# POL 567: Seminar in International Relations (American Foreign Policy Challenges: U.S.-Iran Confrontation) Fall 2007 3 credit hours Monday 6:00-8:50 p.m. University Center

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## Course description and goals

This is a graduate seminar at the intersection of International Relations and Comparative Politics. This course is modeled after Graham Allison's graduate level class at Harvard University titled "Central Challenges of American Foreign Policy."

(http://ksgaccman.harvard.edu/courses/course.aspx?number=ISP-202). Students will learn how to analyze American foreign policy options and challenges. This class is designed to help students learn how to: (1) write a publishable scholarly article; (2) formulate policy for think tanks and NGOs; and (3) formulate policy options for various governmental institutions (e.g., NSC, State Department).

The first hour of each session, I will lecture presenting the background and context of that session's topic. In the following hour and half, each student discusses his or her understanding of that session's assigned readings. It is imperative for each student's success that he or she develops a regular study schedule that permits keeping up with the assignment at all times.

Do NOT freak out at the long reading list. Many of the articles are only a few pages long and are very easy to understand. Required readings are approximately 45 pages a week.

## Attendance policy

Class attendance is mandatory. It is imperative that you attend all the lectures. If you are going to miss a class, ask a friend to tape the lecture for you. Rolls will be taken. Anyone with 3 absences (that are not excused) will receive an "F." Permission to submit late papers will rarely be given and only a dire situation will warrant one.

## **Religious holy day or days**

A student who is absent from class for the observance of a religious holy day or days or to travel for the purpose of religious observance may take an examination or complete an assignment within a reasonable time. The student should inform me before or immediately after the absence in writing (e-mail preferred). The student will have 15 days to complete the assignment or take the exam. If you are to miss the lecture, have a fellow student tape the lecture for you. Absence due to religious holy day does not count towards the 3 absences.

#### Academic dishonesty

I have zero tolerance for plagiarism. Anyone caught cheating will receive "F" for the course and will be referred to the Associate Vice President for Student Services for further disciplinary action. When in doubt, share where you got the idea with full citation.

#### Attention student with disabilities

It is the policy of SHSU that individuals that otherwise qualified shall not be excluded, solely by reason of their disability, from participation in any academic program of the university. Further, they shall not be denied the benefits of these programs, nor shall they be subject to discrimination. Students with disabilities that might affect their academic performance are expected to visit with the Office of Services for Students with Disabilities located in the Counseling Center. They should then make arrangements with me so that appropriate strategies can be considered and helpful procedures can be developed to ensure that participation and achievement opportunities are not impaired.

#### **Thought Papers**

You have to hand in 4 brief thought papers (about 200-900 words each). This is somewhere between one paragraph and three pages. Each of these thought papers deals with one or two questions from the assigned readings for that week. I will give you the question or questions one session before the due date. Please e-mail the thought paper by 1:00 p.m. Monday. If you do not have the thought paper ready when the class meets at 6:00, you will get zero for that paper. Each student will read aloud in class his or her thought paper. Then, the class will discuss the topic.

#### **Final Paper**

The National Security Advisor has asked you to write a research paper outlining the various policy options towards Iran. This paper will be circulated among the V.P., the NSC Principals Committee (NSC/PC is composed of National Security Advisor, Secretary of State, Secretary of Defense, DNI, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff), and the NSC Deputies Committee. First, enumerate American national interests in the Middle East. Second, outline the potential threats Iranian government may pose to U.S. interests. Third, enumerate all the policy options open to the U.S. government. Fourth, discuss the costs and benefits of each option. Fifth, discuss the possible consequences of each option (including the consequences of taking no action). It is your job to present policy options as objectively as possible. It is NOT your job to recommend a policy in this paper.

OPTIONAL: If your subfield is American Politics, you may wish to add a section on the domestic political costs and benefits. If your subfield is IR or Comparative Politics, you may wish to add a section on other actors (e.g., EU, China, Russia, Saudi Arabia, Germany, U.K.). If you so desire, you could present policy options for another actor (e.g., EU, Russia, China, Saudi Arabia, Iran, specific EU countries) on the assumption that their decision-making is similar to that of the United States.

