

An abstract graphic design featuring several overlapping circles and arcs in various shades of green, ranging from light lime to a darker forest green. The design is positioned in the upper half of the book cover, partially obscuring the title area.

International Cooperation

The Extents and Limits of Multilateralism

EDITED BY

I. William Zartman
and Saadia Touval

CAMBRIDGE

International Cooperation: The Extents and Limits of Multilateralism

Edited by

I. William Zartman

and

Saadia Touval

*The Nitze School of Advanced International Studies,
The Johns Hopkins University*



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore,
São Paulo, Delhi, Dubai, Tokyo

Cambridge University Press
The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 8RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press,
New York

www.cambridge.org
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521191296

© Cambridge University Press 2010

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception
and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements,
no reproduction of any part may take place without the written
permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2010

Printed in the United Kingdom at the University Press, Cambridge

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data

International cooperation : the extents and limits of multilateralism / edited by
I. William Zartman, Saadia Touval.

p. cm.

ISBN 978-0-521-19129-6 (hardback)

I. International cooperation. I. Zartman, I. William. II. Touval, Saadia.
III. Title.

JZ1318.I568 2010

327.1'7-dc22

2009045830

ISBN 978-0-521-19129-6 Hardback

ISBN 978-0-521-13865-9 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or
accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in
this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is,
or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

International Cooperation: The Extents and Limits of Multilateralism

A number of new approaches to the subject of international cooperation were developed in the 1980s. As a result, further questions have arisen, particularly with regard to the methods and limits of cooperation and the relationship between cooperation and the debate over multilateralism. *International Cooperation* considers these questions, identifies further areas for research, and pushes the analysis of this fundamental concept in international relations in new directions. Its two parts address the historic roots and modern development of the notion of cooperation, and the strategies used to achieve it, with a conclusion that reaches beyond international relations into new disciplinary avenues. This edited collection incorporates historical research, social and economic analysis, and political and evolutionary game theory.

I. William Zartman is the Jacob Blaustein Distinguished Professor Emeritus of International Organization and Conflict Resolution at the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies of the Johns Hopkins University. He is the author of a number of books, including *Cowardly Lions: Missed Opportunities for Preventing Deadly Conflict and State Collapse* (2005) and *Negotiation and Conflict Management: Essays on Theory and Practice* (2008), and editor of *Imbalance of Power: US Hegemony and International Order* (2009) and *Peacemaking in International Conflict: Methods and Techniques* (2005). He is recipient of the Lifetime Achievement Award of the International Association for Conflict Management.

The late Saadia Touval, former professor and Dean at Tel Aviv University, taught at Johns Hopkins University's Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies from 1994 to 2007. He was the author of a number of books including *The Peace Brokers: Mediation in the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1948-1979* (1982) and *Mediation in the Yugoslav Wars* (2001).

To the late Saadia Touval,
warm friend, close colleague, twin

Contributors

JEAN-CLAUDE BERTHÉLEMY is Professor of Economics at the University of Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, where he received his PhD in 1984. He was Director of the CEPIII (*Centre d'Etudes Prospectives et d'Informations Internationales*), the leading French think tank specializing in international economics, from 1998 to 2000. Before holding that position he had worked for about seven years for the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development, where he was Head of Division at the Development Centre. He has also collaborated with other international organizations such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the African Development Bank, the United Nations Development Programme, and The World Institute for Development Economics Research. He has published numerous articles on development economics in referred journals, as well as eleven books, related to a variety of subjects such as economic growth analysis, development finance, and peace economics. Among other professional affiliations, he is a member of the European Development Research Network, of which he was elected vice-president in 2004. In recognition of his significant contributions to development economics, he was in November 2003 awarded the Luc Durand-Réville prize by the French Académie des sciences morales et politiques.

CHARLES DORAN is Andrew W. Mellon Professor of International Relations and Director of the Global Theory and History and Canadian Studies Programs at the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, The Johns Hopkins University. His recent books are *Power Cycle Theory and Global Politics* (2003, special issue of *International Political Science Review*), *Democratic Pluralism at Risk: Why Canadian Unity Matters and Why Americans Care* (2001) and *Systems in Crisis: Imperatives of High Politics at the Century's End* (1991). His doctorate is from The Johns Hopkins University. charles.doran@att.net

JOSHUA S. GOLDSTEIN is Professor Emeritus of International Relations at the American University in Washington. He is author of *International*

Relations (9th ed., 2010), *How Gender Shapes the War System and Vice Versa* (2001), and *Long Cycles: Prosperity and War in the Modern Age* (1988). His doctorate is from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. jg@joshuagoldstein.com

