

Territory and Conflict
Wesleyan University
Government 335 - 01
Fall 2015

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This seminar will concentrate on a particular cause and focus of conflict between nations: territory. Conflicts over territory are believed to be among the most contentious and intractable in international relations. The basic goal will be to develop an understanding of when, why and how territory has played a role in the history of international conflict and how that role may have changed over time.

Specifically, states engage in active policies of expansion and conquest at some times while at others they adopt policies that support reducing the size of the state or maintaining the status quo. States also appear willing to fight harder for some pieces of territory than others. What accounts for these variations in policies towards territory over time and place? Is it the changing value of territory within a changing economic environment? Is it that fighting for territory acts as a means to a reputation for resolve? Or are leaders simply adhering to norms of acceptable policies towards territory as laid out by the international system? The literature covered in this class will address state attitudes towards territory through the lenses of economic, political, normative, and domestic variables. While we will look at some particular cases of territorial conflict, this is not a current events class. We will think about territory more generally through a broader theoretical lens.

Seminar objectives:

1. To develop historical knowledge of cases of territorial conflict.
2. To develop an understanding of how attitudes towards conflict have changed over time.
3. To explore primary theoretical perspectives that might explain these changing attitudes towards territory.
4. To provide students an opportunity to individually apply the theoretical explanations to actual cases of territorial conflict.
5. To assist students in analyzing the strengths and weaknesses of theoretical explanations by gauging how well they explain the real world.
6. To develop reading skills such that students read not only to master content but also to critique the approach and validity of the work.

The course will take the form of a seminar. Students will be expected to show up having read all required texts and to be ready to talk about them. This means that students should be prepared to not only summarize the articles, but also be ready to analyze the value of their content. The course will focus on establishing both historical knowledge of territorial conflict through readings and individual projects as well as understanding of analytical approaches to thinking about these patterns as presented by political scientists. There will be between 50 and 100 pages of reading per class. All readings will be on the course moodle. The syllabus may be altered as we go along. Please check the course website for the most recent syllabus and readings.

In addition to class participation, one short paper and one longer paper are required. The short paper will summarize and critique the arguments made in the readings for a particular class. The longer paper will apply the analytical concepts covered in class to one historical case. Each student will be required to present their findings in a short presentation during the last week of class. There will also be a mid-term and a final exam.

Grade Breakdown

Participation counts for 20% of your grade.

Mid-term exam counts for 20% of your grade.

Take-home final exam 20%.

The short paper counts as 15%

The long paper counts as 25%.

Participation

In addition to attendance, your participation grade will be comprised of two parts. First, every student will be required to post one comment or question about the readings on the course noodle. Comments can focus on something a student finds interesting or on a particular aspect of the reading they didn't completely understand.

Second, a contribution grade will be given based on the degree to which a student contributes to class discussion, demonstrating they have read the course material, and responding to the comments of others. This isn't all about quantity - it is about the quality of insights. A well thought-out comment or question which gets to the heart of the matter can count more than numerous off-handed and unconsidered remarks. If you are interested in how you are doing with this segment of the course, please come by office hours and talk to me about it.

Mid-term Exam

An exam will be given in week 7. It will have both short and long essay questions covering all material to that point.

Final Exam

A take-home final will be assigned during the last week of class covering all material from the semester.

Short Paper

For each class session, one or two students will write a 5-page analysis of the readings for that class. These papers will summarize as succinctly as possible the arguments made in each paper we read for class, will summarize the evidence the author provides for their case, will relate the arguments to each other, and will lay out policy implications of the arguments or offer historical cases that appear to support or refute the arguments. Each student will write one of these papers over the course of the quarter. Assignments for the weekly papers will be made on Thursday of Week Two.

Long Paper

Each student will write a long paper roughly 10-12 pages in length. The task will require both your research and your analytical skills. The objective of this paper is to apply the theoretical approaches we cover in class to a particular current or historical instance of international territorial dispute. The paper should address the following: which arguments should apply to your case? Which theoretical approach best explains your case? Which arguments appear to be refuted by your case? While a very brief historical review of your case is fine, you should assume your reader has sufficient knowledge of your case to go without it. Focus instead should be placed creating a theoretical story for the case.

By *Thursday of Week 6*, students should have selected their conflict. Bibliographies will be due on *Thursday of Week 9*. The final draft will be due on Friday of the last week of classes. Students will give short presentations of their case and the findings in the paper starting in week 11.

Class Conduct

A few guidelines to ensure the seminar will run smoothly and will adhere to basic notions of respect for others.

