# **INTA 4500-AY**

# ProSeminar: International Cooperation Spring 2016

M 3:05 – 5:55

Habersham G17

Subject to change with notice

# Dr. Alasdair Young

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# **Course description**

This course examines the political dynamics of international cooperation. It thus investigates preference formation and negotiating dynamics. It analyzes the problems of cooperation under anarchy and how states seek to overcome them. These challenges and political dynamics are illustrated and explored through a course-long case study of the recent Iran nuclear agreement. The class will work together to develop a case history of the agreement, in the course of which each student will be expected to become an expert on one of the key participants in the agreement.

# **Intended learning outcomes**

By the end of this course, students will:

- demonstrate an understanding of the key challenges to effective international cooperation;
- be able to evaluate the preferences and power resources of state actors and understand their origins (Cultural, contextual and ethical awareness)
- be able to analyze, interpret and explain the dynamics leading to the Iran nuclear deal (Problem solving in international affairs)
- be able to work effectively in small groups to produce policy-relevant analysis in a timely fashion (Teamworking skills)
- be able to express their arguments clearly and effectively orally and in writing (Effective communications skills)

# **Course materials**

There is no course text for this course.

We will make extensive use of other resources, including journal articles, think-tank reports and primary documents. These will either be available on the web (denoted by w), through the GT library (I) or on t-square (t).

To access electronic journal articles through the library website:

- click on 'eJournals' on the left-hand side of the library homepage (under 'research tools');
- type the name of the journal in the search box;
- select the database option that includes the appropriate issue of the journal;
- browse the journal to the appropriate volume and issue.

Assignment	Date due	Maximum points possible	Share of total
Key actor position paper	2/1	200	10
Key actor position presentation	2/1	100	5
Agreement analysis paper	2/29	200	10
Agreement analysis presentation	2/29	100	5
Domestic implementation challenges paper	3/7	200	10
Domestic implementation challenges presentation	3/7	100	5
Paper outlining possible scenarios	3/11	200	10
Written assessment of outcome	3/28	200	10
Oral assessment of outcome	3/28	100	5
Key facts and takeaways	4/15	100	5
Case history (group)	4/25	100	5
Case history presentation (group)	4/25	200	10
Participation	continuous	200	10
TOTAL		2000	100

## **Course requirements**

Late assignments will NOT be accepted, except for medical or personal emergencies upon verification. Presentations MUST be emailed to the instructor b 9 am on the day of the due date.

## Extra-credit assignment (50 points for a serious effort) (up to 2 assignments may be submitted)

Write a reflective summary (500 words max) of an approved public talk. Due by the next class.

# Grading

Grade	Points	Descriptors
A	20 19 18	Exceptionally good performance demonstrating a superior understanding of the subject matter, a foundation of extensive knowledge, and a skillful use of concepts and/or materials.
В	17 16 15	Good performance demonstrating capacity to use the appropriate concepts, a good understanding of the subject matter, and an ability to handle the problems and materials encountered in the subject.
с	14 13 12	Adequate performance demonstrating an adequate understanding of the subject matter, an ability to handle relatively simple problems.
D	11 10 9	Minimally acceptable performance demonstrating at least partial familiarity with the subject matter and some capacity to deal with relatively simple problems, but also demonstrating serious deficiencies.
F	<8	Did not demonstrate familiarity with the subject matter, nor the capacity to deal with simple problems in a manner recognizable to the consensus of mainstream academic practitioners within the field.

## **Grade Change Policy**

Simple computational or clerical errors should be brought to my attention immediately. Legitimate requests for grade changes are welcome and encouraged. You should, however, resist the temptation to file a frivolous request just hoping to "get lucky". Approach a grade change request as if arguing a legal case: you should have strong and convincing arguments and evidence to support your request. Be aware that appeals to the practices of other professors generally do not constitute good argument or evidence. Note also that grade changes requests can result in re-grades either up or down (or left unchanged). That is, if the greater scrutiny demanded by a grade change request reveals your assignment to deserve a lower grade than previously awarded, and then the lower grade may be assigned.