FEN OSLER HAMPSON is Chancellor's Professor and Director of the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs, Carleton University, Ottawa. His recent works are *Nurturing Peace: Why Peace Settlements Succeed or Fail* (1996) and *Multilateral Negotiations: Lessons From Arms Control, Trade, and the Environment* (1999). He holds a PhD from Harvard. fen_hampson@carleton.ca

P. TERRENCE HOPMANN is Professor of International Relations and Director of the Conflict Management Program at the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, The Johns Hopkins University. He is Professor Emeritus of Political Science at Brown University, where he also served as Director of the Global Security Program in the Thomas J. Watson Jr. Institute of International Studies. His recent research has focused on conflict management by regional security institutions, especially the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe. His major book is *The Negotiation Process and the Resolution of International Conflicts* (1996). His doctorate is from Stanford. pthopmann@jhu.edu

ALEXIS KELLER is Professor of History of Legal and Political Thought at the University of Geneva. He is a former fellow of the Carr Center for Human Rights Policy at the Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University. Most recently, he has edited *What is a Just Peace?* (2006) and *Counterterrorism: Democracy's Challenge* (2008). He is currently working on a book entitled *Defending Justice among Nations (1650–1850)*. His doctorate is from the University of Geneva. Alexis. Keller@droit.unige.ch

DEBORAH WELCH LARSON is Professor of Political Science at the University of California, Los Angeles. Her research draws on cognitive social psychology to explain foreign-policy decision making, as in *Origins of Containment: A Psychological Explanation* (1985). She is the author most recently of *Anatomy of Mistrust: U.S.–Soviet Relations during the Cold War* (1997) and *Good Judgment in Foreign Policy: Theory and Application* (2003, with Stanley Renshon). She holds a Stanford PhD. dlarson@polisci.ucla.edu

ALEXEI V. SHEVCHENKO is Assistant Professor at the Department of Political Science, California State University Fullerton. His research

interests include international relations theory and the foreign policies of China and Russia. His previous work appeared in *No More States? Globalization, National Self-Determination, and Terrorism*, ed. Richard N. Rosecrance and Arthur A. Stein (2006), *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, and *International Organization*. His doctorate is from UCLA. ashevchenko@fullerton.edu

ALLISON STANGER is the Russell Leng Professor of International Politics and Economics, chair of the Political Science Department, and Director of the Rohatyn Center for International Affairs at Middlebury College. Her most recent book is *One Nation Under Contract: The Outsourcing of American Power and the Future of Foreign Policy* (2009). A mathematics major as an undergraduate, she received her PhD in political science from Harvard University. stanger@middlebury.edu

The late SAADIA TOUVAL was Adjunct Professor and Associate Director of the Conflict Management Program at the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, The Johns Hopkins University. He was former Professor and Political Science Department Chair and Dean at Tel Aviv University. He is the author of *The Peace Brokers* (1982) and *Mediation in the Yugoslav Wars* (2002) among others. His doctorate is from Harvard.

- I. WILLIAM ZARTMAN is the Jacob Blaustein Distinguished Professor Emeritus at the Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) of The Johns Hopkins University, and member of the Steering Committee of the Processes of International Negotiation (PIN) Program at the International Institute of Applied Systems Analysis (IIASA) in Vienna. He is author of *Cowardly Lions: Missed Opportunities to Prevent Deadly Conflict and State Collapse* (2005) and *Negotiation and Conflict Management: Essays on Theory and Practice* (2007) among others. His doctorate is from Yale and his honorary doctorate from the Catholic University of Louvain. zartman@jhu.edu

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to SAIS and the US Institute of Peace for their generous support for this project and to Isabelle Talpain-Long for carefully shepherding the manuscript through to completion. Thanks too to Julia Lendorfer for indexing. I am above all grateful for the chance to work with my friend, colleague, and twin Saadia Touval on this work, our last and lasting of a long list of collaboration.

Contents

<i>List of figures</i>	<i>page</i> ix
<i>List of tables</i>	xi
<i>List of contributors</i>	xii
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xv

1 Introduction: return to the theories of cooperation	
I. WILLIAM ZARTMAN AND SAADIA TOUVAL	1

Part 1 Multilateral meanings of cooperation

2 Debating cooperation in Europe from Grotius to Adam Smith	
ALEXIS KELLER	15
3 The two sides of multilateral cooperation	
CHARLES DORAN	40
4 Deconstructing multilateral cooperation	
FEN OSLER HAMPSON	60
5 Negotiated cooperation and its alternatives	
SAADIA TOUVAL	78

Part 2 Multiple strategies of cooperation

6 Synthesizing rationalist and constructivist perspectives on negotiated cooperation	
P. TERRENCE HOPMANN	95
7 The shadow of the past over conflict and cooperation	
ALLISON STANGER	111
8 Chicken dilemmas: crossing the road to cooperation	
JOSHUA S. GOLDSTEIN	135

