

# Government 40: International Conflict and Cooperation

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This course is an introduction to the analysis of the causes and character of international conflict and cooperation. Theories of international relations will be presented and then applied to contemporary and historical cases. The course begins with a foundational review of the levels at which states interact and the primary theoretical paradigms in the field. It then addresses how states achieve cooperation in the face of international anarchy, a question which has attracted the attention of scholars since Thucydides. It then moves on to basic bargaining theory, in which insights from economics are used to explore how bargaining breakdowns, commitment problems, and incomplete information can lead to war. Thereafter we examine a popular topic in contemporary international relations research: the role of psychology, leaders, and domestic politics. We explore the sources and effects of international institutions such as the United Nations and World Trade Organization. Thereafter we spend a week on terrorism, a problem of particular significance in the modern world. We will also look at trade, foreign aid, international development, and climate change. We conclude with international law and an exploration of the future of international relations. This class will also be delivered through Harvard's extension school.

**Requirements:** Lectures are given Mondays and Wednesdays from 11:07am – 12pm in Boylston Hall - 110 (Fong Auditorium). *Class will start promptly at 11:07.* In addition, sections will meet every week for one hour unless otherwise noted. Attendance in sections is mandatory for non-extension school (FAS) students. Electronic sectioning for FAS students will be open from January 29<sup>th</sup>-February 2<sup>nd</sup>. Thereafter students must contact the head TF to be sectioned, but will have less latitude in section times. Section lists will be distributed by February 4th via e-mail and online. First section meetings will be the week of 2/4. There will be no sections for the extension school, but the TFs will be available for answering questions via a discussion board for one hour a week for extension school students.

**Exams:** There will be an class quiz on the game theory ideas we will cover and a final exam. For FAS students the final exam is scheduled for May 14 (exam group 4). The time and location of the final exam will be announced later in the term. Extension school students will use a local proctor for their exams, information available [here](#). Review sessions will be held before the final examination.

## Assignments:

### *Short Policy Memos*

Students must also complete two short (750 word) policy memos. These memos are designed to get you to apply the concepts you are learning in class to real world issues. Memos that regurgitate current events and do not apply key concepts from class will do poorly. Memos that creatively apply concepts from class to propose innovative policies will do well. The professor and TFs will not read drafts of memos, but will entertain conversation about them.

### *Group Policy Project Presentation*

Students will form task force groups of 3-4 (maximum) students. You will research a contemporary policy project of your choosing and record a 10 minute oral presentation on your recommendations. All presentations should be extremely polished and include professional looking slides. Extension school students will submit either a 5 page policy memo or record their own 10 minute presentation. Guidelines for task force project are available at <https://canvas.harvard.edu/courses/390>.

**Grading:** Grades will be based on a point scale. For FAS students the final exam will be 30 points, the game theory in class quiz 10 points, each short policy memo 15 points, the task force presentations 15 points, and 15 points for class and section participation (defined below). Extension school students will not receive participation points and your final grade be calculated out of 85 instead of 100 points (no participation grade).

### **Class Participation Expectations:**

FAS students: FAS students are expected to take an active role in lecture and section meetings. Section attendance is mandatory for FAS students. Participation is graded on quality, not quantity. Participation can take many forms. We expect all students to express opinions and to respond to those of others in every section. Your participation grade will strongly reflect whether or not you have done the readings. If you must miss a section due to illness or other legitimate reasons, you must contact your TF in advance to attend another section, arrange a make-up, or submit one page of notes on the week's readings.

Extension school students: Section meetings are not required for Extension school students. There will be a designated time each week where the teaching fellow will hold an online discussion section for anyone who wishes to participate. They will also be available for other questions.

**Readings:** Students are required to buy the main textbook for the course, listed below. All non-textbook readings will be available on the course site at <https://canvas.harvard.edu/courses/390>. *We also provide direct links on the syllabus for those on the Harvard network.* Students are invited but not required to upload their reading notes and/or questions on recommended readings to the "Recommended Readings" dropbox on the <course site> prior to section. The point of this is to encourage engagement with the recommended readings and to give TFs a sense of what students enjoyed and/or struggled with that week.

**Internet:** You can access the course website through <course site>. The course syllabus, all lecture handouts, section information, final exam announcements, and course-related links can be found there. Lecture videos will be available for extension school students. The bulk of regular course communication will take place in lecture, via e-mail, and on the announcements section of the course Web site.

