

GOVERNMENT 386
POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY AND INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT

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| Fall 2005 | Professor Kelly M. Greenhill |
| Mondays 1:10-4:00pm | Office: PAC 409 |
| Class Location: JUDDB6 | Phone: 5-2499 |
| Office Hours: Tuesdays 11am-1pm, or by appt. | Email: kgreenhill@wesleyan.edu |

“We can change history but not geography. We can change our friends but not our neighbors.”

*—Atal Behari Vajpayee, Indian Prime Minister
(February 1999)*

Course Description: All politics are embedded in geographical space. The purpose of this course is to introduce students to the often under-appreciated role of geography—both natural and constructed—in historical and contemporary international conflicts, an issue we shall analyze on the strategic, the operational, *and* the tactical level. Following an exploration of the political construction of history and geography, we will examine theories of geopolitics, economics, and the spatial distribution of territory that have (both explicitly and implicitly) informed both the strategic calculations and operational behavior of political and military leaders across the ages. Thereafter we will then move onto a deeper exploration of these concepts, by examining them through the lens of a variety of historical cases, from ancient Greece to modern day USA. To do so, we will utilize primary and secondary sources, as well as maps, charts, and an array of other historical documents and graphical resources.

Course Requirements: There are three requirements for this class. The first is a research paper of approximately 20-25 pages (double-spaced, 12 pt. font). A great deal of latitude will be permitted vis-à-vis the topic and format of the paper. Students will be asked to present their research projects to the rest of the class at some point during the term. The content of these presentations will be contingent upon the presentation date; thus, students who present early in the term will likely be asked to discuss their proposals, while those who present later in the term will be expected to present something more akin to their findings. In addition, all students should plan to meet with me individually in early October to discuss their proposed topic, as well as in mid-to-late November to discuss project progress. The second course requirement is attendance and active participation in the seminar. You are expected to do the readings, attend class, and actively contribute to the discussion; however, you will not be graded on the quantity of your participation, but rather on the quality of it. As part of class participation, students may also be called upon to lead class discussions and debates. The third requirement comprises several additional *brief* writing assignments: a) a 2-3 *page* response paper (due date Wednesday, September 28th); b) a 1-2 *paragraph* research paper proposal (due *no later than* Monday, October 17; earlier submissions welcome); and c) a 1-2 page research *paper* outline (due Monday, November 21).

Please note: All assignments are due *no later than 5pm* on the date listed on the syllabus. Extensions and exceptions to this policy will be granted only in case of

emergency, or by *prior* arrangement. Otherwise, all assignments will be penalized at least one half a letter grade per day past the due date.

Participation in the seminar comprises 30% of your grade, the research paper, 60% of your grade, and the short assignments, 10% of your grade. (Please note: the short assignments will not be graded *per se*; however, completing them, and doing so in a timely fashion, may boost your final grade, while failing to do so will definitely adversely affect it.)

Prerequisite(s): GOVT155 or GOVT 157 and upper-division status; students will likely also find previous coursework in European, American, and/or world history helpful, if not strictly necessary.

Significant portions of the following books are required reading:

John Lewis Gaddis, *The Landscape of History: How Historians Map the Past* (Oxford University Press, 2004).

Paul F. Diehl (editor), *A Road Map to War: Territorial Dimensions of International Conflict* (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 1999).

The Penguin Atlas of World History: Volume 1: From Prehistory to the Eve of the French Revolution and Volume 2: From the French Revolution to the Present (New York: Penguin, 2004).

****Please bring your atlas(es) to class each week, as we will consult them on occasion.****

Additional readings will be available on-line on the "Blackboard" or via links on the Web and/or distributed in class.

COURSE SCHEDULE

I. "Mapping the Terrain" (Weeks 1-6)

"In politics, a boundary is the imaginary line between two nations, separating the imaginary rights of one from the imaginary rights of the other." —Ambrose Bierce, *The Devil's Dictionary*

"Nothing changes more constantly than the past; for the past that influences our lives does not consist of what happened, but of what men believe happened." —Gerald W. Johnston

WEEK ONE

September 12: Introduction and Overview

Colin S. Gray, "A Debate on Geopolitics: The Continued Primacy of Geography," *Orbis*, vol. 40, no. 2 (Spring 1996).

Mini-case study: Pizarro's conquest of Peru; viewing of Part Two (Conquest) of *Guns, Germs, and Steel*

Penguin Atlas of World History: Volume 1: From Prehistory to the Eve of the French Revolution, pp. 16; 222-25.

Recommended:

Jared Diamond, *Germs, Guns and Steel* (NY: W. W. Norton & Company, 1997); and William H. McNeill, *The Pursuit of Power, Technology, Armed Force, and Society since A.D. 1000* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1982).

