

Water Wars: Conflict and Cooperation
POLI 3518:0001
POLI 4500:0001

F. Wendell Miller Professor Sara Mitchell
309 Schaeffer Hall
Phone: 335-2356
Office Hours: Monday, 1:30-3:00pm; Tuesday, 11:00am-12:30pm
Email: sara-mitchell@uiowa.edu
Course website: <https://icon.uiowa.edu/>

Spring 2018
472 PH
TTh, 2:00-3:15pm

Course Description

Despite the fact that more than two thirds of our “blue planet” is covered with water, only 2.5% is fresh water. As populations have grown and nations have industrialized, the demand on freshwater has increased at an unsustainable rate. Climate change is projected to aggravate the shortage of freshwater in already water stressed regions. These existing and future shortages have resulted in warnings of increasing potential for conflict over international basins or potential “water wars”. U.S. intelligence agencies have warned of an increased possibility that water will be used as a weapon between or within states or to further terrorist aims in the future. Competition over maritime areas has intensified as well, as global fishing stocks have experienced dramatic losses and as states vie for resources in previously uncontested areas, such as the Arctic. This class examines the management of water resources including cross-border rivers and maritime areas. Topics include common property resources, piracy, maritime security, peaceful and militarized conflict management of water-based conflicts, environmental/climate issues, natural disasters, and cooperative and institutional strategies design to promote interstate cooperation over water issues, such as the United Nations Law of the Sea Convention.

Course Requirements

Your final course grade is calculated as follows:

Class Participation	20%
Examinations	50%
Research Paper	30%

Class Participation (20%)

This class is designed as a discussion seminar. Students are expected to complete all assigned readings prior to class and participate in class discussions. One student will be assigned as the lead discussant for each reading (these assignments will be posted on ICON after the first week of class). Your participation grade will be a function of the frequency and quality of your class room participation.

To prepare for class discussions, keep in mind the following points:

- a) What is the research question?
- b) What is the researcher's theoretical argument? What assumptions underlie this theory?
- c) Evaluation of the theory:
 - If the theory is tested, what consequences are tested, how are concepts measured, and what methods are used? Do these make sense?
 - Is there any evidence (other than anecdotal) that supports the theory? Is there evidence that falsifies it? What might you expect to see that would make you think

Date/Topic

Thursday, January 18 (cont.)
Resource Conflicts

Assigned Readings

2) Homer-Dixon, Thomas. 1994. "Environmental Scarcity and Violent Conflict: Evidence from Cases." *International Security* 19(1): 5-40.

Additional Resources:

de Soysa, Indra. 2002. "Ecoviolence: Shrinking Pie or Honey Pot?" *Global Environmental Politics* 2(3): 1-34.

Week 2: Theoretical Approaches

Tuesday, January 23
Governing the Commons

1) Ostrom, Elinor. 1990. *Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1, pages 1-28
2) Ostrom, Elinor. 1990. *Governing the Commons*, Chapter 3, pages 58-102

Additional Resources:

Hardin, Garrett. 1968. "The Tragedy of the Commons." *Science* 162: 1243-1248.
Wijkman, Magnus. 1982. "Managing the Global Commons." *International Organization* 36(3): 511-536.

Thursday, January 25
Risk Factors for Water Conflicts

1) Brochmann, Marit and Paul R. Hensel. 2009. "Peaceful Management of International River Claims." *International Negotiation* 14: 393-418.
2) Haftendorn, Helga. 2000. "Water and International Conflict." *Third World Quarterly* 21(1): 51-68.

Additional Resources:

Gleick, Peter H. 1993. "Water and Conflict: Fresh Water Resources and International Security." *International Security* 18(1): 79-112.
Hensel, Paul R., 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): 117-143.