**Special accommodations:** Any FAS student needing academic adjustments or accommodations is requested to present their letter from the Accessible Education Office (AEO) and speak with the professor by the end of the second week of the term. Extension school students with disabilities should contact their disabilities services [department](#). Failure to make these arrangements may result in the course head's inability to respond in a timely manner. All discussions will remain confidential, although AEO may be consulted to discuss appropriate implementation.

**Course Policies and Expectations:** Written assignments are to be double spaced, size 12 font, with normal margins and submitted electronically via the <course site> dropbox. Students are expected

to hand in assignments on due dates unless receiving approval from the relevant University official (Dean, Doctor, etc.) prior to the due date. Late assignments without prior approval will not be accepted unless there is also a demonstration of an emergency situation by a relevant University official. Due dates of approved late submissions will be the day after emergency ends. Non-emergency extensions will not be granted.

**Collaboration Prohibited on Policy Memos and Exams:** Students should be aware that in this course collaboration of any sort on any work submitted for formal evaluation—other than the task force group projects—is not permitted. This means that you may not discuss your paper assignments with other students. All work should be entirely your own and must use appropriate citation practices to acknowledge the use of books, articles, websites, lectures, discussions, etc. that you have consulted to complete your assignments. Collaboration is highly encouraged in other ways, such as studying for exams and making note groups on the recommended readings. Collaboration is explicitly part of the task force assignments.

**Communication:** The TFs and Professor Tingley will endeavor to answer emails within 24 hours during weekdays. Email can be less efficient than conversations. If your question requires a lengthy response please arrange to see someone in person or speak to them on the phone.

**Office Hours and Contact Info for Instructors:** Professor Tingley’s office hours are Mondays 2-4 and by appointment. His office is at CGIS Knaefel Room 208, 1737 Cambridge Street. To schedule office hours with Professor Tingley, please visit <http://www.wejoinin.com/sheets/nuxfk>. Please do not sign up for office hours and then not show up, as this may take another student’s slot.

**Office Hours and Contact Info for Teaching Fellows:** The head teaching fellow for the course is Erin Baggott ([ebaggott@fas.harvard.edu](mailto:ebaggott@fas.harvard.edu)). All questions concerning sectioning and readings should be directed to her. The other teaching fellows is Robert Schub ([rjschub@fas.harvard.edu](mailto:rjschub@fas.harvard.edu)). Erin’s office hours are Wednesday 12-1pm in CGIS E201. Rob's office hours are Wednesday 1:30-2:30pm in CGIS Knafel Cafe.

### Summary of Key Dates:

<i>E-Sectioning (FAS):</i>	Friday, January 31 (study card day)
<i>Section Lists Posted:</i>	Tuesday, February 4 via e-mail
<i>First Section Meeting:</i>	Week of Monday, February 3
<i>In class quiz:</i>	In class (FAS) or timed outside of class (extension school), February 19
<i>Spring break!!</i>	March 14-22
<i>Final Exam:</i>	In class (FAS) or timed outside of class (extension school), May 14

### Required Textbook:

Jeffrey Frieden, David Lake and Kenneth Schultz, *World Politics: Interests, Interactions, and Institutions*. Norton, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition (note, you will need the 2<sup>nd</sup> edition).

Hard copy. [Here](#).

Ebook. [Here](#).

Once purchasing a book you will want to get access to resources [here](#).

## **Week 1: Introduction to International Relations: Theories and Evidence**

### **1/27 Introduction and Overview**

Stephen Walt (1998). "International Relations: One World, Many Theories." *Foreign Policy* (Spring): 29-46. [Here](#).

### **1/29 Levels of Analysis in International Relations**

Kenneth Waltz (1959). *Man, the State, and War: A Theoretical Analysis*. Ch. 1, 6, 8. <course site>.

Alexander Wendt (1992). "Anarchy is What States Make of it: The Social Construction of Power Politics." *International Organization*, 46(2): 391-425. [Here](#).

#### *Recommended*

Joseph Nye (1993). "Counterfactuals." In *Understanding International Conflicts* (1st ed.), 42-45. <course site>.

