

May 6: The UN decision to not use force in Syria (but use force in Libya)

Guest Speaker: Professor Jeremy Weinstein

Required Readings:

Thakur, Ramesh. "Afghanistan, Libya and Syria: UN-authorized interventions and non-intervention." In *The United Nations, Peace and Security: From Collective Security to the Responsibility to Protect*, 246-271. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017.

Adams, Dr. Simon. "Failure to Protect: Syria and the UN Security Council." *Global Centre for the Responsibility to Protect*, no. 5 (2015): 1-26.

http://www.globalr2p.org/media/files/syriapaper_final.pdf

Kuperman, Alan J. "A Model Humanitarian Intervention? Reassessing NATO's Libya Campaign." *International Security* 38, no. 1 (July 2013): 106-136. https://doi.org/10.1162/ISEC_a_00126.

Gifkins, Jess. "R2P in the UN Security Council: Darfur, Libya and beyond." *Cooperation and Conflict* 51, no. 2 (2016): 148-165. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010836715613365>.

Stedman, Stephen. "The United States in the Security Council." In *The UN Security Council in the 21st Century*, edited by Sebastian von Einsiedel, David M. Malone, and Bruno Stagno Ugarte, 57-74. Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2015.

Recommended Readings:

Melling, Graham, and Anne Dennett. "The Security Council veto and Syria: responding to mass atrocities through the 'Uniting for Peace' resolution." *Indian Journal of International Law* 57, no. 3-4 (December 2017): 285-307. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s40901-018-0084-9>.

Bosco, David. *Five to Rule Them All: The UN Security Council and the Making of the Modern World*. Oxford University Press, 2009.

Cochez, Pierre and Agnès Rotivel. "Why Can't the UN do anything in Syria?" *LaCroix International*, September 28, 2016. <https://international.la-croix.com/news/why-cant-the-un-do-anything-in-syria/3947#>.

Chollet, Derek. "A Cascade of Crises." In *The Long Game: How Obama Defied Washington and Redefined America's Role in the World*, 89-126. New York: Public Affairs, 2016.

Landler, Mark. "Post-Q." In *Alter Egos: Hillary Clinton, Barack Obama, and the Twilight Struggle Over American Power*, 178-203. Random House, 2016.

McFaul, Michael. "The Arab Spring, Libya, and the Beginning of the End of the Reset" and "Chasing Russians, Failing Syrians." In *From Cold War to Hot Peace*, 205-227 and 330-358. New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2018.

Kuperman, Alan J. “Obama’s Libya Debacle: How a Well-Meaning Intervention Ended in Failure.” *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2015. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/libya/2019-02-18/obamas-libya-debacle>.

Keating, Tom. “The UN Security Council on Libya: Legitimation or Dissimulation?” In *Libya, the Responsibility to Protect and the Future of Humanitarian Intervention*, edited by Aidan Hehir and Robert Murray, 162-190. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.

Goldsmith, Jack, and Daryl Levinson. “Law for States: International Law, Constitutional Law, Public Law.” *Harvard Law Review* 122, no. 7 (2009): 1801–1822.

Hathaway, Oona, and Scott J. Shapiro. “What Realists Don’t Understand about Law.” *Foreign Policy*, October 9, 2017. <https://foreignpolicy.com/2017/10/09/what-realists-dont-understand-about-law/>

Bolton, John R. “Is There Really Law in International Affairs?” *Transnational Law & Contemporary Problems* 10, no. 1 (2000): 1-48.

Franck, Tom. “Legality and Legitimacy in Humanitarian Intervention.” *Nomos* 27 (2006): 143-157.

May 13: The Iranian decision to sign the JCPOA

Guest Speaker: Professor Abbas Milani

Required Readings:

Kazemzadeh, Masoud. “Foreign policy decision making in Iran and the nuclear program.” *Comparative Strategy* 36, no. 3 (August 2017): 198-214. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01495933.2017.1338478>.

Tabatabai, Ariane. “How Iran Will Determine the Nuclear Deal’s Fate: The Decision-Making Process Is No Simple Top-Down Exercise.” *Foreign Affairs*, May 2018. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/iran/2018-05-16/how-iran-will-determine-nuclear-deals-fate>.

Burns, William J. “Iran and the Bomb: The Secret Talks.” In *The Back Channel: A Memoir of American Diplomacy and the Case for Its Renewal*, 337-387. New York: Random House, 2019.

Faghihi, Rohollah. “The Man Who Actually Runs Iran’s Foreign Policy.” *Foreign Policy*, September 4, 2018. <https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/09/04/youve-never-heard-of-the-man-who-runs-irans-foreign-policy/>.

Erdbrink, Thomas. "In Iran, Rouhani Begins 2nd Term with Signs He's Yielding to Hard-liners." *New York Times*, August 3, 2017. <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/03/world/middleeast/iran-hassan-rouhani-ayatollah-khamenei.html>.

Sadjadpour, Karim. "The Return of Iranian Hard-Liners' Favorite Moderate." *The Atlantic*, March 7, 2019. <https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2019/03/what-does-javad-zarifs-return-mean/584305>.

Recommended Readings:

Mousavian, Seyed Hossein. *The Iranian Nuclear Crisis: A Memoir*. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2012.

Milani, Abbas, and Michael McFaul. "Reading Reagan in Tehran: A Strategy of Realistic Engagement." *The Washington Quarterly* 39, no. 4 (Winter 2017): 145-163. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0163660X.2016.1264063>.

Edelman, Eric and Ray Takeyh. "How Foreign Policy Has Sustained the Revolution at Home." In *Revolution and Aftermath: Forging a New Strategy toward Iran*, 13-42. Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 2017.