9	Conflict management as cooperation	
	I. WILLIAM ZARTMAN	161
10	Status concerns and multilateral cooperation	
	DEBORAH WELCH LARSON AND ALEXEI SHEVCHENKO	182
11	Asymmetrical cooperation in economic assistance	
	JEAN-CLAUDE BERTHÉLEMY	208
12	Conclusion: improving knowledge of cooperation	
	SAADIA TOUVAL AND I. WILLIAM ZARTMAN	227
	<i>Bibliography</i>	238
	<i>Index</i>	266

Figures

3.1 Multilateralism	<i>page 46</i>
6.1 Absolute versus relative gains in a “mixed motive” game	100
7.1 Traditional v. suspicious TFT, 2 DK, 256 players	122
7.2 Traditional v. suspicious TFT, RWR, 256 players	123
7.3 Traditional v. suspicious TFT, FRN, 256 players	123
7.4 Traditional v. suspicious TFT, FRN, 10,000 players	124
7.5 Traditional TFT, DC v. DB learning, 2DK 10,000 players	127
7.6 Traditional TFT, DC v. DB learning, RWR 10,000 players	127
7.7 Traditional TFT, DC v. DB learning, FRN 10,000 players	128
7.8 Traditional TFT, DB v. DC learning, FRN 256 players	128
7.9 Suspicious TFT, DC v. DB learning, 2DK 10,000 players	129
7.10 Suspicious TFT, DC v. DB learning, RWR 10,000 players	130
7.11 Suspicious TFT, DC v. DB learning, FRN 10,000 player	130
8.1 The structure of Chicken	137
8.2 The bargaining sequence in Chicken	142
8.3 Transition from PD to Chicken in bargaining	143
8.4 Trends in cooperation in iterated Chicken and PD psychology experiments	146
11.1 Comparison by region of multilateral aid with bilateral aid net of the bilateralism effect	219
11.2 Comparison within Asian region of multilateral aid with bilateral aid net of the bilateralism effect	219
11.3 Comparison within sub-Saharan African region of multilateral aid with bilateral aid net of the bilateralism effect	220
Grid snapshot 1 Traditional TFT, 2DK, 256 players, random seed 1, tick count 1	118
Grid snapshot 2 Traditional TFT, 2DK, 256 players, random seed 1, tick count 3	119
Grid snapshot 3 Traditional TFT, 2DK, 256 players, random seed 1, tick count 5	119

Grid snapshot 4	Traditional TFT, 2DK, 256 players, random seed 1, tick count 7	120
Grid snapshot 5	Traditional TFT, 2DK, 256 players, random seed 1, tick count 9	120
Grid snapshot 6	Traditional TFT, 2DK, 256 players, random seed 1, tick count 11	121

Tables

11.1	Summary of estimation results (final equation)	<i>page</i> 214
11.2	Multiplier effect of bilateral variables on aid received by recipients	215
11.3	Implicit shift of aid resources due to bilateralism: the “bilateralism effect” (US\$ billion per year)	216
11.4	Implicit shift of aid resources due to geopolitical factors (US\$ billion per year)	217
11.5	Correlation between the two components of bilateral aid and multilateral aid	218
11.6	Correlation between the bilateralism effect and growth (averages over 1980s and 1990s)	220

1 Introduction: return to the theories of cooperation

I. William Zartman and Saadia Touval

Cooperation among states is much more common than war. Yet there is much less conceptualization about cooperation than there is about the causes of and behavior in war, and the study of international cooperation – attempts to understand the phenomenon – has produced much debate. “Conflict seems very natural, and it is easy to understand, . . . Cooperation, however, appears as a phenomenon that requires subtle explanations” (Hammerstein 2003, pp. 1–2).

Cooperation is defined here as a situation where parties agree to work together to produce new gains for each of the participants unavailable to them by unilateral action, at some cost. Its constituent elements are working together, agreement to do so (not just coincidence), cost, and new gains for all parties. (This definition is not too far from, but a bit more specific than, *Webster's*: “an association of parties for their common benefit; collective action in pursuit of common well-being.” Cf. Smith 2003; Clements and Stephens 1995; Dugatkin 1997). By “gains” we mean not only material gains, but also perception of progress toward goals, such as improved security, status, or freedom of action for oneself and the imposition of constraints on other actors, and so on. Thus, cooperation is used here to mean more than simply the opposite or absence of conflict, as some binary codings indicate. It is a conscious, specific, positive action.