Week 3: River Conflicts

Tuesday, January 30
Geography

1) Theory & Data: Gleditsch, Nils Petter, Kathryn Furlong, Håvard Hegre, Bethany Lacina, and Taylor Owen. 2006. "Conflicts over Shared Rivers: Resource Scarcity or Fuzzy Boundaries?" *Political Geography* 25(4): 361-382.
2) Case: Kuenzer, C., Campbell, I., Roch, M., Leinenkugel, P., Tuan, Q.V., Dech, S., 2013. "Understanding the Impact of Hydropower Developments in the Context of Upstream–Downstream Relations in the Mekong river basin. *Sustain. Sci.* 8(4), 565–584.

Additional Resources:

Toset, Hans Petter Wollebaek, Nils Petter Gleditsch, and Håvard Hegre. 2000. "Shared Rivers and Interstate Conflict." *Political Geography* 19: 971-996.
Brochmann, Marit and Nils Petter Gleditsch. 2012. "Shared Rivers and Conflict: A Reconsideration." *Political Geography* 31(8): 519-527.

Date/Topic

Thursday, February 1

Hydro-hegemony

Assigned Readings

1) Theory: Zeitoun, Mark and Jeroen Warner. 2006. "Hydro-Hegemony: A Framework for Analysis of Trans-Boundary Water Conflicts." *Water Policy* 8(5): 435-460.

2) Case: Daoudy, Marwa. 2009. "Asymmetric Power: Negotiating Water in the Euphrates and Tigris." *International Negotiation* 14(2): 361-391.

Additional Resources:

Dinar, Shlomi. 2009. "Power Asymmetry and Negotiations in International River Basins." *International Negotiation* 14: 329-360.

Week 4: River Conflicts

Tuesday, February 6

Water Scarcity

1) Theory: Dinar, Shlomi. 2009. "Scarcity and Cooperation along International Rivers." *Global Environmental Politics* 9(1): 109-135.

2) Case: Swain, Ashok. 1997. "Ethiopia, the Sudan, and Egypt: The Nile River Dispute." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 35(4): 675-694.

Additional Resources:

Giordano, Mark F., Meredith A. Giordano, and Aaron T. Wolf. 2005. "International Resource Conflict and Mitigation." *Journal of Peace Research* 42(1): 47-65.

Thursday, February 8

Economic/Allocation Issues

1) Theory: Wolf, Aaron T. 1999. "Criteria for Equitable Allocations: The Heart of International Water Conflict." *Natural Resources Forum* 23: 3-30.

2) Theory & Case: Rogers, Peter. 1993. "The Value of Cooperation in Resolving International River Basin Disputes." *Natural Resources Forum* 17(2): 117-131.

Additional Resources:

Lowi, Miriam R. 1993. "Bridging the Divide: Transboundary Resource Disputes and the Case of West Bank Water." *International Security* 18(1): 113-138.

Week 5 River Cooperation

Tuesday, February 13

Institutions

1) Theory & Data: Zawahri, Neda A. and Sara McLaughlin Mitchell. 2011. "Fragmented Governance of International Rivers: Negotiating Bilateral versus Multilateral Treaties." *International Studies Quarterly* 55(3): 835-858.

2) Case: Gilman, Patrick, Victor Pochat, and Ariel Dinar. 2008. "Whither La Plata? Assessing the State of Transboundary Water Resource Cooperation in the Basin." *Natural Resources Forum* 32: 203-214.

Additional Resources:

Hensel, Paul R., Sara McLaughlin Mitchell, and Thomas E. Sowers II. 2006. "Conflict Management Of Riparian Disputes." *Political Geography* 25(4): 383-411.

Tir, Jaroslav and John T. Ackerman. 2009. "Politics of Formalized River Cooperation." *Journal of Peace Research* 46(5): 623-640.

Date/Topic

Thursday, February 15

Treaty Design

Assigned Readings

1) Theory & Data: Mitchell, Sara McLaughlin and Neda A. Zawahri. 2015. "The Effectiveness of Treaty Design in Addressing Water Disputes." *Journal of Peace Research* 52(2): 187-200.

2) Case: Fischhendler, Itay. 2008. "Ambiguity in Transboundary Environmental Dispute Resolution: The Israeli-Jordanian Water Agreement." *Journal of Peace Research* 45(1): 79-97.