Sariolghalam, Mahmood. "Prospects for Change in Iranian Foreign Policy." *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, February 20, 2018. <https://carnegieendowment.org/2018/02/20/prospects-for-change-in-iranian-foreign-policy-pub-75569>.

Maleki, Abbas. "Decision Making in Iran's Foreign Policy: A Heuristic Approach." *Journal of Social Affairs* (February 2014): 1-12.

Sherman, Wendy. "How We Got the Iran Deal: And Why We'll Miss It." *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2018. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/2018-08-13/how-we-got-iran-deal>.

Sadjadpour, Karim. "Ayatollah Machiavelli: How Ali Khamenei Became the Most Powerful Man in the Middle East." *Hoover Institution Press* (June 2017): 1-19. <https://www.hoover.org/sites/default/files/research/docs/ayatollah-machiavelli-how-ali-khamenei-became-the-most-powerful-man-in-the-middle-east.pdf>

Maloney, Suzanne. "The Roots and Evolution of Iran's Regional Strategy." *Atlantic Council* (September 2017): 1-12. https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/images/The_Roots_and_Evolution_of_Irans_Regional_Strategy_web_0928.pdf

May 20: The Russian decision to invade Ukraine

Guest Speaker: Professor Kathryn Stoner

Required Readings:

McFaul, Michael, Stephen Sestanovich, and John Mearsheimer. "Faulty Powers: Who Started the Ukraine Crisis?" *Foreign Affairs* 93, no. 6 (November/December 2014): 167-178.

McFaul, Michael, and Kathryn Stoner, "Who Lost Russia (This Time)? Vladimir Putin," *The Washington Quarterly* 38, no. 2 (Summer 2015): 167-187.

Treisman, Daniel. "Why Putin Took Crimea: The Gambler in the Kremlin." *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2016. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/ukraine/2016-04-18/why-putin-took-crimea>.

Taylor, Brian D. "Introduction" and "Putinism Decoded." In *The Code of Putinism*, 1-41. Oxford University Press, 2018.

Gurganus, Julia, and Eugene Rumer. "Russia's Global Ambitions in Perspective." *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, February 20, 2019. <https://carnegieendowment.org/2019/02/20/russia-s-global-ambitions-in-perspective-pub-78067>.

Lavrov, Sergey. "Russia's Foreign Policy in a Historical Perspective." *Russia in Global Affairs*, March 2016. <https://eng.globalaffairs.ru/number/Russias-Foreign-Policy-in-a-Historical-Perspective-18067>.

Recommended Readings:

Freedman, Lawrence. "The Russia-Ukraine Conflict" and "War." In *Ukraine and the Art of Strategy*, 50-127. Oxford University Press, 2019.

Charap, Samuel, and Timothy J. Colton. *Everyone Loses: The Ukraine Crisis and the Ruinous Contest for Post-Soviet Eurasia*. London: The International Institute for Strategic Studies, 2017.

May 27: Memorial Day – no classes

June 3: The U.S. decision to negotiate directly with Kim Jong-un

Guest Speaker: Dr. H.R. McMaster

Required Readings:

Trump, Donald. "Remarks by President Trump to the National Assembly of the Republic of Korea | Seoul, Republic of Korea." *The White House*, November 2017. https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-national-assembly-republic-korea-seoul-republic-korea/?utm_source=link.

"National Security Strategy of the United States of America." *The White House*, December 2017, 45-47. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/NSS-Final-12-18-2017-0905.pdf>.

Beigun, Stephen. "Remarks on DPRK at Stanford University." *U.S. Department of State*, January 2019. <https://www.state.gov/p/eap/rls/rm/2019/01/288702.htm>.

Hohmann, James. "The Daily 202: Trump administration divided internally over North Korea approach as second summit nears." *The Washington Post*, February 21, 2019. https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/powerpost/paloma/daily-202/2019/02/21/daily-202-trump-administration-divided-internally-over-north-korea-approach-as-second-summit-nears/5c6da2391b326b71858c6bea/?utm_term=.f8985c66cf7b.

Ward, Alex. "North Korea's latest angry statement towards the US, explained." *Vox Media*, August 10, 2018. <https://www.vox.com/2018/8/10/17674532/north-korea-trump-kim-pompeo-bolton>.

Goldgeier, James, and Elizabeth Saunders. "The Unconstrained Presidency: Checks and Balances Eroded Long Before Trump." *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2018. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/2018-08-13/unconstrained-presidency>.

Sanger, David and Edward Wong. "How the Trump-Kim Summit Failed: Big Threats, Big Egos, Bad Bets." *New York Times*, March 2, 2019. <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/03/02/world/asia/trump-kim-jong-un-summit.html>.

Walcott, John. "President Trump Just Sidelined His Own Top Negotiator on North Korea." *Time*, March 20, 2019. <http://time.com/5554515/donald-trump-north-korea-conclusions-friend/>.

Recommended Readings:

Burns, William J. "How to Save the Power of Diplomacy." *New York Times*, March 8, 2019. <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/03/08/opinion/sunday/diplomacy-trump-state-department.html>.

Hecker, Siegfried S., Robert L. Carlin, and Elliot A. Serbin. "Update of North Korea's nuclear and missile capabilities in 2018." *Center for International Security and*

Cooperation, Stanford University, February 11, 2019. <https://fsi-live.s3.us-west-1.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/colorchart2018updatefin.pdf>.

Howard, Peter. "Why Not Invade North Korea? Threats, Language Games, and U.S. Foreign Policy." *International Studies Quarterly*, 48 no. 4 (December 2004): 805-828. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0020-8833.2004.00326.x>.

June 5: Conclusions and make-up class for May 27 (Dinner at Michael McFaul's house)