# Attendance policy

- Attendance is required.
- Absences for medical or personal emergencies will be excused upon verification by the instructor. Absences for school athletics will be excused only if they are in accordance with the schedules approved and circulated by the Student Academic & Financial Affairs Committee for Travel or the Associate Athletic Director (Academic Services). Absences due to military service will be handled on a case-by-case basis and subject to verification.
- In order to get the most out of the course and to be able to participate effectively in class, you are expected <u>at a minimum</u> to read and reflect upon required readings and research <u>before</u> class.
- Course participants will treat each other with respect. Constructive questioning and criticism are welcome, even encouraged. Personal attacks and insults are not. The rule of thumb here is that critical comments and questions should be maturely phrased in a manner that encourages

constructive and open debate. They should **not** be phrased as insults, threats, or in a manner that shuts down discussion.

• All telecommunications devices are to be switched off during class.

## **Special Accommodations**

Students requesting academic accommodations based on a documented disability are required to register with the Access Disabled Assistance Program for Tech Students (ADAPTS). Please obtain a form from the ADAPTS office and turn it in to me during office hours or in class in the beginning of the semester. (http://www.adapts.gatech.edu).

## Academic misconduct

According to the Georgia Tech honor code,<sup>1</sup> academic misconduct is any act that does or could improperly distort Student grades or other Student academic records. Such acts include:

- Possessing, using or exchanging improperly acquired written or verbal information in the preparation of any essay, laboratory report, examination, or other assignment included in an academic course;
- Substitution for, or unauthorized collaboration with, a Student in the commission of academic requirements;
- Submission of material that is wholly or substantially identical to that created or published by another person or persons, without adequate credit notations indicating authorship (plagiarism).

1/11	Introduction		
1/18	Martin Luther King Day – No class		
1/25	Preferences	Draft positions of key actors	
2/1	Negotiations	Revised positions of key actors	
2/8	Problems of cooperation		
2/15	Institutional design		
2/22	Nuclear security institutions		
2/29	Substance of the agreement	Analysis of text	
3/7	Ratification and implementation	Domestic implementation challenges	
3/14	Scenarios	Identification of scenarios	
3/21	Spring break – No class		
3/28	Assessment	Analysis of the outcome	
4/4	Putting it together		
4/11	Polishing	Comments on draft	
4/18	Summary	Key facts and takeaways	
4/25	Presentation and wrap-up	Final case	

# **Course overview**

Green denotes required, but only formatively assessed.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> http://www.osi.gatech.edu/plugins/content/index.php?id=46

## **Detailed course outline**

## 1/11 Introduction

This class will introduce the focus, structure and expectations of the course. In addition, it will explore what international cooperation is (and is not). It will also begin the discussion of the Iran nuclear agreement. Further, we will discuss how to conduct the kind of research that will be necessary to complete the course successfully.

#### 1/18 Martin Luther King Day – No class

#### 1/25 Preferences

International cooperation involves reconciling the different preferences of the participants. This class will examine the literature on the origins of state preferences. In doing so it will revisit the leading theories in International Relations and foreign policy analysis. We will begin to discuss the preferences of the key actors with respect to the Iran nuclear agreement. In order to inform that discussion, we will explore some of the basics about nuclear weapons.

<u>Assignment</u> (formative assessment only)

10 minute presentation on the preferences of assigned key actor

#### **Reading**

Muller, R. A. (2008), *Physics for Future Presidents: The Science Behind the Headlines*, W.W. Norton, Ch. 10. (t)

Graham T. Allison and Philip Zelikow, *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Longman, 1999, 2-7; 13-26; 143-58, 255-8; 263-313. (t)

Christopher Hill, The Changing Politics of Foreign Policy, Palgrave, 2003, 25-37. (t)

## 2/1 Negotiations

This class will introduce the dynamics of negotiation. It will consider both bargaining and arguing/persuasion. We will conclude our discussion of the preferences of the key actors and consider how they went about trying to realize them during the negotiations.