Additional Resources:

Hamner, Jesse H. and Aaron T. Wolf. 1998. "Patterns in International Water Resource Treaties: The Transboundary Freshwater Dispute Database." *Colorado Journal of International Environmental Law and Policy* 9: 157-177.

Kibaroglu, Aysegul and I.H. Olcay Unver. 2000. "An Institutional Framework for Facilitating Cooperation in the Euphrates-Tigris River Basin." *International Negotiation* 5: 311-330.

Tir, Jaroslav and Douglas M Stinnett. 2012. "Weathering Climate Change: Can Institutions Mitigate International Water Conflict?" *Journal of Peace Research* 49(1): 211-225.

Week 6: Maritime Conflict

Tuesday, February 20

General Patterns

1) Data: Srinivasan, U. Thara, Reg Watson, and U. Rashid Sumaila. 2012. "Global Fisheries Losses at the Exclusive Economic Zone Level, 1950 to Present." *Marine Policy* 36: 544-549.

2) Patterns: Bailey, Jennifer L. 1996. "Hot Fish and Bargaining Chips." *Journal of Peace Research* 33(3):257-262.

3) Theory: Nyman, Elizabeth. 2013. "Oceans of Conflict: Determining Potential Areas of Maritime Disputes." *SAIS Review of International Studies Special Issue on Oceans* 32(2): 5-14.

Additional Resources:

Pratt, Martin and Clive Schofield. Eds. 2000. *Jane's Exclusive Economic Zones 2nd ed.* Surrey: Jane's Information Group Limited.

Thursday, February 22

Resources: Oil & Minerals

1) Theory & Data: Nyman, Elizabeth. 2015. "Offshore Oil Development and Maritime Conflict in the 20th century: A Statistical Analysis of International Trends." *Energy Research and Social Science* 6(1): 1-7.

2) Case: Buszynski, Leszek. 2012. "The South China Sea: Oil, Maritime Claims, and U.S.-China Strategic Rivalry." *The Washington Quarterly* 35(2): 139-156.

Additional Resources:

Libert, Bo, Erkin Orolbaev, and Yuri Steklov. 2008. "Water and Energy Crisis in Central Asia." *China and Eurasia Forum Quarterly* 6(3): 9-20.

Odell, Peter. 1997. "The Exploitation of Off-Shore Mineral Resources." *GeoJournal* 42(1): 17-26.

Date/Topic

Week 7: Maritime Security

Tuesday, February 27

Maritime Security

Assigned Readings

- 1) Theory: Klein, Natalie. 2011. *Maritime Security and the Law of the Sea*. Oxford, UK: Oxford Univ. Press. Pages 1-23.
- 2) Case: Fravel, M. Taylor. 2010. "Explaining Stability in the Senkaku (Diaoyu) Dispute," pp. 144-164 in Gerald Curtis, Ryosei Kokubun and Wang Jisi (eds.), *Getting the Triangle Straight: Managing China-Japan-US Relations*. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution Press.

Additional Resources:

Sloggett, Dave. 2013. *The Anarchic Sea: Maritime Security in the 21st Century*. London: Hurst & Company.

Thursday, March 1

Exam #1

Week 8: Maritime Cooperation

Tuesday, March 6

UNCLOS: Overview/Islands

- 1) Theory: Rothwell, Donald R. and Tim Stephens. 2010. *The International Law of the Sea*. Oxford, UK: Hart Publishing. Chapter 1, Pages 1-29.
- 2) Theory & Cases: Schofield, Clive. 2009. "The Trouble with Islands: The Definition and Role of Islands and Rocks in Maritime Boundary Delimitation." Pages 19-37 in Seoung-Yong Hong and Jon M. Van Dyke (eds.), *Maritime Boundary Disputes, Settlement Processes, and the Law of the Sea*.

Additional Resources:

Caminos, Hugo. 2006. "The International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea: An Overview of its Jurisdictional Procedure." *Law and Practice of International Courts and Tribunals* 5: 13-27.

