# University of British Columbia POLI 449B 001/521A 001

## **Topics in Political Theory: Contested Territory**

Wednesdays 9-12pm, Buchanan C403

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Office Hours: Wednesdays 1-2:30pm, Buchanan C308

UBC's Point Grey Campus is located on the traditional, ancestral, and unceded territory of the Musqueam people. This course on the topic of contested territory is, therefore, being held on contested territory. The land it is situated on has always been a place of learning for the Musqueam people, who for millennia have passed on in their culture, history, and traditions from one generation to the next on this site.

This course surveys and challenges Western approaches to land, place, and territory. We begin with the phenomenology and economy of place through readings of Hannah Arendt, GWF Hegel, Martin Heidegger, Karl Marx, and David Harvey. Part II covers theories of territorial right, and will address issues related to land attachment, nationalism, and the property-territory distinction. In Part III, we read Carl Schmitt, Hans Morgenthau, and Arendt in order to explore territorial sovereignty as a component of an international geopolitical system. In the concluding section of the course, Part IV, we will consider the pathologies of the Western approach to territory by reading indigenous scholarship on land, including Glen Coulthard's *Red Skins, White Masks* and Audra Simpson's *Mohawk Interruptus*.

Students will give a presentation in class and write a research paper on a topic related to the course. Students will also be expected to participate actively in the seminar, which will run according to the Socratic method. This means that each student will be assigned a class session for which they must be prepared to answer questions from the professor on the spot.

This course is a cross-listed graduate/undergraduate seminar. Undergraduates will be graded by a different standard, but are expected to keep pace with a graduate level discussion in political theory.

This is a no-laptop, no-tablet, no-phone seminar (excepting students with a concession from Access & Diversity). Students are expected to take handwritten notes and bring paper copies of the texts to class. Cell phone, smartphone, and internet use are forbidden in seminar.

**Course Texts**: All texts (except "suggested" readings) for this course will be available electronically through Canvas, or as ebooks through the UBC library website. Students should print the texts and bring a paper copy to class (see laptop policy). I encourage students to obtain a paper copy of the following two books, which will be available at the UBC Bookstore:

Mohawk Interruptus: Political Life Across the Borders of Settler States, by Audra Simpson, Duke University Press

Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition, by Glen Coulthard, University of Minnesota Press

## Part I: The Power of Place

Note on weekly readings: The readings are put in an intentional order of progressive concepts, meaning that each week you should begin at the top of the reading list and work your way down.

#### Week 1 (Jan 2): Introduction

• Vine Deloria Jr., *God is Red: A Native View of Religion* (1973), Chapter 4 "Thinking in Time and Space"

### Week 2 (Jan 9): The Power of Things

- Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition*, pp. 52-53
- Martin Heidegger, "Building, Dwelling, Thinking," pp. 355-356
- Martin Heidegger, "Origin of the Work of Art," pp. 167-174
- Hegel, *Phenomenology of Spirit*, Lordship and Bondage (the master-slave dialectic), pp. 111-119
- Suggested: Bonnie Honig, Public Things: Democracy in Disrepair
- Suggested: Karsten Harries, The Ethical Function of Architecture

## Week 3 (Jan 16): Geography and Capitalism

- Marx, *Kapital* I.26 (Primitive Accumulation)
- Marx, *Kapital* I.27 (Highland Clearances)
- David Harvey, "The Right to the City"
- In-Class Introduction of Research Paper Assignments

## Part II: Territory and Territorial Right

#### Week 4 (Jan 23): The History of Territory

- Stuart Elden, *The Birth of Territory*, Excerpt from Introduction (pp. 10-18), and Chapter 7, "Rediscovering Roman Law"
- Charles Maier, *Once within Borders*, Introduction and Conclusion
- Suggested Reading: Hans Lindahl, book review of Elden's Birth of Territory
- Work session on research paper topics

#### Week 5 (Jan 30): Locke vs. Kant

- Locke, Second Treatise of Government, Chapter V "Of Property"
- Cara Nine, "A Lockean Theory of Territory" (optional for undergraduates)
- Kant, Rechtslehre, pp. 49-62
- Annie Stilz, "Nations, States, and Territory"
- Thesis and Outline Due