- Arrive on time so as not to disturb others and to ensure you don't miss the comments of others.
- No eating.
- No laptops.
- Turn off all cell phones or don't even bring them.

Academic Integrity

A fundamental tenet of all educational institutions is academic honesty; academic work depends upon respect for and acknowledgment of the work and ideas of others. Misrepresenting someone else's work as one's own is a serious offense in any academic setting and it will not be condoned.

Course Outline

Introduction: What Are We Trying to Explain?

Questions: What are the questions we should ask about territory and conflict? What historical patterns characterize territorial expansion, contraction, and conflict?

Week One:

Monday, September 7th: Course Introduction

- Syllabus review and course description
- Introductory thoughts
- How to read academic papers

Wednesday, September 9th: What are we trying to explain?

Part 1: Territorial Conflict

- http://www.nytimes.com/2014/12/22/opinion/paul-krugman-putin-neocons-and-the-great-illusion.html?_r=0<https://euobserver.com/opinion/123496>
- <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/mar/23/ukraine-crimea-what-putin-thinking-russia>
- <http://www.newrepublic.com/article/117040/after-crimea-putin-going-take-eastern-ukraine>
- <http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/monkey-cage/wp/2014/03/06/how-putins-desire-to-restore-russia-to-great-power-status-matters/>
- <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-pacific-11341139>
- <http://thediplomat.com/2014/02/east-china-sea-what-do-china-and-japan-really-want/>
- <http://www.businessinsider.com/history-of-senkaku-diaoyu-dispute-2012-9?page=2>

- add videos of China and US Air Force over islands

Part 2: The Evolution of the Map

- In Class: Centennia Software
- Holsti, Kalevi J., *Taming the Sovereigns: Institutions Change in International Relations*, Ch. 3, pp. 73-92

What is The Value of Territory?

I. The Tangible Value of Territory

Week Two: Material Incentives

Monday, September 14th: The Profit Motive

- Mearsheimer, John, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*, ch. 5, pp. 138-152
- Lenin, V.I. *Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism* Moscow (Progress Publishers, 1982), Chs. VI
- Tooze, Adam, *The Wages of Destruction: The Making and Breaking of the German Economy*, (Penguin Group, 2006), pp. 135 - 147, 166 - 199.

Wednesday, September 16th: The Profit Motive in Question

Questions: What are the economic benefits and costs of holding territory? Is all territory valued equally? How well does desire for economic gains explain cases of expansion?

- Liberman, Peter, “The Spoils of Conquest,” *International Security*, vol. 18, no. 2, pp. 125-153.
- Brooks, Stephen, 1999, “The Globalization of Production and the Changing Benefits of Conquest,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, vol. 43, pp. 646 - 670.

Week Three: Strategic Incentives

Monday, September 21st: Strategy and Security

- Spykman, NJ, 1942, “Frontiers, security and International Organization,” *Geographical Review*, Vol. 32, No. 3, pp. 436 - 447.
- Jervis, Robert, 1978, “Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma,” *World Politics*, vol. 30, no. 2, pp. 167-186.

- Fazal, Tanisha, 2004, "State Death in the International System," *International Organizations*, vol. 58, no. 2, pp. 311-344

Wednesday, September 23rd: Domestic-Level Explanations

- Snyder, Jack, Myths of Empire: Domestic Politics and International Ambition, Ch. 1 and Skim pp. 31 - 49.
- Tir, Jaroslav, "Territorial Diversion- Diversionary Theory of War and Territorial Conflict," *The Journal of Politics*, Vol. 72, No. 2, April 2010, pp. 413 - 425
- Fravel, Taylor, "Regime Insecurity and International Cooperation: Explaining China's Compromises in Territorial Disputes," *International Security*, Vol. 30, No. 2, pp. 46-83.

II. The Intangible Value of Territory

Week Four: The Symbolic Value of Territory

Monday, September 25th: Nationalism

- In Class : TED Talk on Territory and Conflict
- George W. White, Nationalism and Territory, Constructing Group Identity in Southeastern Europe. (New York: Rowman & Littlefield), 2000; Chs. 1, 2, pp. 1 - 41.
- Anderson, Benedict, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, (London: Verso, 1998); Ch. 6, pp 83 - 99.
- Knight, D.B., 1982, "Identity and Territory: Geographical perspectives on Nationalism and Regionalism," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 72, No. 4, pp. 514 - 531.