#### **Assignment**

3 page report on the preferences of the assigned key actor

10 minute presentation on the preferences of assigned key actor

## <u>Reading</u>

Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye, *Power and Interdependence*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, Longman, 2001, pp. 7-17. (t)

Andrew Moravcsik (1993), 'Introduction: Integrating International and Domestic Theories of International Bargaining,' in P. B. Evans, H. K. Jacobson and R. D. Putnam (eds), *Double-Edged Diplomacy: International Bargaining and Domestic Politics*, University of California Press, 15-17; 23-32. (t)

- Thomas Risse, "Let's Argue!": Communicative Action in World Politics,' *International Organization*, 54/1, 2000, 1-39. (I)
- Stephen D. Krasner (1991), 'Global Communications and National Power: Life on the Pareto Frontier,' World Politics, 43/3, April, 336-66. (I)
- Conflict Research Consortium's summary of Roger Fisher and William Ury, *Getting to Yes: Negotiating Agreement Without Giving In*, (New York: Penguin Books, 1983). Available at: http://www.colorado.edu/conflict/peace/example/fish7513.htm (w)

## 2/8 Problems of cooperation

International cooperation is difficult. This class introduces the most important impediments to cooperation, particularly transaction costs and the risk of defection. It introduces game theory as a way of understanding how problem characteristics affect the challenges of cooperation. It also considers whether defection presents a particular obstacle to security cooperation.

#### **Reading**

Kenneth A. Oye (1985), "Explaining Cooperation Under Anarchy: Hypotheses and Strategies,"K.A. Oye (ed), *Cooperation Under Anarchy*, Princeton University Press, 1-9. (t)

John J. Mearsheimer, 'The False Promise of International Institutions,' *International Security*, 19/3, 1994; 5-49. (I)

## 2/15 Institutional design

States design international institutions to try to mitigate the problems of cooperation. While the literature focuses on enduring institutions, many of the principles and considerations are relevant to individual agreements.

## **Reading**

- Kenneth A. Oye (1985), "Explaining Coooperation Under Anarchy: Hypotheses and Strategies," K.A. Oye (ed), *Cooperation Under Anarchy*, Princeton University Press, 9-24. (t)
- Downs, G. W., Rocke, D. M. and Barsoom, P. N. (1996), 'Is the Good News about Compliance Good News About Cooperation?' *International Organization*, 50/3, 370-406. (I)
- Barbara Koremenos, Charles Lipson and Duncan Snidal (2001), 'The Rational Design of International Institutions,' *International Organization*, 55/4, 761-99. (I)

## 2/22 Nuclear security institutions

In order to contextualize the Iran nuclear agreement, we will look in greater detail at the designs of the key multilateral agreement governing nuclear weapons: the Non-Proliferation Treaty and the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT).

## **Reading**

- Karns, M. P. and Mingst, K. A. (2004), *International Organizations: The Politics and Processes of Global Governance*, Lynne Reinner, pp. 327-32 and 297-306. (t)
- Brown, R. L. (2015), *Nuclear Authority: The IAEA and the Absolute Weapon*, Georgetown University Press, 140-8 and 166-76. (t)
- Kerr, P. K. (2015), "Iran's Nuclear Program: Tehran's Compliance with International Obligations," R40094, Congressional Research Service, 7 December. (t)

## 2/29 Substance of the agreement

In this class we will analyze the content of the agreement informed by what we have learned about institutional design in general and the NPT in particular.