#### Week 6 (Feb 6): Nationalism

- David Miller, "Territorial Rights: Concept and Justification"
- Martin Heidegger, "Schlageter," *The Heidegger Controversy*, pp. 40-42
- Fichte, Addresses to the German Nation, excerpt TBD

### Week 7 (Feb 13): Land Attachment and Self-Determination

- Margaret Moore, *A Political Theory of Territory*, Chapter 7 "Corrective Justice and the Wrongful Taking of Land, Territory, and Property"
- Lea Ypi, "Structural Injustice and the Place of Attachment"
- TBD (text on the indigenous approach to land attachment)

### Part III: The Westphalian Imaginary

# Week 8 (Feb 27): The Westphalian Imaginary

- Carl Schmitt, *Nomos of the Earth*, "The State as the Agency of a New, Interstate, Eurocentric, Spatial Order of the Earth", "Foreword", "Law as a Unity of Order and Orientation" (you should read the chapters in this order)
- Hans Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations*, excerpt TBD
- *Suggested*: Andreas Osiander, "Sovereignty, International Relations, and the Westphalian Myth"
- Argument and Evidence Assignment due

#### Week 9 (Mar 6): Empire

- Lauren Benton, A Search for Sovereignty, Chapter 1 "Anomalies of Empire"
- Martti Koskenniemi, "Empire and International Law: The Real Spanish Contribution"
- Anna Jurkevics, "Land Grabbing and the Contradictions of Territorial Sovereignty"
- Suggested: Barbara Arneil, John Locke and America

### Week 10 (Mar 13): Arendt's Challenge

- Hannah Arendt, *Origins of Totalitarianism*, "The Decline of the Nation-State and the End of the Rights of Man"
- Hannah Arendt, On Revolution, "The Revolutionary Tradition and Its Lost Treasure"

## Part IV: Indigenous Territorial Imaginaries

## Week 11 (Mar 20): Indigeneity and the Settler Colonial State

• Audra Simpson – *Mohawk Interruptus* (I suggest you buy this text, but a full-text version is also available on UBC library website)

## Week 12 (Mar 27): Grounded Normativity: Exclusive vs. Relational Approaches to Land

• Glen Coulthard – *Red Skins, White Masks* (I suggest you buy this text, but a full-text version is also available on UBC library website)

## Week 13 (Apr 3): Conclusion

• Final paper due in class

## **Grading**

General Participation (attendance, general participation)	15%
Socratic Method Participation	5%
Discussion Leader Presentation	10%
Research Paper: Thesis and Outline Assignment	10%
Research Paper: Argument and Evidence Assignment	10%
Research Paper: Final Draft	50%

**General Participation**: You will be graded on your attendance and general participation in discussions. Active listening and note-taking counts towards your general participation score. You may miss 1 class session without penalty, after which you will lose 10% of your general participation score for every un-excused session missed. Policy on coming to class late: 2 tardies = 1 absence.

**Socratic Method Participation**: Each student will be "on-deck" for one session in the semester. On the day you are on-deck, you must read the assigned texts closely and be ready to answer questions from the instructor on the spot. Your answers do not need to be perfect to get full points, but you must show knowledge of the assigned texts and demonstrate that you have put effort into understanding them and thinking about them.

**Discussion Leader Presentation**: Each student will act as the discussion leader for one class session. As discussion leader for that day, you will give a 12 minute presentation: you should spend 3 minutes summarizing the text, 3-5 minutes providing a critical commentary on the text, and no more than 3 minutes posing 2-3 questions for the class to discuss. **Presentations are strictly limited to 12 minutes**. I encourage presenters to provide the class with a 1-page handout outlining the major points of the presentation.