Thursday, March 8

UNCLOS: EEZs

- 1) Theory: Rothwell, Donald R. and Tim Stephens. 2010. *The International Law of the Sea*. Oxford, UK: Hart Publishing. Chapter 4, Pages 82-97.
- 2) Theory & Data: Nemeth, Stephen C., Sara McLaughlin Mitchell, Elizabeth A. Nyman, and Paul R. Hensel. 2014. "Ruling the Sea: Managing Maritime Conflicts through UNCLOS and Exclusive Economic Zones." *International Interactions* 40(5): 711-736.

Additional Resources:

Charney, Jonathan I. 1994. "Central East Asian Maritime Boundaries and the Law of the Sea." *American Journal of International Law* 89(4): 724-749.

Week 9: Spring Break

Tuesday, March 13

No Class, spring break

Thursday, March 15

No Class, spring break

Date/Topic

Assigned Readings

Week 10: Dispute Settlement/Arctic

Tuesday, March 20

Dispute Settlement

1) Theory: Rothwell, Donald R. and Tim Stephens. 2010. *The International Law of the Sea*. Oxford, UK: Hart Publishing. Chapter 18, Pages 439-460.

2) Case: Crow, Ben and Nirvikar Singh. 2000. Impediments and Innovations in International Rivers: The Waters of South Asia. *World Development* 28(11): 1907-1925.

Additional Resources:

Hong, Nong. 2012. *UNCLOS and Ocean Dispute Settlement: Law and Politics in the South China Sea*. London: Routledge.

Thursday, March 22

Arctic

1) Patterns: Klare, Michael T. 2012. *The Race for What's Left: The Global Scramble for the World's Last Resources*. New York: Picador. Chapter 3, Pages 70-99.

2) Case: Byers, Michael. 2013. *International Law and the Arctic*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 5, Pages 128-170.

Additional Resources:

Borgerson, Scott G. 2008. "Arctic Meltdown: The Economic and Security Implications of Global Warming." *Foreign Affairs* 87(2): 63-77.

Zysk, Katarzyna and David Titley. 2015. "Signals, Noise, and Swans in Today's Arctic." *SAIS Review of International Affairs* 35(1): 169-181.

Week 11: Environmental Resources and Climate Change

Tuesday, March 27

Resources & Conflict

1) Theory: le Billon, Philippe. 2001. "The Political Ecology of War: Natural Resources and Armed Conflicts." *Political Geography* 20: 561-584.

2) Theory & Data: Stalley, Paul. 2003. "Environmental Scarcity and International Conflict." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 20(1): 33-58.

Additional Resources:

Kahl, Colin H. 1998. "Population Growth, Environmental Degradation, and State-Sponsored Violence: The Case of Kenya, 1991-93." *International Security* 23(2): 80-119.

Thursday, March 29

Climate Change & Conflict

1) Theory & Data: Burke M.B., E. Miguel, S. Satyanath, J.A. Dykema, and D.B. Lobell. 2009. "Warming Increases the Risk of Civil War in Africa." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences in the United States of America* 106: 20670-20674.

2) Theory & Data: Buhaug, Halvard. 2010. "Climate Not to Blame for African Civil Wars." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences in the United States of America* 107(88): 16477-16482.

3) Theory & Data: Hendrix, Cullen S. and Idean Salehyan. 2012. "Climate Change, Rainfall, and Social Conflict in Africa." *Journal of Peace Research* 49(1): 35-50.

Date/Topic

Assigned Readings

Thursday, March 29 (cont.)

