

---

## Political Science 278 Foundations of Modern International Politics

---

**Hein Goemans**  
Harkness 337  
Office Hours: Wed. 1-2  
henk.goemans@rochester.edu

**Course Info:**  
Spring 2019  
Wednesday 3:25-6:05  
Morey 525

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 who do they choose *not* to contest? In other words, what are their revealed preferences? 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.

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 Tuesday 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. As an experiment, I may divide the class into two or three "independent" groups, who can choose to compete with each other over issues, and strategize over how to achieve their goals.

### *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%.

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, because dealing with 20 individual e-mails, and going back and forth, swallows enormous amounts of my time and concentration.

### *Books*

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

- Kalevi J. Holsti,

# Course Outline

Wednesday January 16

## Class Introduction and Outline

Wednesday January 23

### 1. The State of the Discipline

- James D. Fearon, "Rationalist Explanations for War," *International Organization*, 49(3) (Summer 1995), 379-414.
- Andrew Moravcsik, "Taking Preferences Seriously: A Liberal Theory of International Politics," *International Organization*, 1997. 51(4) (Autumn), pp. 513-553.
- Kenneth A. Schultz and Hein Goemans, "Aims, Claims and the Bargaining Model," Forthcoming in *International Theory*.

Wednesday January 30

### 2. The Territorial International Order

- Jordan Branch, 2014. *The Cartographic State: Maps, Territory, and the Origins of Sovereignty*. Cambridge University Press.

Wednesday February 6

### 3. 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 13

### 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, pp.163-186.
- Andrew Bertoli, 2017. "Nationalism and Conflict: Lessons from International Sports." *International Studies Quarterly* 61(4), 835-849.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>You 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.

Wednesday February 20

## 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 February 27

## 6. Religion?

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

Wednesday March 6

## 7. Loot?

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

Wednesday March 13

**Spring recess**

Wednesday March 20

## 8. Who fights and why?

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

Wednesday March 27

## 9. Territory?

- Hein Goemans & Hans Leonard, 2019. "Maps to Die For?". Unpublished Manuscript, University of Rochester.
- 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 3

## 10. Leader's Survival?

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

Wednesday, April 10

## 11. 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 April 17

## 12. Factors that restrain conflict? { "Progress"

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

Wednesday April 24

## 13. Student Presentations

## 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?