

March 2021

POLISCI 242 | POLISCI 342 | INTLPOL 232

Foreign Policy Decision Making in Comparative Perspective

Term: Spring 2021

Units: 3 or 5 units

Instructor: Michael McFaul, mcfaul@stanford.edu

Teaching Coordinator: Bronte Kass, bkass@stanford.edu

Time: Mondays 2:30 pm – 4:20 pm, Fridays 3:00 pm – 4:00 pm (optional session)

Course Description

Why do states behave the way they do in the international system? This seminar seeks to answer this most basic question. The hypothesis to be explored in the course is whether individuals, bureaucracies, and interest groups shape foreign policy decisions, or whether more structural theories do a better job of explaining how countries 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 (or Bush, Obama, Trump, Biden administrations), 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) & United Nations Security Council decision to intervene in Libya, but not Syria;
- The Chinese decision to launch the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI);
- The Russian decision to invade Ukraine;
- The Iranian decision to sign the JCPOA.
- The U.S. (or Trump/Biden administrations) decision to pursue a more confrontational policy towards China.

Office Hours

Thursday afternoons and by appointment only.

Please schedule with Mahlorei Bruce Apalis, mahlorei@stanford.edu

Assignments

We will meet once a week for two hours on Zoom. Students are expected to attend every class session and complete all required readings before each session, in which we will discuss the readings and engage in discussion. Because this course is not a lecture class, sessions will be highly participatory. 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. Every Friday afternoon, we also will meet for a more informal discussion. The Friday sessions is optional.

Beginning on April 19th, four to six students will prepare a short paper (3-5 pages) on the outcome to be discussed – two arguing that individuals, institutions (regimes), or bureaucratic politics produced the foreign policy outcome and the other two arguing that realist or structuralist explanations offer a better explanation for the outcome in question.

These papers will be posted every Friday and will be discussed and debated on the following Monday. All non-presenting students need to come to class with at least one question.

In addition to this short paper, everyone will write a final paper (10-12 pages), explaining one of the decisions examined in the course. A different assignment will be negotiated for those seeking to take the course for 5 units. Final papers will be due **June 4th**.

Evaluation

30%: class participation.

20%: short paper and presentation.

50%: final paper.

Technology Policy

Because this class is being held remotely, every student must participate on Zoom.

Students with Documented Disabilities

Students who may need an academic accommodation based on the impact of a disability must initiate the request with the Office of Accessible Education (OAE). Professional staff will evaluate the request with required documentation, recommend reasonable accommodations, and prepare an Accommodation Letter for faculty. Unless the student has a temporary disability, Accommodation letters are issued for the entire academic year. Students should contact the OAE as soon as possible since timely notice is needed to coordinate accommodations.

The OAE is located at 563 Salvatierra Walk (phone: 723-1066, <https://oae.stanford.edu/>).

Course Materials

Readings will be posted on Canvas.

Readings may change over the quarter. McFaul or Kass will announce any changes.

COURSE SCHEDULE

March 29th: Introduction (Structural Theories—to be discussed April 5)

Required Materials:

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>.

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>.

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

Holsti, Ole R. "Models of International Relations and Foreign Policy." In *American Foreign Policy: Theoretical Essays*, edited by G. John Ikenberry and Peter L. Trubowitz, 13-34. Oxford University Press, 2015.

Waltz, Kenneth. "Anarchic Orders and Balances of Power." In *American Foreign Policy: Theoretical Essays*, edited by G. John Ikenberry and Peter L. Trubowitz, 55-72. Oxford University Press, 2015.

Nau, Henry R. "How to Think About International Relations: Perspectives and Levels of Analysis." In *Perspectives on International Relations*, 20-71. Washington D.C.: CQ Press, 2009.

Lenin, Vladimir. "Division of the World Among Capitalist Associations," "Division of the World Among the Great Powers," and "Imperialism as a Special Stage of Capitalism." In *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, 50-74. Marxists Internet Archive, 2005. <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1916/imp-hsc/imperialism.pdf>

Wallerstein, Immanuel. "The states in the institutional vortex of the capitalist world-economy," and "Revolutionary movements in the era of US hegemony and after." In *The*

Politics of the World-Economy, 27-36 and 132-146. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.

Recommended Materials:

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

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

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>.

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>.