If your paper is publishable, I will try to suggest revisions and journals to help you get your work published. Unlike the assigned paper for this class, in your article for submission, you may choose to make a policy recommendation.

## **Oral Presentation**

Choose one of the OPTIONAL readings, and present a 10-15 minute report to the class. Other students have not read the OPTIONAL readings, so it is your job to describe the article for others.

#### Course grade will be computed as follows:

Thought Papers	40 (10 each)
Final Paper	30
Oral Presentation	10
Class Discussions	20
Total	100

#### **Textbooks:**

Graham Allison and Philip Zelikow, *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (New York: Longman, 1999).

Julia Bauder, ed., Is Iran a Threat to Global Security? (New York: Greenhaven Press, 2006).

A number of articles have been placed on Reserve at the library.

## OUTLINE

Aug 20: Hi.

week 2 (Aug 27): Introduction film: 13 Days

no class on Monday Sept 3, Labor Day

week 3 (Sept 10): Nuclear Weapons: Is Iran's Possession of Nuclear Weapons Desirable or Dangerous film: Debate between Kenneth Waltz and Scott Sagan, February 8, 2007 held at SIPA, Columbia University (89 minutes): http://www.dkv.columbia.edu/demo/video/sipa-nuclear\_iran.html

OPTIONAL: Scott D. Sagan and Kenneth N. Waltz, *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: A Debate Renewed* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2003). OPTIONAL: Graham Allison, *Nuclear Terrorism: The Ultimate Preventable Catastrophe* (New York: Henry Holt, 2005). week 4 (Sept 17): American Foreign Policy: Presidential Leadership \* Eugene Wittkopf, Charles Kegley, Jr., and James Scott, *American Foreign Policy Pattern and Process*, 6<sup>th</sup> edition (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth/Thomson, 2003), ch. 10.

week 5 (Sept 24): American Foreign Policy: Bureaucracy and Agencies \* Eugene Wittkopf, Charles Kegley, Jr., and James Scott, *American Foreign Policy Pattern and Process*, 6<sup>th</sup> edition (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth/Thomson, 2003), ch. 11.

week 6 (Oct 1): What is Grand Strategy? What are America's interests?
\* Francis Fukuyama and G. John Ikenberry, *Report of the Working Group on Grand Strategic Choices*, pp. 7-14.
\* Chorles Krauthammer "The Unipoler Moment Pavisited" The National Interest, Winter 2000

\* Charles Krauthammer, "The Unipolar Moment Revisited," *The National Interest*, Winter 2002-03, pp. 5-17.

OPTIONAL: George F. Kennan (X), "The Sources of Soviet Conduct," *Foreign Affairs* (July 1947).

OPTIONAL: Peter Beinart, "An Argument for a New Liberalism: A Fighting Faith," *The New Republic*, December 13, 2004

(http://www.tnr.com/docprint.mhtml?i=20041213&s=beinart121304).

week 7 (Oct 8): Conceptual Models

\* Graham Allison, "Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis," *American Political Science Review*, vol. 63, no. 3 (September 1969). Find it in our library e-journals collection (it takes only 5 or 6 clicks).

week 8 (Oct 15): Rational Actor Paradigm \* Allison and Zelikow, *Essence of Decision*, pp. 1-75, 109-120, 379-407.

week 9 (Oct 22): Foreign Policy Engineering \* Philip Zelikow, "Foreign Policy Engineering: from Theory to Practice and back Again,"

International Security, Spring 1994, pp. 143-171.

weeks 10-11 (Oct 29, Nov 5): Nature of the Islamic Republic of Iran

\* Patrick H. O'Neil, Karl Fields, and Dan Share, "Iran," in *Cases in Comparative Politics*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. pp. 311-349.