#### *NO DISCUSSION SECTION*

## **Week 2: Interests and Interactions**

### **2/3 Strategic Theories of International Relations**

FLS Chapter 2.

#### *Recommended*

Avinash K. Dixit and Barry J. Nalebuff (1991). *Thinking Strategically: The Competitive Edge in Business, Politics, and Everyday Life*. Ch. 5-6. <course site>.

### **2/5 Cooperation in the Face of Anarchy**

Thucydides (1998). *The Peloponnesian War* (Walter Blanco, trans.) "Introduction" and "Melian Dialogue." <course site>.

Robert Jervis (1978). "Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma." *World Politics* 30(2): 167-214. [Here](#).

In class matrix game simulation, bring laptop.

#### *Recommended*

Robert Axelrod (1981). "The Emergence of Cooperation among Egoists." *American Political Science Review* 75(2): 306-318. [Here](#).

#### *Discussion section*

Material review

## **Week 3: Bargaining and War**

### **2/10 Commitment Problems**

FLS, Ch. 3.

Thomas Schelling (1966). *Arms and Influence*. Ch. 1-2. <course site>.

Henry Kissinger (2012). “The Future of US-Chinese Relations: Conflict is a Choice, not a Necessity.” *Foreign Affairs* 91: 44-55. [Here](#).

James Fearon, “Try Bargaining before Fighting”, <http://themonkeycage.org/2013/09/09/try-bargaining-before-fighting/>

#### *Recommended*

Thomas Schelling (1960). *The Strategy of Conflict*. Ch. 2-3. <course site>.

### **2/12 Incomplete Information**

James Fearon (1995). “Rationalist Explanations for War.” *International Organization* 49(3): 379-414. [Here](#).

*In class simulation on commitment problems, laptops required.*

#### *Recommended*

Abhinav Muthoo (2000). “A Non-Technical Introduction to Bargaining Theory.” *World Economics* 1(2): 145-166. [Here](#).

Jessica Weeks (2008). “Autocratic Audience Costs: Regime Type and Signaling Resolve.” *International Organization* 62(1) 35-64: . [Here](#).

Dan Reiter (2003). “Exploring the Bargaining Model of War.” *Perspectives on Politics* 1(1): 27-43. [Here](#).

Dan Reiter (1995). “Exploding the Powder Keg Myth: Preemptive Wars Almost Never Happen.” *International Security* 20(2). Read pp. 5-16, 25-34. [Here](#).

Linda J. Bilmes (2008). “Iraq’s 100-Year Mortgage.” *Foreign Policy* (March/April): 84-85. [Here](#).

#### *Discussion section*

Bargaining model review

**Policy memo 1 due midnight 2/12/14.**

## **Week 4: In class game theory quiz**

**2/17 President's Day, No Class**

**2/19 Game Theory Quiz**

\*\*\*SPECIAL EVENT\*\*\*

FILM: night of 2/19, location TBA, 8-10PM. "Dr. Strangelove or: How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb," (Peter Sellers, directed by Stanley Kubrick, 1964, 94 min., introduction by Dustin Tingley)

Lego versions! [Here](#) and [here](#).

**Week 5: Psychology, Leaders, and Public Opinion**

**2/24 Psychological Perspectives in International Relations**

Daniel L. Byman and Kenneth M. Pollack (2001). "Let Us Now Praise Great Men: Bringing the Statesman Back In." *International Security* 25(4): 107-146. [Here](#).

Rose McDermott (2007). *Presidential Leadership, Illness, and Decision Making*. Ch. 1-2. <course site>.

Daniel Kahneman and Jonathan Renshon (2007). "Why Hawks Win." *Foreign Policy* 158: 34-38. [Here](#)

*Recommended*

Jeffrey A. Friedman and Richard J. Zeckhauser (2012). "Assessing Uncertainty in Intelligence." *Intelligence and National Security* 27(5). [Here](#).

Rose McDermott, Dustin Tingley, Jonathan Cowden, Giovanni Frazzetto, and Dominic Johnson (2009). "Monoamine Oxidase A Gene (MAOA) Predicts Behavioral Aggression Following Provocation." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 106(7): 2118-2123. [Here](#).

Thomas Hobbes (1651). "On the Natural Condition of Mankind." *Leviathan*. Part I, Chapter XIII. [Here](#).