WEEK TWO

September 19: The Politics of Geography and History; and the Influence of Terrain on Tactical Outcomes

John Lewis Gaddis, *The Landscape of History: How Historians Map the Past* (Oxford University Press, 2004), Chapters 2, 3, excerpt from 5, and 8 (pp. 17-52; 93-109; and 129-151).

Alan K. Henrikson. "The Power and Politics of Maps," in George J. Demko and William B. Wood, (eds.), *Reordering the World: Geopolitical Perspectives on the Twenty-First Century*, 2nd ed. (Boulder: Westview Press, 1999).

Martin W. Lewis and Karen E. Wigen, *The Myth of Continents: A Critique of Metageography* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1997), pp. 21-33.

Bradford L. Thomas, "International Boundaries: Lines in the Sand (and the Sea)," pp. 87-99.

Daniel Mendelsohn, "THEATRES OF WAR: Why the battles over ancient Athens still rage," *The New Yorker*, January 12, 2004.

WEEK THREE

NO CLASS MEETING—Viewing of *Gallipoli?*

*****SHORT PAPER DUE-Wednesday, September 28*****

"Buried on the Beaches: Gallipoli, 1915," in Michael Stephenson (ed.), *Battlegrounds: Geography and the History of Warfare* (Washington, DC: National Geographic, 2003), pp. 21-6.

Peter Doyle and Matthew R. Bennett, "Military Geography: The Influence of Terrain in the Outcome of the Gallipoli Campaign, 1915," *The Geographical Journal*, vol. 165, no. 1 (March 1999), pp. 12-36.

Edward J. Erickson, "One More Push: Forcing the Dardenelles in March 1915," *Journal of Strategic Studies*, vol. 24, no. 3 (September 2001), pp. 158-76.

Penguin Atlas of World History: Volume 2: From the French Revolution to the Present, pp. 126-7.

Recommended:

Michael Heffernan, "Geography cartography and military intelligence: the Royal Geographical Society and the First World War," pp. 504-533.

WEEK FOUR

October 3: Geography as a Context for and/or Feature of International Conflict

Halford J. Mackinder, "The Geographical Pivot of History," *Geographical Journal* (1904); reprinted in *The Geopolitics Reader* (London: Routledge, 1998), pp. 27-31; and maps/charts.

Nicholas J. Spykman. "Geography and Foreign Policy, I," *American Political Science Review*. vol. 32, no. 1 (February 1938), pp. 28-50. [esp 28-39]; and Nicholas J. Spykman. "Geography and Foreign Policy, II," *American Political Science Review*. vol. 32, no. 2 (April 1938), pp. 213-236. [esp 231-236].

Paul R. Hensel and Paul F. Diehl, "Testing Empirical Propositions about Shatterbelts," *Political Geography* vol. 13, no. 1 (January 1994), pp. 33-52.

Jack Snyder, *Myths of Empire: Domestic Politics and International Ambition* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), Chapter 2.

Mini-case study: Nazi expansionism

Recommended:

Arie Kacowicz, "Explaining Zones of Peace: Democracies as Satisfied Powers?," *Journal of Peace Research* 32, 3 (August 1995), pp. 265-276.

WEEK FIVE

October 10: Geography as a Source of Strategic Rivalry and Int'l. Conflict

Peter Liberman, "The Spoils of Conquest," *International Security*, vol. 18, no. 2 (autumn 1993), pp. 125-53.

Bernard Loo, "Geography and Strategic Stability," *Journal of Strategic Studies*, vol. 26, no. 1 (March 2003), pp. 156-74.

Paul F. Diehl, "Contiguity and Military Escalation in Major Power Rivalries, 1816-1980," *Journal of Politics*, vol. 47 (1985), p. 1203-1211.

John P. Vanzo. "Border Configuration and Conflict: Geographical Compactness as a Territorial Ambition of States," in Paul F. Diehl (ed.), *A Road Map to War* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1999), pp. 73-112.

(*Skim only*) Paul K. Huth, "The origins of territorial conflict: Enduring rivalries and territorial disputes, 1950-1990," in *A Road Map to War*, pp. 37-72.

Samuel Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations," *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 72, no. 3 (Summer 1993), pp. 22-49.

Mini-case study: Afghanistan and the Great Game; for background see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Great_Game

WEEK SIX

October 17

FALL BREAK: NO CLASS MEETING

***** PAPER PROPOSAL DUE*****

(We'll discuss what is expected in class.)

II. Exploring Theatres of Conflict (Weeks 7-14)

WEEK SEVEN

October 24: Noble Heroes or Dastardly Villains?: The Enduring Legacies of the Conquests of Alexander the Great and Genghis Khan and the Mongols

Brooke Allen, "Alexander the Great—or the Terrible?" *The Hudson Review*, pp. 220-30.

