

Final Syllabus, January 27, 2008. (Subject to slight revisions.)

Politics 558. International Cooperation. Spring 2008.

Professors Robert O. Keohane and Helen V. Milner

Tuesdays, 1:30-4:20.

Prerequisite: Politics 551 or consent of the instructors.

This course will meet weekly as a seminar, with discussions initiated by students. Before each of the first nine classes (including the first class on February 5), two or three short (500 word) student-authored discussion papers will be circulated. They are not to be descriptions of the readings. Instead, they are to raise questions and criticisms, or draw connections and comparisons with readings in other weeks. The authors of the papers will not present them. Instead each paper will be introduced by another student, with comments of *not more than five minutes* (the instructors will cut off people speaking longer than this). Then we will have a general discussion.

The syllabus focuses on concepts that are important for understanding international cooperation. Each student will write two short discussion papers for circulation to the whole class, will serve as a discussant on two occasions, and will write a long paper. We expect that most of the papers will address a substantive puzzle involving cooperation in some field of international relations (security, environment, political economy, or human rights, for example), and will use concepts discussed in the course to analyze the relevant set of issues. Students are to consult with one of the instructors about a paper topic before spring break, and are to submit a one-page statement of topic by March 25.

The last three sessions of the term will be devoted to discussions of the arguments that students propose to make in their papers. Again, brief papers will be circulated in advance and commentators will initiate the discussion.

Evaluations of student performance in the seminar will depend on evaluations of short papers, initial comments, and general participation in discussion, as well as on the long papers.

We use substantial portions of the following books, which should be available in the bookstore.

Robert Axelrod. *The Evolution of Cooperation* (Basic Books, 1984).

David Baldwin, ed., *Neorealism and Neoliberalism: the Contemporary Debate* (Columbia University Press, 1993).

Martha Finnemore, *National Interests in International Society* (Cornell University Press, 1996),

Darren Hawkins et al., *Delegation and Agency in International Organizations* (Cambridge, 2006).

John Ikenberry, *After Victory* (Princeton, 2001).

Robert O. Keohane, *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy* (Princeton, 1984). [On the reading list for Politics 551.]

David A. Lake and Robert Powell, *Strategic Choice and International Relations* (Princeton, 1999).
 Helen V. Milner, *Interests, Institutions, and Information* (Princeton, 1997).
 Andrew Moravcsik, *The Choice for Europe* (Cornell, 1998).
 Thomas C. Schelling, *The Strategy of Conflict* (Harvard, 1960).
 Kenneth N. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (Addison-Wesley 1979). [On the reading list for Politics 551.]
 Alexander L. Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics* (Cambridge 1999).

Week 1 (February 5). *Anarchy, Power, and Interests* 240

Review Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, chs. 5-6 (pp. 79-128) [from Politics 551].

Review Andrew Moravcsik, "Taking Preferences Seriously," *International Organization*, autumn 1997: 513-553 [from Politics 551].

Helen V. Milner, "The Assumption of Anarchy in International Relations Theory: A Critique," *Review of International Studies* 17 (January 1991): 67-85, reprinted in Baldwin, *Neorealism and Neoliberalism*, ch. 6.

Michael Barnett and Raymond Duvall, "Power in International Politics." *International Organization* 59-1 (winter 2005): 39-75

Helen V. Milner, *Interests, Institutions, and Information*, chs. 1-2 (pp. 3-66).

Jeffrey A. Frieden, "Actors and Preferences in International Relations," pp. 39-76 of Lake and Powell, eds., *Strategic Choice and International Relations*.

Martha Finnemore, *National Interests in International Society* (Cornell University Press, 1996), chapter 1, pp. 1-33.

Week 2 (February 12). *Bargaining* 290

Thomas C. Schelling, *The Strategy of Conflict*, chs. 2-4 (pp. 21-118).

Robert Axelrod, *The Evolution of Cooperation*, chs. 1-4 (pp. 1-87).

Lake and Powell, *Strategic Choice*, chs. 1, 3, 4, and 7 (Lake & Powell, Morrow, Rogowski), pp. 3-38, 77-136.

Week 3 (February 19). *Institutions and Strategies: Theory* 220

Review Keohane, *After Hegemony*, chapters 1-6, and read chapter 7.

Terry M. Moe, "Power and Political Institutions." *Perspectives on Politics* 3-2 (June 2005): 215-234.

Lisa L. Martin, "Interests, Power, and Multilateralism." *International Organization* 46-4 (autumn 1992), pp. 654-792.

Helen V. Milner, *Interests, Institutions, and Information*, chs. 3-4 (pp. 67-110).

Week 4 (February 26). *Institutions and Strategies: Applications and Extensions* 240

Andrew Moravcsik, *The Choice for Europe* (Cornell U.P. 1998), introduction and chs. 1 and 7, pp. 1-86; 472-501.

John Ikenberry, *After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Order after Major War* (Princeton 2001), chs. 1, 3, 6, and 8 (pp. 3-20, 50-79, 163-215, 257-274).

Week 5 (March 4). *Critiques of Institutional Theory, Responses, and Extensions* 280

David Baldwin, ed., *Neorealism and Neoliberalism: the Contemporary Debate* (Columbia University Press, 1993), chs. 4, 5, 8, and 9 (pp. 85-140 and 209-249).

