
Political Science 278

Foundations of Modern International Politics

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Harkness 337

Office Hours: Thursday 2-3

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Course Info:

Spring 2021

Wednesday 3:25–6:05

Harkness Room 210

The bargaining model of war is the main theoretical tool in the study of international conflict these days. But the model brackets, i.e., ignores, the question of what gets put on the bargaining table in the first place. What are leaders and states claiming from each other and what do they choose *not* to contest? It turns out there is remarkably little systematic empirical work on this fundamental question. In this course, we examine the issues states fight over from both a historical as well as contemporary perspective. The course will involve some basic new analytical tools such as GIS (Geographical Information Systems) and some very basic data analysis.

The pandemic has of course upended a lot of the structure of teaching in the last year. And so classes will be different this semester as well. The in-person class will be held in the Harkness 210. But there is not sufficient space for more than about 12-14 students to attend, if we aim to keep an appropriate distance between everybody attending. We will therefore rotate about half of the class for in-person teaching, where one half attends the seminar one week, and the other half attends class online, through Zoom, at <https://rochester.zoom.us/j/92118949087>. The lectures will be available live and in recorded format so that all students can attend all lectures, either virtually or in person.

Each student is expected to write a short paper for one session of their choice—picked in coordination with me—not to exceed 1500 words. This paper should provide an independent commentary on some aspect of that week’s readings. It is neither desirable nor necessary that you try to be comprehensive. Rather, you should select issues or angles that interest you, and develop your own thoughts about them. The paper must be circulated to the class via e-mail no later than Monday evening at 8:00 p.m.. These papers will form the background against which we will discuss the readings in class.

In addition, each student is required to write a 20–25 page research paper, which focuses in depth on one of the discussed emerging research agendas. (Or, in exceptional cases, on an emerging research agenda of the student’s choosing.) This paper is due at the end of the first week of May. In the last sessions we will try to organize some time to discuss drafts and/or outlines of these papers.

I will call on students and expect each student to be prepared to begin the discussion of each reading with a short description of the central question, central argument and competing explanations. If discussion does not arise naturally, I will assign students responsibility for leading a discussion of particular works.

Course Requirements

Participation in the seminar comprises 25% of your grade. The short paper counts for another 25% of your grade, while the final paper counts for 50%.

The readings are available in the shared Dropbox folder: <https://www.dropbox.com/sh/296zxvr00zjf8zp/AAA3bIktMT9hZ5xLIgUW9oL7a?dl=0>.

I understand that students sometimes are faced with urgent situations, either of a personal or academic nature – e.g., a reading is not available or cannot be found – and in those cases, of course I welcome e-mails. Otherwise, I strongly prefer students show up for office hours also held on Zoom.

Books

The following books will be required reading this semester. I recommend you buy your books through Amazon.

- Kalevi J. Holsti, *Peace and War: Armed Conflicts and international Order, 1648-1989*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996.
http://www.amazon.com/Peace-War-Conflicts-International-1648-1989/dp/0521399297/ref=sr_1_2?s=books&ie=UTF8&qid=1440441268&sr=1-2&keywords=Kalevi+Holsti
- Jordan Branch, *The Cartographic State: Maps, Territory, and the Origins of Sovereignty*. Cambridge University Press, 2014.
<https://www.amazon.com/Cartographic-State-Territory-Sovereignty-International/dp/1107499720>

I may add one of these to the syllabus as the discussions and class develops:

- Charles S. Maier, *Once Within Borders; Territories of Power, Wealth, and Belonging since 1500*. Harvard University Press, 2016. https://www.amazon.com/Once-Within-Borders-Territories-Belonging/dp/0674059786/ref=sr_1_1?s=books&ie=UTF8&qid=1484772623&sr=1-1&keywords=once+within+borders
- James C. Scott, *The Art of Not Being Governed*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009.
http://www.amazon.com/Art-Not-Being-Governed-Anarchist/dp/0300169175/ref=sr_1_1?s=books&ie=UTF8&qid=1314814705&sr=1-1

Academic Integrity

Be familiar with the University's policies on academic integrity and disciplinary action <http://www.rochester.edu/living/urhere/handbook/discipline2.html#XII+>. Violators of University regulations on academic integrity will be dealt with promptly, which means that your grade will suffer, and I will forward your case to the Chair of the College Board on Academic Honesty, on which I served.

Course Outline

Wednesday February 3

Class Introduction and Outline

Wednesday February 10

1. The State of the Discipline

- James D. Fearon. 1995. "Rationalist Explanations for War," *International Organization*, **49**(3) (Summer): 379–414.
- Andrew Moravcsik. 1997. "Taking Preferences Seriously: A Liberal Theory of International Politics," *International Organization*. **51**(4) (Autumn): 513-553.
- Kenneth A. Schultz and Hein Goemans. 2019. "Aims, Claims and the Bargaining Model," *International Theory*, **11**(3) (November): 344-374.
- Hein Goemans and Paul Hensel. 2021. "Contentious Issues," Chapter 1 in *What do we know about war?*, Routledge. 4th edition, forthcoming.

Wednesday February 17

2. A Historical Overview of International Conflict

- Kalevi J. Holsti, *Peace and War: Armed Conflicts and international Order, 1648-1989*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996.

Wednesday February 24

3. The Territorial International Order

- Jordan Branch, 2014. *The Cartographic State: Maps, Territory, and the Origins of Sovereignty*. Cambridge University Press.
- Beth Simmons and Hein Goemans. 2021. "Built on Borders: Tensions with the Institution Liberalism (Thought It) Left Behind". Forthcoming in *International Organization*, **75**(2).