Additional Resources:

- Barnett, Jon and W. Neil Adger. 2007. "Climate Change, Human Security, and Violent Conflict." *Political Geography* 26: 639-655.
- Bernauer, Thomas and Tobias Siegfried. 2012. "Climate Change and International Water Conflict in Central Asia." *Journal of Peace Research* 49(1): 227-2396.
- De Stefano, Lucia, James Duncan, Shlomi Dinar, Kerstin Stahl, Kenneth M Strzepek and Aaron T. Wolf. 2012. "Climate Change and the Institutional Resilience of International River Basins." *Journal of Peace Research* 49(1): 193-209.
- Hendrix, Cullen S. and Sarah M. Glaser. 2007. "Trends and Triggers: Climate, Climate Change and Civil Conflict in Sub-Saharan Africa." *Political Geography* 26: 695-715.
- Nordas, Ragnhild and Nils Petter Gleditsch. 2007. "Climate Change and Conflict." *Political Geography* 26: 627-638.
- Reuveny, Rafael. 2007. "Climate Change-Induced Migration and Violent Conflict." *Political Geography* 26: 656-673.
- Raleigh, Clionadh and Hendrik Urdal. 2007. "Climate Change, Environmental Degradation and Armed Conflict." *Political Geography* 26: 674-694.
- Theisen, Ole Magnus, Helge Holtermann and Halvard Buhaug. 2011-12. "Climate Wars? Assessing the Claim that Drought Breeds Conflict." *International Security* 36(3): 79-106.

Week 12: Natural Disasters

Tuesday, April 3

Natural Disasters

- 1) Theory & Data: Omelicheva, Mariya Y. 2011. "Natural Disasters: Triggers of Political Instability?" *International Interactions* 37(4): 441-465.
- 2) Theory & Data: Slettebak, Rune T. 2012. "Don't Blame the Weather! Climate-related Natural Disasters and Civil Conflict." *Journal of Peace Research* 49(1): 163-176.

Additional Resources:

- Bergholt, Drago and Päivi Lujala. 2012. "Climate-Related Natural Disasters, Economic Growth, and Armed Civil Conflict." *Journal of Peace Research* 49(1): 147-162.
- Drury, A. Cooper & Richard Stuart Olson. 1998. "Disaster and Political Unrest: An Empirical Investigation." *Journal of Contingencies and Crisis Management* 6(3):153-161.
- Brancati, Dawn. 2007. "Political Aftershocks: The Impact of Earthquakes on Intrastate Conflict." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 51(5): 715-743.

Thursday, April 5

No Class, ISA Conference
Listen to Prof. Mitchell's presentation to the Iowa City Foreign Relations Council describing "Patterns of Maritime Conflicts 1900-2010", <https://icfrc.org/category/fall-2017/>

Week 13: Transnational Dynamics

Tuesday, April 10

Cross-Border Troubles

- 1) Theory & Data: Mitchell, Sara McLaughlin. 2018. "Cross-Border Troubles? Interstate River Conflicts and Intrastate Violence."
- 2) Case: Beck, Andrea. 2014. "Droughts, Dams, and Survival: Linking Water to Conflict and Cooperation in Syria's Civil War." *International Affairs Forum* 5(1): 11-22.

Date/Topic

Thursday, April 12

Fisheries

Assigned Readings

1) Theory & Data: Hendrix, Cullen S. and Sarah M. Glaser.

2011. "Civil Conflict and World Fisheries, 1952–2004."

Journal of Peace Research 48(4): 481-495.

2) Case: Zhang, Hongzhou. 2012. "China's Evolving Fishing Industry: Implications for Regional and Global Maritime Security."

RSIS Working Paper No. 246. Singapore: Nanyang Technological University.

Additional Resources:

DeSombre, Elizabeth R. and J. Samuel Barkin. 2011. *Fish*. Cambridge, UK: Polity.

Asgeirsdottir, Aslaug. 2007. Oceans of Trouble: Domestic Influence on International Fisheries

Cooperation in the North Atlantic and Barents Sea. *Global Environmental Politics* 7(1): 120-144.

Week 14: Piracy and Maritime Terrorism

Tuesday, April 17

Piracy

1) Patterns: Murphy, Martin N. 2010. *Small Boats, Weak States, Dirty Money: Piracy and Maritime Terrorism in the Modern World*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press. Pages 23-71.

2) Theory & Data: Daxecker, Ursula and Brandon Prins. 2012.