"Alexander at Issus, Turkey, 333 B.C.," in Michael Stephenson (ed.), *Battlegrounds: Geography and the History of Warfare* (Washington, DC: National Geographic, 2003), pp. 15-20.

Jack Weatherford, *Genghis Khan and the Making of the Modern World* (Three Rivers Press, 2004), Introduction, Chapters 6 and 9.

Ian Frazier, "Invaders," *The New Yorker*, vol. 81, no. 10 (April 25, 2005).

The Penguin Atlas of World History: Volume 1: From Prehistory to the Eve of the French Revolution, pp. 64-71 and pp. 178-9 and 228-9.

Recommended:

Brian Bosworth, "A Tale of Two Empires: Hernan Cortes and Alexander the Great," in *Alexander the Great in Fact and Fiction* (Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 23-49.

WEEK EIGHT

October 31: “Barbarians at the Gates”: Defending the Frontiers and the Hinterlands of the Roman Empire

Invited Guest Speaker: Professor Kimberly Kagan, West Point and Yale University

John J. Wikes, “Hadrian’s Wall,” in Paul Ganster and David E. Lorey (eds.), *Borders and Border Politics in a Globalizing World* (Lanham, MD: SR Books, 2005), pp. 1-10.

“The Massacre of the Legions: Teutoburg Forest, Germania, A.D. 9,” in Michael Stephenson (ed.), *Battlegrounds: Geography and the History of Warfare* (Washington, DC: National Geographic, 2003), pp. 95-8.

Edward Luttwak, *The Grand Strategy of the Roman Empire: From the First Century A.D. to the Third*, Chapter Three: Defense in Depth, and Epilogue, pp. 127-190.

The Penguin Atlas of World History: Volume 1: From Prehistory to the Eve of the French Revolution, pp. 98-103; 112-13.

WEEK NINE

November 7: Imperialism and the Scramble for (and from) Africa

Chapter 5: Phase 3—Expansion, 1824-1912, pp. 81-103 and Chapter 7: Phase 5—Contraction, 1940-1980, pp. 133-72 in David Abernethy, *The Dynamics of Global Dominance: European Overseas Empires, 1415-1980* (New Haven, CT: Yale, 2000).

(Excerpt from) Chapter 3: Geographies of Imperialism, in Peter J. Taylor and Colin Flint, *Political Geography: World Economy, Nation-state, and Locality*, 4th edition (New York: Prentice-Hall, 2000), pp. 105-29.

(Excerpt from) speech by Jules Ferry (1832-1893), French advocate of imperialism: “On French Colonial Expansion”

(Caroline Elkins, the author of *Imperial Reckoning*, talks about “unearthing the sinister underside of Britain’s ‘civilizing’ mission in Kenya”) in “Interviews: The Secret History,” *Atlantic (Monthly) Unbound*, June 13, 2005.

For background on the “Scramble for Africa” and “the Berlin Conference,” see:

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Scramble_for_Africa and
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Berlin_Conference

The Penguin Atlas of World History: Volume 1: From Prehistory to the Eve of the French Revolution,

p. 220; and *Volume 2: From the French Revolution to the Present*, pp. 96-9; 108; 118; 178-9; 266-7.

Recommended:

David Levering Lewis, *The Race To Fashoda* (New York: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1987).

Adam Hochschild, *King Leopold's Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror, and Heroism in Colonial Africa* (Mariner Books [of Houghton-Mifflin], 1999).

Ravi L. Kapil. "On the Conflict Potential of Inherited Boundaries in Africa." *World Politics*, vol. 19, no. 4 (July 1966), pp. 656-673.

WEEK TEN

November 14: Territorial (In?)Divisibility: The British Mandate and the Enduring Problem of Palestine

David Newman, "Conceptions of Territorial Importance: Real Spaces, Symbolic Spaces: Interrelated Notions of Territory in the Arab-Israeli Conflict," in *A Road Map to War*, pp. 3-34; **and/or** Ron E. Hassner, "To Halve and to Hold: Conflicts over Sacred Space and the Problem of Indivisibility," *Security Studies*, Vol. 12, No. 4 (Summer 2003), pp. 1-33.

Tom Segev, *One Palestine, Complete: Jews and Arabs Under the British Mandate* (New York: Owl Books, 2001), Introduction, Chapters 2 and 5, pp. 1-56 and 102-26.

Thomas L. Friedman, "The Fault Line between Israelis and Palestinians," in Paul Ganster and David E. Lorey (eds.), *Borders and Border Politics in a Globalizing World* (Lanham, MD: SR Books, 2005), pp. 177-98.