Wednesday, September 30th: Identity and Territory, Continued Cases

- George W. White, Nationalism and Territory, Constructing Group Identity in Southeastern Europe. (New York: Rowman & Littlefield), 2000; Chs. 1, 2, pp. 45 - 60..
- Goemans, Hein, "Bounded Communities: Territoriality, Territorial Attachment, and Conflict," in Miles Kahler and Barbara Walter, eds., *Territoriality and Conflict in an Era of Globalization* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 25-56.

- Murphy, Alexander B., 2002, "National Claims to Territory in the Modern State System: Geographical Considerations," *Geopolitics*, vol. 7, no. 2, 193-214

Week Five: Reputation and Status

;;Paper Topic Due Today!!

Monday, October 5th: Reputation

- Schelling, Thomas. *The Strategy of Conflict*, pp. 116 - 125.
- Huth, Paul. "Reputations and Deterrence: A theoretical and Empirical Assessment," *Security Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 1, pp. 72 - 82.
- Walter, Barbara F. "Explaining the Intractability of Territorial Conflict," *International Studies Review*, Vol. 5, No. 4 (Dec. 2003), pp. 137-153.
- Wiegand, Krista, 2011, "Militarized Territorial Disputes: States' attempts to transfer reputation for resolve," *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 48, No. 1, pp. 101-113.

Wednesday, October 7th: Status and Status Symbols

- Murray, Michelle, "Identity, insecurity, and great power politics: the tragedy of German naval ambition before the First World War," *Security Studies*, 2010, pp. 656 - 660, 674 - 688.
- Kinsella, D and Jugdep Chima, (2001). "Symbols of Statehood: Military Industrialization and Public Discourse in India," *Review of International Studies*, vol. 27, pp. 353 - 373.
- Barnhart, Joslyn, "Status Competition and Territorial Conquest: Evidence from the Scramble for Africa," *Security Studies*, Forthcoming.

Week Six: Evolution and Territory

Monday, October 12th:

- Johnson, Dominic and Monica Duffy Toft, "Grounds for War: The Evolution of Territorial Conflict," *International Security*, Vol. 38, no. 3 (Winter 2013/14), pp. 7 - 38.
- Kuo, Raymond, Dominic Johnson and Monica Duffy Toft, "Evolution and Territorial Conflict," *International Security*, Vol. 39, no. 3 (Winter 2014/15).

Wednesday, October 14th: In-Class Midterm Exam

Week Seven: Norms

Monday, October 19th: Norms

- Zacher, Mark. "The Territorial Integrity Norm," *International Organization*, Vol. 55, No. 2 (Spring 2001), pp. 215 - 246.
- Atzili, Boaz. "When Good Fences Make Bad Neighbor: Fixed Borders, State Weakness and International Conflict," *International Security*, Vol. 31, No. 3 (Winter 2006 /7), pp. 139 - 173.

Wednesday, October 21st: Evolution of Norms

- Pinker, Steven, Better Angels of Our Nature, (Viking Press), Chs. 4 & 5
- Barlett, Robert, The Making of Europe, (Princeton University Press, 1993), pp. 85 - 96

Week Eight: Justifications

Wednesday, October 28th: How do states justify territorial claims? Has this changed over time?

- Murphy, Alexander B. "Historical Justifications for Territorial Claims," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 80, No. 4, pp. 531-548.
- Norman Hill, Claims to Territory in International Law and Relations, (Oxford University Press: 1945), pp. 81-91.
- Andrew Burghardt, "The Bases of Territorial Claims," *Geographical Review*, vol. 63, no. 2, 1973, pp. 225 - 245.

Week Nine: Borders *Monday, November 2nd: Borders as Institutions*

Paper bibliography due Thursday - with list of applicable papers from course!!

- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gtLxZiiuaXslist=PLEE3984081E7B3167index=83>
- Goemans, Hein and Carter, David, "The Making of the Territorial Order: New Borders and the Emergence of Interstate Conflict", *International Organization*, 2010, pp. 1 - 28.
- Simmons, Beth, "Trade and Territorial Conflict: International Borders as Institutions," Unpublished manuscript, pp. 1 - 15.

Wednesday, November 4th: Cases: How Borders Are Drawn

- Maps from Paris 1919
- Macmillan, Margaret, 2001, Paris 1919: Six Months That Changed the World (New York: Random House), pp. xxv - xxxi, 109 - 124, 207 - 228, 381 - 409. SKIM 273 - 305.
- Herbst, Jeffrey, 1989, "The Creation and Maintenance of National Boundaries in Africa," *International Organization*, Vol. 43, no. 4, pp. 673 - 692
- Kapil, Ravi, 1966, "On the Conflict Potential of Inherited Boundaries in Africa," *World Politics*, Vol 18, no. 4, pp. 656 - 673.