**2/26 Public Opinion and Domestic Institutions**

Robert Putnam (1988). "Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games." *International Organization* 42(3): 427-460. [Here](#).

Bruce Bueno de Mesquita and Alastair Smith (2011). *The Dictator's Handbook: Why Bad Behavior is Almost Always Good Politics*. Ch. 1-2. <course site>.

Class activity: Selectorate Theory simulation, bring laptop

*Recommended*

Peter Gourevitch (1978). "The Second Image Reversed: The International Sources of Domestic Politics." *International Organization* 32(4): 881-911. [Here](#).

Steven R. David (1991). "Explaining Third World Alignment" *World Politics* 43(2): 233-256. [Here](#).

Paul Kennedy (1989). *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers*. "Introduction" and "Epilogue." <course site>.

*Discussion section*

Debate: Prompt TBA.

\*\*Please see Gov40 debate format worksheet.\*\*

**Week 6: Interest Groups and International Institutions**

**3/3 Interest Groups**

John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt (2006). "The Israel Lobby." *London Review of Books* 28(6): 3-12. [Here](#).

Jeff Frieden, 1988, "Sectoral Conflict and Foreign Economic Policy: 1914-1940", *International Organization* 42(1): 59-90. [Here](#).

**3/5 International Institutions**

FLS, Ch. 5.

John Mearsheimer (1994-5). "The False Promise of International Institutions." *International Security* 19(3): 5-49. [Here](#).

*Recommended*

Lisa Martin and Beth Simmons. 2012. "International Organizations and Institutions." *Handbook of International Relations*. <course site>.

*Discussion section*

Discussion of policy project research process and formation of groups.

**Week 7: Task Force Work Meetings and Public Presentation Training**

**3/10 In Class Task Force Working Meetings**

This week students will have an opportunity to meet in lecture to work on their task force reports. At this point, task force groups should have already completed their literature reviews, interviewed experts, and collected data and visual resources. The point of this meeting is to work together to synthesize, combine, and revise these elements into a presentation.

### **3/12 In Class Task Force Working Meetings Continued**

*NO DISCUSSION SECTION*

Spring Break: March 14-22

### **Week 8 Terrorism and Counterinsurgency**

#### **3/24 Terrorism and Counterinsurgency**

FLS, Ch. 6.

Eli Berman, Joseph H. Felter, and Jacob Shapiro (2010). “Constructive COIN: How Development Can Fight Radicals.” *Foreign Affairs* 1 (June). [Here](#).

*Recommended*

Andrew Kydd and Barbara Walter (2006). “The Strategies of Terrorism.” *International Security* 31(1): 49-80. [Here](#).

Scott Atran, Robert Axelrod, and Richard Davis (2007). “Sacred Barriers to Conflict Resolution.” *Science* 317 (August 24): 1039-40. [Here](#).

Richard K. Betts (1998). “The New Threat of Mass Destruction.” *Foreign Affairs* (Jan/Feb): 26-40. [Here](#).

SD Biddle, JA Friedman, and JN Shapiro (2012). “Testing the Surge: Why Violence Declined in Iraq in 2007.” *International Security* 37(1) :1-34. [Here](#).

*Class activity* Speed dating with Op-Eds.

#### **3/26 Inference about Terrorism**

Robert Pape (2003). “The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism.” *American Political Science Review* 97(3): 343–61. [Here](#).

Scott Ashworth, Joshua Clinton, Adam Meirowitz, and Kristopher W. Ramsay (2008). “Design, Inference, and the Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism.” *American Political Science Review* 102(2): 269-273. [Here](#).



### *Recommended*

Walter Enders and Todd Sandler (2006). *The Political Economy of Terrorism*. Ch. 1, 2, 11. <course site>.

### *Discussion Section*

Review of class material, including Bayes Rule and inference.

## **Week 9: Group Policy Presentations**

### **3/31 and 4/2: In class presentations**

On 3/31 and 4/2 students research groups will be grouped together. Each group will present their research to a set of other research groups. Audience members will ask questions. After class policy groups meet to collect, record, and reflect on the feedback they received, with the activity on 4/28 in mind.

## **Week 10 Trade Policy and Development**

### **4/7 Why trade? Why protect?**

FLS, Ch. 7.

Dani Rodrik (2001). "Trading in Illusions." *Foreign Policy* (March/April): 55-62. [Here](#).