\* Masoud Kazemzadeh, "Ahmadinejad's Foreign Policy," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, Vol. 27, No. 2 (2007).

\* Timothy Garton Ash, "Soldiers of the Hidden Imam," *The New York Review of Books*, vol. 52, no. 17 (November 3, 2005).

OPTIONAL: Janet Afary and Kevin Anderson, "The Iranian Impasse," *The Nation*, July 16, 2007. [this is about 7 pages]. This is a left perspective.

OPTIONAL: Mehran Kamrava, "Iranian National-Security Debates: Factionalism and Lost Opportunities," *Middle East Policy*, vol. 14, no. 2 (Summer 2007). This is a liberal perspective. OPTIONAL: International Crisis Group, "Iran: Ahmadi-Nejad Tumultuous Presidency," February 6, 2007 (http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=4647). This is a liberal perspective.

OPTIONAL: Elliot Hen-Tov, "Understanding Iran's New Authoritarianism," *The Washington Quarterly*, vol. 30, no. 1 (Winter 2006-07), pp. 163-179. This is a centerist perspective. (http://www.twq.com/07winter/docs/07winter\_hentov.pdf).

week 12 (Nov 12): Opposition Groups

Film: BBC, End of Empire: Iran

\* Masoud Kazemzadeh, "The Perils and Costs of a Grand Bargain with the Islamic Republic of Iran," *American Foreign Policy Interests*, Vol. 29, Issue 5 (October 2007). This is a liberal hawk perspective.

OPTIONAL: Masoud Kazemzadeh, "Opposition Groups," in *Iran Today: An Encyclopedia of Life in the Islamic Republic*, Vol. II, eds., Mehran Kamrava and Manochehr Dorraj (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Publishers, 2007). Only 1,600 words.

weeks 13-14 (Nov 19, 26): U.S. Policy Options towards Iran

\* Scott Sagan, "How to Keep the Bomb from Iran," *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 85, no. 5 (Sept/Oct 2006), pp. 45-59.

\* Bauder, chs. 1-12.

\* Kamal Nazer Yasin, "Cloak-and Dagger Occurrences Mark Iran's Relations with United States, Britain," April 9, 2007

(http://www.eurasianet.org/departments/insight/articles/eav040907.shtml). [this is only three pages].

\* Brian Ross and Richard Esposito, "Bush Authorizes New Covert Action Against Iran," ABC News, May 22, 2007 (http://blogs.abcnews.com/theblotter/2007/05/bush\_authorizes.html); this is only three pages.

\* Sheila MacVicar, Ashley Velie, and Amy Guttman, "U.S. Working to Sabotage Iran Nuke Program," CBS News, May 23, 2007

(http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2007/05/23/eveningnews/main2843582.shtml); this is just two pages.

\* Flynt Leverett, "Dealing with Tehran: Assessing U.S. Diplomatic Options Toward Iran," December 4, 2006, (http://www.tcf.org/list.asp?type=PB&pubid=595).

\* Norman Podhoretz, "The Case for Bombing Iran: I hope and pray that President Bush will do it," *Wall Street Journal*, May 30, 2007,

(http://www.opinionjournal.com/federation/feature/?id=110010139). This is a neo-conservative perspective. Podhoretz is foreign policy advisor to Rudy Giuliani.

\* Louis Rene Beres, "The case for strikes against Iran: Diplomacy alone won't stop Iran's nuclear ambitions," *Christian Science Monitor*, May 8, 2007, (http://www.csmonitor.com/2007/0508/p09s01-coop.htm); this is only two pages.

OPTIONAL: Ted Galen Carpenter, "Toward a Grand Bargain with Iran," *Mediterranean Quarterly*, vol. 18, no. 1 (Winter 2007). This is a libertarian perspective. OPTIONAL: David Hastings Dunn, "'Real men want to go to Tehran': Bush, pre-emption and the Iranian nuclear challenge," *International Affairs*, vol. 83, no. 1 (2007).

week 15 (December 3, 2007): student final paper presentations