## **Assignment**

1-2 page analysis of a section of the agreement

10 minute presentation of the textual analysis

## **Reading**

Katzman, K. and Kerr, P. K. (2015), "Iran Nuclear Agreement," R43333 Congressional Research Service, 15 Dec. (t)

"Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action," Vienna, 14 July 2015. (t)

## 3/7 Ratification and implementation

Whether cooperation is effective – whether it delivers the intended benefits – depends on whether it requires states do what they otherwise would not and whether they actually do what they promised. This class explores the challenges of ratification and implementation and considers the necessary and sufficient conditions for effective implementation. We will examine the implementation challenges confronting the key parties to the Iran nuclear agreement.

## **Assignment**

1-2 page paper on the implementation challenges confronting the assigned key actor.

10 minute presentation of the implementation challenges

**Reading** 

- Robert O. Keohane (1992), 'Compliance with International Commitments: Politics Within a Framework of Law,' *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting* (American Society of International Law), 86, 176-80. (I)
- Kal Raustiala and Anne-Marie Slaughter, 'International Law, International Relations and Compliance,' in W. Carlsnaes, T. Risse and B. A. Simmons (eds), *Handbook of International Relations*, Sage, 2002, 538-58. (t)

## 3/14 Scenarios

Following on from the issue of implementation, is the crucial question of how will the key actors behave in the future. The future is not knowable, but it is possible to think about what might happen and what the implications would be. This is what developing scenarios is about. In this class, we will consider what might happen with the implementation of the agreement.

## **Assignment**

2-3 page paper developing 3 possible scenarios (circulated by 3/11)

## **Reading**

Barma, N. A. et al (2015), "'Imagine a World in Which': Using Scenarios in Political Science," International Studies Perspectives. (t)

National Intelligence Council (2012), *Global Trends 2030*, pp. ii – xiv AND one of the "alternative worlds:" "Stalled engines" "Fusion" "GINI-out-of-the-bottle" "non-state world". Available at: http://www.dni.gov/index.php/about/organization/global-trends-2030.

## 3/21 Spring Break – no class

#### 3/28 Assessment

A common question in international cooperation is "Who won?" Such assessments of the agreement tie back to the issue of absolute versus relative gains and to questions of bargaining power (to whose ideal outcome was the agreement closer). There is also a broader issue of whether another outcome was possible and for whom it might have been superior. This class will consider these issues in the light of our analysis to date and student presentations.

## Assignment

2-3 page paper evaluating the outcome of the agreement from the perspective of the assigned actor.

10 minute presentation of the assessment

## **Reading**

- Crichton, K. and Sanger, D. E. (2015), "Who Got What They Wanted in the Iran Nuclear Deal," New York Times, 14 July. (w)
- Cohen, E., Edelman, E. and Takey, R. (2016), "Time to Get Tough on Tehran: Iran Policy After the Deal," *Foreign Affairs*, 95/1, 64-75. (t)
- Einhorn, R. (2015), "Debating the Iran Nuclear Deal," Brookings, <u>http://www.brookings.edu/research/reports2/2015/08/iran-nuclear-deal-battleground-issues-einhorn</u> (w)

## 4/4 Putting it all together

In this class session we will decide how to structure and present the information that we have gathered in order to make the most effective case possible. We will identify any information

that is missing or analysis that needs strengthening. The outcome of this class should be a rough draft of the case history.

## 4/11 Polishing

We will synthesize the comments and decide how best to address them. The outcome from this class should be a near final text.

#### **Assignment**

Comments on the draft text (to be circulated by 4/8)

## 4/18 Summary

A critical skill is being able to distil and synthesize complex information into a clear and effective summary. In this class we will write the executive summary to the case history. This will also provide the basis for the presentation.

#### **Assignment**

1 page on key facts and takeaways (to be circulated by 4/15)

**Reading** 

Examples of executive summaries

## 4/25 Presentation and wrap-up

The first hour of the class period will be available for you to practice and polish the presentation. In the second hour you will give the presentation to invited guests and take questions and receive feedback. In the last hour we will have an end-of-course supper.

Assignment

Final text (group)

20 minute group presentation