Wednesday March 3

4. Nationalism?

- Patrick J. Geary, 2003. *The Myth of Nations; the medieval origins of Europe*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Ernest Gellner, 1983. *Nations and Nationalism*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press. Chapters 1, 3 and 4.

- Benedict Anderson, 2006. *Imagined Communities*, New York: Verso, New Edition. Chapter 10, “Census, Map, Museum”:163–186.
- Andrew Bertoli, 2017. “Nationalism and Conflict: Lessons from International Sports.” *International Studies Quarterly* **61**(4), 835–849.¹

Wednesday March 10

5. **Nationalism, Ethnicity, Civilizations?**

- Alexander B. Murphy, 1990. “Historical Justifications for Territorial Claims.” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*. **80**(4), pp. 531–548.
- Alexander B. Murphy. 2002. “National Claims to Territory in the Modern State System: Geographical Considerations,” in *Geopolitics*, **7**(2) (Autumn), pp. 193–214
- Scott F. Abramson and David B. Carter, 2016. “The Historical Origins of Territorial Disputes,” *American Political Science Review* **110**(4), November: 675–698
- Hein Goemans and Kenneth A. Schultz, 2017. “The Politics of Territorial Claims: A Geospatial Approach Applied to Africa,” *International Organization, International Organization* **71**(1), Winter: 31–64.

Wednesday March 17

6. **Religion?**

- Ron E. Hassner, 2009. *War on Sacred Grounds*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Wednesday March 24

7. **Loot?**

- Peter Liberman, 1998. *Does Conquest Pay?* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Wednesday March 31

8. **Territory?**

- Hein Goemans, Andi Zhou, Joel Selway and Michael Weintraub, 2021. “Maps to Die For?”. Unpublished Manuscript, University of Rochester.

¹You might be interested in a follow-up paper, Andrew Bertoli and George Yin, “Nationalism and Trade: Evidence for a Large Natural Experiment Involving the World Cup.” Unpublished manuscript. 16 December 2018.

- Paul R. Hensel, Sara McLaughlin Mitchell, Thomas E. Sowers II and Clayton L. Thyne. 2008. “Bones of Contention: Comparing Territorial, Maritime and River Issues.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* **52**, 1 (February): 117-143.
- Paul Huth, 1998. *Standing Your Ground*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

Wednesday April 7

9. Leader’s Survival?

- Giacomo Chiozza and Hein Goemans, 2011. *Leaders and International Politics*, New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1-3, 6.

Wednesday April 14

10. What do you think?

- Presentations

Wednesday, April 21

11. Factors that restrain conflict?

- Dave Grossman, 2009. *On Killing: The Psychological Cost of Learning to Kill in War and Society*, Back Bay Books; Revised edition.

Wednesday, April 28

12. Factors that restrain conflict? – Law and Norms

- Paul K. Huth, Sarah E. Croco and Benjamin J. Appel. 2011. “Does International Law Promote the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes? Evidence from the Study of Territorial Conflicts since 1945.” *American Political Science Review* **105**(2):415–436.
- Paul K. Huth, Sarah E Croco and Benjamin J Appel. 2012. “Law and the use of force in world politics: The varied effects of law on the exercise of military power in territorial disputes.” *International Studies Quarterly* **56**(1):17–31.
- Mark Zacher. “The Territorial Integrity Norm.” 2001. *International Organization*, **55**(2) (Spring): pp. 215–50.
- J. Samuel Barkin, and Bruce Cronin, 1994. “The State and the Nation: Changing Norms and the Rules of Sovereignty in International Relations.” *International Organization* **48**(1). (Winter): 107–130.

Wednesday May 5

13. **Factors that restrain conflict? – “Progress”**

- Steven Pinker, 2011. *The Better Angels of our Nature*. New York, NY: Viking.

Questions to consider in formulating and evaluating social science research

1. *What is the central question?*
 - Why is it important (theoretically, substantively)?
 - What is being explained (what is the dependent variable and how does it vary)?
 - How does this phenomenon present a puzzle?
2. *What is the central answer?*
 - What is doing the explaining (what are the independent variables and how do they vary)?
 - What are the hypotheses, i.e., what is the relationship between independent and dependent variables, what kind of change in the independent variable causes what kind of change in the dependent variable?
 - What are the causal mechanisms, i.e., why are the independent and dependent variables so related?
 - How do the independent variables relate to each other?
 - What assumptions does your theory make?
 - Is the theory falsifiable in concept?
 - What does this explanation add to our understanding of the question?
3. *What are the possible alternative explanations?*
 - What assumptions are you making about the direction of causality?
 - What other explanations might there be for the phenomenon of study, and to what degree do they conflict with the central answer?
 - Could the hypothesized relationships have occurred by chance?
4. *Why are the possible alternative explanations wrong?*
 - What is the logical structure of the alternative explanations (compare 2)?
 - What is the empirical evidence?
5. *What is the relationship between the theory and the evidence?*
 - What does the research design allow to vary, i.e., in this design are the explanations variables or constants?
 - What does your research design hold constant, i.e., does it help to rule out the alternative competing explanations?
 - How are the theoretical constructs represented empirically, i.e., how do you know it when you see it (measurement)?
6. *How do the empirical conclusions relate to the theory?*
 - How confident are you about the theory in light of the evidence?
 - How widely do the conclusions generalize, i.e., what might be the limitations of the study?
 - What does the provisionally accepted or revised theory say about questions of broader importance?