Week Nine: Enduring Disputes

Monday, November 9th : Why do some territorial disputes endure and some do not?

- Hassner, Ron, "The Path to Intractability: Time and the Entrenchment of Territorial Disputes," *International Security*, vol. 31. no. 3 (Winter 2006/7), pp. 107-138
- Weigand, Krista, Enduring Territorial Disputes: Strategies of Bargaining, Coercive Diplomacy, and Settlement, pp. 94 - 143.

Wednesday, November 11th: Case Analysis – India/ Pakistan Rivalry

- Ganguly, Sumit, "Conflict Unending," pp. 1 - 10.
- Paul, T.V., *The India-Pakistan Conflict: An Enduring Rivalry*, pp. 1 - 19, 103 - 121, 157 - 173, 225 - 237.
- Bose, Sumatran, Contested Lands: Israel-Palestine, Kashmir, Bosnia, Cyprus and Sri Lanka, (Harvard University Press, 2007), pp. 154 - 203.

Week Eleven: Indivisibility

Monday, November 16th: Is some territory indivisible?

- Fearon, James, "Rationalist Explanations for War," Extract from Art and Jervis Reader.
- Goddard, Stacie, "Uncommon Ground: Indivisible Territory and the Politics of Legitimacy," *International Organization*, vol/ 60, Winter 2006, pp. 35-49
- Hassner, Ron "To Halve and To Hold: Conflicts Over Sacred Spaces and the Problem of Indivisibility," *Security Studies*, vol. 12, no. 4 (2003), pp. 1 - 33.

Wednesday, November 18th: Indivisibility and Ethnicity

- Duffy Toft, Monica, 2002, "Indivisible Territory, Geographic Concentration and Ethnic Conflict," *Security Studies*, Vol. 12, No. 2, pp. 82 - 119
- Wimmer, Andreas, et al. "Ethnic Politics and Armed Conflict: A Configurational Analysis of a New Global Data Set," *American Sociological Review*, vol. 74, no. 2, pp. 316 - 337.
- Gagnon, V.P., "Ethnic Nationalism and International Conflict: The Case of Serbia," *International Security*, Vol. 19, no. 3 (Winter, 1994 - 96), pp. 130 - 166.
- Weidmann, N. "Geography as Motivation and Opportunity: Group Concentration and Ethnic Conflict," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, vol. 53, no. 4, pp. 526-543.

Week Twelve: State Formation

Monday, November 23rd:

- Tilly, Charles, Coercion, Capital, and European States (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990), Ch. 1 and pp. 67 - 76.
- Bean, Richard, "War and the Birth of the Nation State," *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 33, No. 1 (Mar. 1973), pp. 203-221.
- Sambanis, Nicholas, S. Skaperdas and W. Wohlforth, "Nation-Building through War," *American Political Science Review*, vol. 109, no.2 , pp. 279 - 296.
- Cederman, Lars-Erik, et al. (2015). "Territorial Autonomy in the Shadow of Conflict: Too Little, Too Late?," *American Political Science Review*, vol. 109, no. 2, pp. 354 - 370.

Week Thirteen: Mapping and Resolution

Monday, November 30th: Maps and the Modern State

- Branch, Jordan, "Mapping the Sovereign State," *International Organization*, Vol. 65, No, 1 (January 2011), pp. 1 - 36.
- <http://www.economist.com/blogs/economist-explains/2014/09/economist-explains-1?fsrc=scn/tw/te/bl/ee/tr/googlerepresentsborders>
- Peter Sahlins, Boundaries: The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press), pp. 1 - 60.

Wednesday, December 2nd: The Resolution of Territorial Disputes

- add something here
- Huth, Paul, Sarah Croco and Benjamin Appel, "Does International Law Promote the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes?" *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 105, no. 2, May 2011, pp. 415 - 424.
- Chiozza, Giacomo and Ajin Choi, "Guess Who Did What: Political Leaders and the Management of Territorial Disputes, 1950 - 1990," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, vol. 47, no. 3, June 2003, pp. 251 - 262.

Week Fouteen: The Future and The End

Monday, December 7th: The Future of Territorial Conflict

- Richard Rosecrance, "The Rise of the Virtual State: Territory Becomes Passè," *Foreign Affairs*, 75, no. 4 (July / August, 1996), pp. 46 - 61.
- Lake, David and Angela O'Mahony, "Territory and War: State Size and Patterns of Interstate Conflict," in Territoriality and Conflict in an Era of Globalization, ed. Kahler and Walter, 2006, pp. 133 - 154.

Wednesday, December 9th: Conclusions and Review