John Mearsheimer, "The False Promise of International Institutions." *International Security* vol. 19, no. 3 (Winter 1994/95): 5-49.

Robert O. Keohane and Lisa L. Martin, "Institutional Theory as a Research Program," ch. 3 (pp. 71-108) of Colin Elman and Miriam Fendius Elman, eds., *Progress in International Relations Theory* (MIT Press, 2002).

Michael Barnett and Martha Finnemore, "The Politics, Power and Pathologies of International Organizations," *International Organization* 53-4 (autumn 1999): 699-732.

Peter Gourevitch, "The Governance Problem in International Relations," in Lake & Powell, chapter 5, pp. 137-164.

Robert O. Keohane, "Governance in a Partially Globalized World," *American Political Science Review*, March 2001: 1-13.

Alexander Thompson, "Coercion through IOs: The Security Council and the Logic of Information Transmission." *International Organization* 60-1 (winter 2006): 1-34.

Week 6 (March 11). *Ideas, Socialization, Identity* 285

Judith Goldstein and Robert O. Keohane, *Ideas and Foreign Policy* (Cornell 1993), ch. 1 (pp. 3-30).

Alexander L. Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics* (Cambridge, 1999) ch. 3 (pp. 92-138) and 6 (246-312).

Thomas Risse, "'Let's Argue!': Communicative Action in World Politics." *International Organization* 54-1 (Winter 2000): 1-40.

Ronald Jepperson, Peter J. Katzenstein, and Alexander L. Wendt, "Norms, Identity and Culture in National Security," in Katzenstein, editor, *The Culture of National Security* (Columbia University Press, 1996): 33-75.

Alistair Ian Johnston, "Treating International Institutions as Social Environments" *International Studies Quarterly* 45 (4), 487-515.

Martha Finnemore, *National Interests in International Society* (Cornell University Press, 1996), pp. 34-68.

Andrew Hurrell, *On Global Order: Power, Values, and the Constitution of International Society* (Oxford 2007), pp. 1-21.

Spring Break.

Week 7 (March 25). *Design and Delegation* 290

Special issue of *International Organization* (55-5, autumn 2001), pp. 761-800, 829-858, 1019-1082 (articles by Koremenos, Lipson, and Snidal; Rosendorff and Milner, Wendt, and Koremenos-Lipson-Snidal).

Barbara Koremenos, "Contracting Around International Uncertainty," *American Political Science Review* 99-4 (November 2005): 549-566.

Darren Hawkins et al., *Delegation and Agency in International Organizations*, chs. 1-2 (Hawkins et al. and Lyne et al.), 4, 6 (Milner, Pollack), 11-12 (Alter and Lake-McCubbins), pp. 3-38, 107-139, 165-196, 312-368.

Robert O. Keohane, "Institutional Design and Power." The Castle Lectures, Yale University, October-November 2007. Available from Professor Keohane.

Week 8. (April 1). *Monitoring, Reputation, and Compliance.* 250

Abram L. Chayes and Antonia Handler Chayes, "On Compliance," *International Organization* 47-2 (Spring 1993): 175-205.

Review Downs, Locke and Barsoom, *International Organization* 50-3 (summer 1996): 379-406, from Politics 551.

Ronald Mitchell, "Regime Design Matters: Intentional Oil Pollution and Treaty Compliance," *International Organization* 48-3 (summer 1994): 425-458.

Beth Simmons, "International Law and State Behavior: Commitment and Compliance in International Monetary Affairs," *American Political Science Review* 94-4 (December 2000): 819-35.

Jana Von Stein, "Do Treaties Constrain or Screen?" *American Political Science Review* 99-4 (November 2005): 611-622.

Beth A. Simmons and Daniel J. Hopkins, "The Constraining Power of International Treaties: Theory and Methods," *American Political Science Review* 99-4 (November 2005): 623-631.

Judith Kelley, "Who Keeps International Commitments and Why? The International Criminal Court and Bilateral Nonsurrender Agreements," *American Political Science Review* 101:3 (August 2007): 573-589.

James D. Morrow, "Why Do States Follow the Laws of War?" *American Political Science Review* 101:3 (August 2007): 559-573.

Michael Tomz, *Reputation and International Cooperation* (Princeton 2007), chs. 1-3, 5, and 9 (pp. 1-69, 86-113, 223-242).

Week 9. (April 8). *Diffusion*. 180

Beth A. Simmons and Zachary Elkins, "The Globalization of Liberalization: Policy Diffusion in the International Political Economy." *American Political Science Review* 98-1 (February 2004): 171-189.

International Organization 60-4 (fall 2006), symposium on diffusion, pp. 781-909 (Simmons et al., Elkins et al., Swank, Lee and Strang).

David A. Bearce and Stacy Bondanella, "Intergovernmental Organizations, Socialization, and Member-State Interest Convergence, *International Organization*, Volume 61, Issue 04, October 2007, pp 703-733.

Weeks 10-12 (April 15, 22, 29). *Discussion of Students' Proposed Plans and Arguments for Papers*.