**Research Paper and Related Assignments**: Each student will write a research paper for the course (undergraduates will write 3000-3500 words, i.e. 12-15 pages; graduate students will write 4000-5000 words, i.e. 16-20 pages). You will choose a topic related to land and territory, investigate resources, and write an argument in the form of a long essay. The first step is to submit a 1-page document, the "**thesis and outline assignment**", in which you introduce your topic,

propose a possible line of argumentation (a thesis), provide a rough outline of the structure of the paper, and name 3-5 resources/texts you will employ. Once your topic is approved by the instructor, you will move to the research stage, where you will gather and read articles and evidence related to your topic and argument. You will submit a 4-page "**argument and evidence**" assignment which elaborates your argument and provides supporting evidence from resources. This assignment will take the form of a detailed outline and bibliography. The last stage is to write the **final paper** itself, which will be worth a considerable portion (50%) of your grade in the course.

#### **General Academic Policies**

Laptops and electronic devices: The use of laptops and electronic devices for note-taking in class is banned except in cases of a concession from Access & Diversity. Students are expected to take handwritten notes and bring paper copies of the texts to lecture and tutorial. Cell phone, smartphone, and internet use are forbidden in class.

Late Assignments: 10% will be deducted from any assignment grade each day past the deadline until you turn it in. Each new day begins exactly 24 hours after the deadline. This policy is not negotiable. In cases of legitimate excuses (illness proven by doctor's note, family emergency, religious holiday, or disability), you must obtain permission for an extension from the instructor prior to the due-date. Undergraduates: Extensions in cases of legitimate excuse are only granted in conjunction with an academic concession, to be provided either by Arts Advising or Access & Diversity.

Grade appeals: Students who wish to appeal a grade must wait until 48 hours after receiving your graded assignment to submit an appeal, and the appeal must be made in writing. If the student is unsatisfied with this process, he/she should proceed to the head of the department. Bear in mind that if you appeal your grade it can go either up or down according to a fair regrade.

*Illness and Absence:* If you experience medical or personal problems that affect your attendance or academic performance, please notify Arts Academic Advising. If you are planning to be absent for varsity athletics or family obligations, you must discuss your commitments with the instructor before the drop date.

*Religious holidays*: UBC permits students who are scheduled to attend classes or write examinations on holy days of their religions to notify their instructor in advance of these days and their wish to observe them by absenting themselves from class or examination. Instructors will provide an opportunity for students to make up work or examinations without penalty (Policy #65).

*Disabilities*: UBC is committed to the academic success of students with disabilities. Students with a disability should meet with a Disability Resource Centre (DRC) advisor to determine what accommodations/services you are eligible for.

## **Academic Integrity and Responsibility**

Academic communities depend on their members' honesty and integrity in representing the sources of reasoning, claims, and wordings that appear in their work. Like any other member of the academic community, you will be held responsible for the accurate representation of your sources: the means by which you produced the work you are submitting. If you are found to have misrepresented your sources and to have submitted others' work as your own, penalties will follow. Your case may be forwarded to the Head of the department, who may decide that you should receive zero for the assignment. The Head will report your case to the Dean's Office, where the report will remain on file. The Head may decide, in consultation with your instructor, that a greater penalty is called for, and will forward your case to the Dean's Office. After an interview in the Dean's Office, your case may be forwarded to the President's Advisory Committee on Academic Misconduct. Following a hearing in which you will be asked to account for your actions, the President may apply penalties including zero for the assignment; zero for the course; suspension from the university for a period ranging from 4 to 24 months; a notation on your permanent record. The penalty may be a combination of these.

Like any academic author submitting work for review and evaluation, you are guaranteeing that the work you submit for this course has not already been submitted for credit in another course Your submitting work from another course, without your instructor's prior agreement, may result in penalties such as those applied to the misrepresentation of sources.

If an outside tutor or other person helps you, show this policy to your tutor or helper: make sure you both understand the limits of this person's permissible contribution. If you are uncertain, consult your instructor.

Still a little uncertain or paranoid about what constitutes plagiarism? For a quick refresher visit: <a href="http://www.indiana.edu/%7Ewts/pamphlets/plagiarism.shtml">http://www.indiana.edu/%7Ewts/pamphlets/plagiarism.shtml</a> and/or: <a href="http://sja.ucdavis.edu/files/plagiarism.pdf">http://sja.ucdavis.edu/files/plagiarism.pdf</a>

## **Rules on Respect and Harassment**

Respectful debate and disagreement are encouraged in class. *Disrespectful* behavior, including interrupting, rudeness, bullying and harassment, will not be tolerated. The instructor and teaching assistant will display respect toward students, and students will exercise respect with each other, with the teaching assistant, and with the instructor.