The Penguin Atlas of World History Volume 2: From the French Revolution to the Present, pp. 258-9; 296; 322.

Misc. primary documents—will be distributed in class or available on Blackboard

Recommended:

Ian Lustick, *Unsettled States, Disputed Lands: Britain And Ireland, France And Algeria, Israel And The West Bank-Gaza* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), Chapter 9: Israel, the West Bank, and Gaza Strip: Tracing the Status of a Changing Relationship," pp. 352-384.

Barbara Walter, "The Intractability of Territorial Conflict," *International Studies Review*, vol. 5, no. 4, pp. 137-153.

WEEK ELEVEN * PAPER OUTLINE DUE *****

November 21: Geopolitics Revisited: The Origins of Containment and the Truth about Toppling Dominoes

(Excerpt from) "The Truman Doctrine," from the *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Harry S. Truman, 1947* (WDC: US Government Printing Office, 1947)

and (excerpt from) George F. Kennan, “The Sources of Soviet Conduct,” *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 25 (1947); reprinted in the *Geopolitics Reader*.

“Chapter 7: America’s Cold War Consensus” in Jack Snyder, *Myths of Empire: Domestic Politics and International Ambition* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991), pp. 255-304.

Patrick O’Sullivan, “Antidomino,” *Political Geography Quarterly* (1992).

The Penguin Atlas of World History Volume 2: From the French Revolution to the Present, pp. 230; 240; 252-3; 260; 262; and 302 [esp. 230, 262 and 302].

Misc. primary documents—will be distributed in class or available on Blackboard

Recommended:

John Lewis Gaddis, *Strategies of Containment*, pp. 3-53. (Kennan was a prime intellectual architect of America’s Cold War containment policy. On pp. 25-53, Gaddis explicates his ideas.)

WEEK TWELVE

November 28: Partition—Peacemaker or Catalyst of Violence?: India, Pakistan and the Dilemma of Kashmir

Chaim D. Kaufmann, “When All Else Fails: Ethnic Population Transfers and Partitions in the Twentieth Century,” *International Security*, vol. 23, no. 2 (Fall 1998), pp. 120-156; available on-line at: <http://www.ciaonet.org/conf/iwp01/iwp01af.html>

Radha Kumar. “The Troubled History of Partition,” *Foreign Affairs* (January/ February 1997), pp. 22-34.

Stephen Philip Cohen, “India, Pakistan, and Kashmir”

The Penguin Atlas of World History Volume 2: From the French Revolution to the Present, pp. 264-5.

Misc. primary source documents—will be distributed in class or available on Blackboard

WEEK THIRTEEN

December 5: Prestige, Honor, and Insults in International Politics: The Suez Crisis and the End of the British Empire

“Two Objectives of the Policy of Prestige” and “Three Corruptions of the Policy of Prestige” (excerpts from) “Chapter 6: International Politics as a Struggle for Power,” in Hans J. Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1993), pp. 91-8.

(Excerpts from) Chapter 7: Challenges to Honor,” pp. 101-7 and Chapter 9: Insults as

Assaults on Face,” pp. 139-49 in Barry O’Neill, *Honor, Symbols and War* (University of Michigan Press, 1999); full text available on-line at:
<http://www.press.umich.edu/titleDetailLookInside.do?id=14453>

Michael J. Cohen, “Prologue to Suez: Anglo-American Planning for Military Intervention in a Middle East War, 1955-1956,” *Journal of Strategic Studies*, vol. 26, no. 2 (June 2003), pp. 152-83.

Anthony Gorst and Lewis Johnman, *The Suez Crisis* (London, UK: Routledge, 1997), Assigned chapters: TBA.

Excerpted US, British, and French government documents; available on-line at:
<http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/COLDsuez.htm>

The Penguin Atlas of World History Volume 2: From the French Revolution to the Present, pp. 256-7.

WEEK FOURTEEN

December 12: Globalization, Unipolarity and their Discontents

Richard Rosecrance, “The Rise of the Virtual State: Territory Becomes Passé.” *Foreign Affairs*. (July/August 1996).

Andrew Kirby, “Love thy neighbor?: economic integration and political friction in a period of globalization,” in *A Road Map to War*.

Peter Andreas, “Redrawing the Line: Borders and Security in the 21st Century,” *International Security*, Vol. 28, No. 2 (Fall 2003), pp. 78-111.

Barry R. Posen, “Command of the Commons: The Military Foundation of U.S. Hegemony,” *International Security*, vol. 28, no. 1 (2003), pp. 5-46.

Bruce Hoffman, “The Logic of Suicide Terrorism,” *The Atlantic Monthly*.

Review Huntington’s “Clash of Civilizations.”

The Penguin Atlas of World History Volume 2: From the French Revolution to the Present, pp. 328.