Mearsheimer, John J. "The False Promise of International Institutions." *International Security* 19 no. 3 (1994/1995). https://www.jstor.org/stable/2539078?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents

Krasner, Stephen D. "A Statist Approach to the Study of Foreign Policy." In *Defending the National Interest: Raw Materials Investments and U.S. Foreign Policy*, 5-34. Princeton University Press, 1978.

April 5th: Domestic Level/Agency Theories

Required Materials:

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>.

Hyde, Susan, and Elizabeth Saunders. "Recapturing Regime Type in International relations: Leaders, Institutions, and Agency Space." *International Organization* 74, no. 2 (2020): 363-395.

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>.

Kaarbo, Juliet. "A Foreign Policy Analysis Perspective on the Domestic Politics Turn in IR Theory." *International Studies Review* 17, no. 2 (June 2015): 189–216.

McFaul, Michael. "The Domestic Determinants of Russian Foreign Policy: Individuals, Ideas, and Institutions." *International Security* 45, no. 2 (Fall 2020): 95-117.

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, 2013.

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>.

Recommended Materials:

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.

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

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.

Walker, Thomas C. "Two Faces of Liberalism: Kant, Paine, and the Question of Intervention." *International Studies Quarterly* 52 (2008): 449-468.
https://www.gvsu.edu/cms4/asset/54A33349-DDB5-9122-52D039391EF8BB6C/two_faces_of_liberalism_08.pdf.

Evans, Gareth, and Mohamed Sahnoun. "The Responsibility to Protect." *Foreign Affairs* 81, no. 6 (2000): 99-110. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/2002-11-01/responsibility-protect>.

Weldes, Jutta. "Constructing National Interests." *European Journal of International Relations* 2, no. 3 (1996).

April 12th: Actors in U.S. Foreign Policy Decision Making

Required Materials:

Daalder, Ivo H., and I.M. Destler. "In the Shadow of the Oval Office: The Next National Security Adviser." *Foreign Affairs*. January/February 2009.

<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2009-01-01/shadow-oval-office>.

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>.

Mearsheimer, John J., and Stephen M. Walt. "Is It Love or The Lobby? Explaining America's Special Relationship with Israel." *Security Studies* 18, no. 1 (2009): 58-78.

Gilpin, Robert. "The Politics of Transnational Economic Relations." *International Organization* 25 no. 3 (1971).

https://www.jstor.org/stable/2706047?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents.

McFaul, Michael. "We Can Do Better: Supporting Democratic Development More Effectively." In *Advancing Democracy Abroad*, 147-208. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2010.

Ahmed, Salman, and Rozlyn Engel, eds. *Making U.S. Foreign Policy Work Better for the Middle Class*. Washington D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2020).

<https://carnegieendowment.org/2020/09/23/making-u.s.-foreign-policy-work-better-for-middle-class-pub-82728>.

Kim, In Song, and Helen V. Milner. "Multinational Corporations and their Influence Through Lobbying on Foreign Policy." In *Multinational Corporations in a Changing Global Economy*, Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution.

https://scholar.princeton.edu/sites/default/files/hvmilner/files/revised_manuscript_submission_2_march.pdf.

Sikkink, Kathryn. "Transnational Politics, International Relations Theory, and Human Rights." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 31, no. 3 (1998): 516-523.

U.S. Agency for Global Media, <https://www.usagm.gov/>

Millennium Challenge Corporation, <https://www.mcc.gov/>

U.S. Agency for International Development, <https://www.usaid.gov/>

"Eisenhower's 'Military Industrial Complex' Speech Origins and Significance," *U.S. National Archives*, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Gg-jvHynP9Y>.

Obama on the goal of his foreign policy:
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Icq60Uxd3As>

Recommended Materials:

Wiarda, Howard J. "The New Powerhouses: Think Tanks and Foreign Policy." *American Foreign Policy Interests* 30, no. 2 (2008): 96-117.

Silver, Alexandra. "Soft Power: Democracy-Promotion and U.S. NGOs." *Council on Foreign Relations*. April 18, 2007.
<https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/soft-power-democracy-promotion-and-us-ngos>

Cuban Missile Crisis – Three Men Go To War | The Scariest Speech Ever Given | PBS
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sp6FQvVLUos>

The history of the Cuban Missile Crisis – Matthew A. Jordan
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bwWW3sbk4EU>

Foreign Policy: Crash Course Government and Politics #50
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PMhIQNkO_Y0

Keck, Margaret E., and Kathryn Sikkink. *Activists beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Cornell University Press, 1998.