"Insurgents of the Sea: Institutional and Economic Opportunities for Maritime Piracy." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 57(6): 940-965.

Additional Resources:

Hastings, Justin V. 2009. "Geographies of State Failure and Sophistication in Maritime Piracy Hijackings." *Political Geography* 28: 214–223.

Thursday, April 19

Maritime Terrorism

1) Theory: Klein, Natalie. 2011. *Maritime Security and the Law of the Sea*. Oxford, UK: Oxford Univ. Press. Pp 147-169.

2) Patterns: Murphy, Martin N. 2010. *Small Boats, Weak States, Dirty Money: Piracy and Maritime Terrorism in the Modern World*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press. Pages 183-231.

Week 15: Wrap up

Tuesday, April 24

Exam #2

Thursday, April 26

No Class, Dartmouth talk

Watch video, "Chasing West Africa's Pirates";

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p02bbxb2>

Week 16

Tuesday, May 1

Paper Presentations

Thursday, May 3

Paper Presentations

CLAS Teaching Policies & Resources

Administrative Home

The College of Liberal Arts and Sciences is the administrative home of this course and governs matters such as the add/drop deadlines, the second-grade-only option, and other related issues. Different colleges may have different policies. Questions may be addressed to 120 Schaeffer Hall, or see the CLAS Academic Policies Handbook at <http://clas.uiowa.edu/students/handbook>.

Electronic Communication

University policy specifies that students are responsible for all official correspondences sent to their University of Iowa e-mail address (@uiowa.edu). Faculty and students should use this account for correspondences ([Operations Manual, III.15.2, k.11](#)).

Accommodations for Disabilities

The University of Iowa is committed to providing an educational experience that is accessible to all students. A student may request academic accommodations for a disability (which include but are not limited to mental health, attention, learning, vision, and physical or health-related conditions). A student seeking academic accommodations should first register with Student Disability Services and then meet with the course instructor privately in the instructor's office to make particular arrangements. Reasonable accommodations are established through an interactive process between the student, instructor, and SDS. See <http://sds.studentlife.uiowa.edu/> for information.

Academic Honesty

All CLAS students or students taking classes offered by CLAS have, in essence, agreed to the College's [Code of Academic Honesty](#): "I pledge to do my own academic work and to excel to the best of my abilities, upholding the IOWA Challenge. I promise not to lie about my academic work, to cheat, or to steal the words or ideas of others; nor will I help fellow students to violate the Code of Academic Honesty." Any student committing academic misconduct is reported to the College and placed on disciplinary probation or may be suspended or expelled ([CLAS Academic Policies Handbook](#)).

CLAS Final Examination Policies

The final examination schedule for each class is announced by the Registrar generally by the fifth week of classes. Final exams are offered only during the official final examination period. No exams of any kind are allowed during the last week of classes. All students should plan on being at the UI through the final examination period. Once the Registrar has announced the date, time, and location of each final exam, the complete schedule will be published on the Registrar's web site and will be shared with instructors and students. It is the student's responsibility to know the date, time, and place of a final exam.

Making a Suggestion or a Complaint

Students with a suggestion or complaint should first visit with the instructor (and the course supervisor), and then with the departmental DEO. ([Wenfang Tang, 335-2358](#)) Complaints must be made within six months of the incident ([CLAS Academic Policies Handbook](#)).

Understanding Sexual Harassment

Sexual harassment subverts the mission of the University and threatens the well-being of students, faculty, and staff. All members of the UI community have a responsibility to uphold this mission and to contribute to a safe environment that enhances learning. Incidents of sexual harassment should be reported immediately. See the [UI Office of the Sexual Misconduct Response Coordinator](#) for assistance, definitions, and the full University policy.

Reacting Safely to Severe Weather

In severe weather, class members should seek appropriate shelter immediately, leaving the classroom if necessary. The class will continue if possible when the event is over. For more information on Hawk Alert and the siren warning system, visit the [Department of Public Safety website](#).