Some definitions require that at least one party in the cooperating group be worse off, at least in the short run, by cooperating than by not cooperating (Bowles and Gintis 2003; Richerson et al. 2003), but this definition is illogical. The party in question would only cooperate if its calculations are other than material and/or short run; it must get either (non-material) satisfaction or long-run gains of some sort to make cooperation worthwhile. The opposite of this condition of cost without gain is the free-rider problem of gain without cost. But this in its turn depends on the establishment of cooperation by those who both pay and gain.

Conflicts in meaning

But differences in the use of the term in reference to the dynamics of cooperation and its reflection in multilateralism still abound, and are reflected in some of the following chapters. Both terms – “cooperation” and “multilateral” – carry pairs of meanings in popular usage, developing different implications from different meanings. They raise new questions and suggest areas for further inquiry.

Cooperation sometimes refers to actors’ strategy aimed at resolving particular issues, and sometimes to a pattern of interactions – in other words, to a relationship, as explored in the chapters by Doran and Hampson. The first, resolving specific issues, can take place between states that are antagonistic, even hostile to each other. Like the United States and the Soviet Union during the Cold War or Israel and Hizbollah in their prisoner exchange, antagonists, even enemies, cooperate on occasions to resolve specific concerns, without addressing the broader conflict – in other words, to manage but not to resolve their conflict (George, Farley, and Dallin 1988; Kanet and Kolodziej 1991). Descriptions of strategies available to competing players in various game theory models often use the term “cooperation” in the same sense of agreement to resolve particular issues.

The second meaning of the term, describing a relationship, refers not only to specific interactions but also implies a desire on the part of the actors to maintain and foster those interactions through joint problem solving. It also implies a certain basic empathy between them, and a mutual sense that each party’s well-being depends on the well-being of the other. It does not preclude occasional conflict, or competition between the parties. But it presupposes a security community, where a resort to violence and war is unthinkable (e.g. United States–Britain, United States–Canada, the European Union, NATO).

“Multilateral,” too, has two forms, developed in the following chapters. One is the noun, “multilateralism”, in the sense of a diplomatic strategy employed by states in order to coordinate policy among three or more actors or cooperation in its second meaning (Ruggie 1993). It is sometimes described as a pattern of behavior that contributes to world peace, and therefore is intrinsically moral. The other, “multilateral” as an adjective, without the “ism”, is often used to refer to an ad hoc tactic (or strategy) adopted by a state or group of states in pursuit of a defined objective, in the first definition of cooperation. Such a strategy may be aimed at resolving or reducing conflict among the participating parties, but it may also be used to compete against others who are excluded from the group, to put pressure on them, even to fight them.

Multilateralism as a foreign policy principle has been attributed by Ruggie and Ikenberry to the United States in certain historical periods, primarily the latter half of the twentieth century, as discussed in the Larson and Shevchenko chapter. The other, a multilateral strategy, has been attributed to coalitions, such as military alliances and trade blocs, and to great power concerts, as discussed in the chapter by Zartman. The first is inclusive, and tends toward universal membership; the second is exclusive. It is sometimes called “minilateralism,” “plurilateralism,” or “bilateralism” – a strategy of coordinating with single or small numbers of partners, through separate arrangements with each of them, as Touval notes. Since multilateral strategies are exclusive, they can have contradictory purposes – multilateral cooperation to act and multilateral cooperation to block action. Hampson and Doran in their chapters refer to further variations in the meaning of the term.

Such different meanings attached to terms can hinder communication and hamper effective research. Mere recognition that terms can mean different things is a step forward. Rather than invent new terms, the following discussion will explore differences while trying to keep the different uses and their implications explicit.

Conflict and cooperation

While there is conflict without cooperation, it appears that there is no cooperation without conflict. Cooperation is dependent on these being conflict to overcome. Indeed, attempts at cooperation may create conflict (to be overcome), since the parties' attempt to work together brings out differing interests to be tailored to fit – the costs of cooperation. By “conflict” we do not mean war or violence, but rather perceptions of incompatibilities. Cooperating nations generally perceive both common and conflicting interests. They may thus disagree about some of their goals, their respective contributions, the burdens they carry, and the benefits they derive in the common enterprise. This produces a rich field for inquiry on why states cooperate, how they arrive at cooperation, how they practice cooperation, and how cooperation is sustained.

If so, then the first step in understanding cooperation is to take stock of the current understanding of “conflict.” While the term is frequently used as shorthand for “violent conflict,” the violent form of conflict cannot be understood without addressing first its broader form, which is simply an incompatibility of goals (Bernard 1949; 1957, p. 38; Coser 1956, p. 8). Of course, incompatibility is scarcely significant if it is taken lying down; it is when value incompatibility leads to some escalation of action or conflict behavior that it becomes an object of concern, both practical and