### **4/9 Development**

FLS, Ch. 10.

Paul Krugman (1997). "In Praise of Cheap Labor: Bad Jobs at Bad Wages are Better Than No Jobs at All." *Slate* (March 20). [Here](#).

### *Recommended*

Nicholas D. Kristof and Sheryl WuDunn (2000). "Two Cheers for Sweatshops." *New York Times* (September 24). [Here](#).

Jeffrey D. Sachs (2005). "The Development Challenge." *Foreign Affairs* 84 (March/April): 78-90. [Here](#).

William Easterly (2005). "The Utopian Nightmare." *Foreign Policy* (September/October): 58-64. [Here](#).

Nancy Birdsall, Dani Rodrik, and Arvind Subramanian (2005). "How to Help Poor Countries." *Foreign Affairs* 84(4): 136-152. [Here](#)

*Discussion section*

Debate, topic TBA

Policy memo 2 due midnight 4/9/14.

**Week 11 Development and Environment**

**4/14 International Environmental Politics**

FLS, Ch. 13.

Garrett Hardin (1968). "The Tragedy of the Commons." *Science* 162(3859): 1243-48. [Here](#).

Bill McKibben (2012). "Global Warming's Terrifying New Math." *Rolling Stone* (July 22). [Here](#).

John Odell and Dustin Tingley, "Negotiating Agreements in International Relations", chapter 7, [Here](#)

In class activity: Tragedy of commons simulation; In class survey discussion.

*Recommended*

Dustin Tingley and Michael Tomz, "Conditional Cooperation and Climate Change", forthcoming, *Comparative Political Studies*, [Here](#)

Detlef Sprinz and Tapani Vaahoranta (1994). "The Interest-Based Explanation of International Environmental Policy." *International Organization* 48(1): 77-105. [Here](#).

Warren Richey (2011). "Who Can Force Utilities to Cut Greenhouse Gases? Supreme Court to Decide." *Christian Science Monitor*, April 19. [Here](#).

Lawrence H. Summers (1991). "Let them Eat Pollution." Internal Memo, Post-Script. *The Economist* (12 December): 1. [Here](#).

**4/16 In-class negotiation simulation**

*Discussion Section*

Simulation review

**Week 12: Foreign Aid and Immigration**

## **4/21 Foreign Aid**

Helen Millner and Dustin Tingley (2011). "Who Supports Global Economic Engagement? The Sources of Preferences in American Foreign Economic Policy." *International Organization* (65): 37–68. [Here](#).

Helen Millner and Dustin Tingley (2013). "Introduction to the Geopolitics of Foreign Aid." Elgar. [Here](#).

### *Recommended*

Carole Lancaster (2008). "Danish and US Foreign Aid Compared: A View from Washington." *Danish Foreign Policy Yearbook*, 31-54. [Here](#).

Richard Nielsen, Michael Findley, Zach Davis, Tara Candland, and Daniel Nielsen (2011). "Foreign Aid Shocks as a Cause of Violent Armed Conflict." *American Journal of Political Science*, 55(2): 219-232. [Here](#).

## **4/23 Immigration**

Readings TBD.

### *Discussion Section*

Debate: Topic TBA

## **Week 13 International Law and the Future of International Relations**

### **4/28 Task Force Rehash**

In class work session to meet with your group to generate 5 talking points about how you would update your policy positions given events since your presentation and material covered in class. Then, individuals from each group split apart and are paired with people from other groups so they can report to their new groups about their discussion.

### **4/30 International law and the Future of International Relations**

FLS, Ch. 11.

Samantha Power (2001). "Bystanders to Genocide." *Atlantic Monthly* (September): 84-108. [Here](#).

Hans Morgenthau (1985). "The Main Problems of International Law." In *Politics Among Nations*, 6th rev. ed., 293-327. <course site>.

### *Recommended*

Beth Simmons (2008). "International Law and International Relations." *Oxford Handbook of Law and Politics*. <course site>.

James D. Morrow (2007). "When Do States Follow the Laws of War?" *American Political Science Review* 101(3): 559-572. [Here](#).

Eric Posner (2009). "Think Again: International Law." *Foreign Policy* (September 17). [Here](#).

*Section*

Debriefing, overview of the class

### **FINAL EXAM**

May 14, time and location TBA.