Gelb, Leslie, and Richard Better. *The Irony of Vietnam: The System Worked* Washington: Brooking Press, 2016.

Nye Jr., Joseph S. "Multinationals: The Game and the Rules: Multinational Corporations in World Politics." *Foreign Affairs*. October 1974.
<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/1974-10-01/multinationals-game-and-rules-multinational-corporations-world-politics>

April 19th: The U.S. decision to invade Iraq

Required Materials:

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.

Fukuyama, Francis. "Threat, Risk, and Preventive War." In *America at the Crossroads: Democracy, Power, and the Neoconservative Legacy*, 66-94. Yale University Press, 2007.

“The National Security Strategy of the United States of America.” *The White House*, September 2002, 13-16. <https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/63562.pdf>.

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.

President Bush Announces Start of Iraq War:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5BwxI_l84dc

Condoleezza Rice on the U.S. Decision to go to War in Iraq:
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YqE1MdpKwTM>

Mazarr, Michael J. “The Iraq War and Agenda Setting.” *Foreign Policy Analysis* no. 3 (2007).

Shannon, Vaughn P. and Jonathan W. Keller. “Leadership Style and International Norm Violation: The Case of the Iraq War.” *Foreign Policy Analysis* 3, no. 1 (2007).

Recommended Materials:

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.

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.

April 26th: The Chinese Decision to Launch the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI)

Required Materials:

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>.

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.

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.

Hillman, Jennifer, and David Sacks. "Independent Task Force Report No. 79 – China's Belt and Road: Implications for the United States." *Council on Foreign Relations*. <https://www.cfr.org/report/chinas-belt-and-road-implications-for-the-united-states/>

Rolland, Nedège. "China's 'Belt and Road Initiative': Underwhelming or Game-Changer?" *The Washington Quarterly* 40, no. 1 (Spring 2017): 127-142.

Recommended Materials:

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>.

Perlez, Jane, and Yufan Huang. "Behind China's \$1 Trillion Plan to Shake Up the Economic Order." *The 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.

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.

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>.

Pei, Minxin. "China: From Tiananmen to Neo-Stalinism." *Journal of Democracy* 31, no. 1 (2020): 148-57.

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>.

China's trillion dollar plan to dominate global trade:
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EvXROXiIpvQ>

China's Economic Ambitions, with Jean Oi and Thomas Fingar:
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FSAUBqvX8Fg>

Sources and Shapers of China's Foreign Policy | Thomas Fingar:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YIApyLn_xOg

FSI CDDRL - Global Implications of the Belt and Road Initiative:
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=i8JwDeizMAE>.

May 3rd: The U.S./UN decision to use force in Libya, but not Syria

Required Materials:

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.

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>.

Recommended Materials:

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.

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#>.

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.

Bellamy, Alex J. “Libya and the Responsibility to Protect: The Exception and the Norm.” *Ethics & International Affairs* 25 no. 3 (2011): 263-69. <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/1f23/9851b92b27158bca7e36199fdbac20e436c.pdf>.

Kersten, Mark. “The Responsibility to Protect Doctrine Is Faltering. Here’s Why.” *The Washington Post*, December 8, 2015. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2015/12/08/the-responsibility-to-protect-doctrine-is-failing-heres-why/>.

UN divided over Syrian Resolution
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zDbV1WExcEk>

Security Council takes ‘historic’ decision to protect civilians in Libya
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CrTNvaR6R0g>

May 10th: The Iranian decision to sign the JCPOA

Required Materials:

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." *The 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>.

Sadjadpour, Karim. "No Country Thrives on Instability Like Iran." *The Atlantic*. March 25, 2021.
<https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2021/03/how-win-cold-war-iran/618388/>.

Recommended Materials:

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

How the Iran nuclear deal works, explained in 3 minutes
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oqvghou5m3U>

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Biden Administration Should Strike a New Deal with Iran
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May 17th: The Russian decision to invade Ukraine

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May 31st: Memorial Day – no classes

June 1st or 2nd: Conclusions

(Usually this session happens over dinner at Professor McFaul’s house. Closer to the date, will we figure it out!)