The full *UBC Statement on Respectful Environment for Students, Faculty and Staff* can be found at <a href="http://www.hr.ubc.ca/respectful-environment/files/UBC-Statement-on-Respectful-Environment-2014.pdf">http://www.hr.ubc.ca/respectful-environment/files/UBC-Statement-on-Respectful-Environment-2014.pdf</a>.

Students should also review the Student Code of Conduct, at: <a href="http://www.calendar.ubc.ca/vancouver/index.cfm?tree=3,54,750,0">http://www.calendar.ubc.ca/vancouver/index.cfm?tree=3,54,750,0</a>.

If you have any concerns about the class environment, please raise them immediately with the instructor. You may also contact the Head of the Political Science Department, UBC's Equity and Inclusion Office (http://equity.ubc.ca), or the UBC Ombudsperson for Students (http://ombudsoffice.ubc.ca/contactus/). Harassment is unacceptable at UBC. UBC's Policy #3 defines harassment as: "unwanted and unwelcome attention from a person who knows, or ought to know, that the behaviour is unwelcome. Harassment can range from written or spoken comments to unwanted jokes, gifts, and physical assault, and may be accompanied by threats or promises regarding work or study opportunities and conditions. Harassment can be either a single incident or a series of related incidents." If you or someone you know has encountered sexual violence or harassment, you can find confidential support in the following offices:

Sexual Assault Support Centre, (SASC) 249M, Student Union Building, UBC 604-827-5180 <a href="mailto:sasc@ams.ubc.ca">sasc@ams.ubc.ca</a> <a href="http://amssasc.ca">http://amssasc.ca</a>

Equity and Inclusion Office 2306 – 1874 East Mall (Brock Hall) 604.822.6353 equity@equity.ubc.ca http://equity.ubc.ca

#### **TurnItin**

Students are required to submit a paper copy of their research paper to the instructor and submit the same paper electronically to TurnItIn.

In accordance with departmental policy, in this course you will be required to submit your research paper in electronic form to a service called TurnItIn. UBC subscribes to this service that checks written material for originality by searching for matching text. This service is in increasing use in universities as protection for students against the impact of academic fraud on scholarship competitions, graduate and law school admissions, and degree reputation. Students will submit their research papers to the TurnItIn website, where software scans the paper against a database which includes public websites, paper writing services, essays submitted to TurnItIn, and journal articles. The service then produces a report on the paper's originality. The instructor will review the reports, and where necessary, the papers themselves. Please note that TurnItIn stores information on servers that reside in the United States. If you do not wish to use your name when creating your TurnItIn account, please use the first 5 digits of your student number as an alias instead. Assignments are not accessible to the public once submitted to TurnItIn, and you, as the author, retain ownership of your original material. Your work will be added to TurnItIn's archive for comparison against subsequently submitted material, thus ensuring that your work is not plagiarized. For more information on TurnItIn, reasons for its use, and general policies, see the UBC Vice President Academic and Provost web site, at: http://www.vpacademic.ubc.ca/integrity/turnitin/index.htm

To submit your paper to TurnItIn, log on to the TurnItIn site, at: <a href="https://www.turnitin.com">www.turnitin.com</a>. You will be asked to create a unique "user profile," consisting of an ID (email address) and password. To add this course, you will also need the course ID and enrollment key, which are:

Course ID: 19238561

Course Password (Enrollment Key): POLI449/521

Once added to a course, you will be able to submit your paper to the class file. You will be asked to provide your name and student number, as well as some details about your assignment. This information will be used only to identify your submission to your instructor. Your paper will be stored in the turnitin database, and you may choose to leave out identifying information from the text of your paper for the sake of your privacy. You will be asked to cut and paste (text only) the body of your assignment, and the bibliography into separate fields within the website. Simply confirm the submission, and TurnItIn will issue a receipt (via e-mail). If you encounter difficulties submitting your bibliography, do not be concerned. The important element is the body (text) of the paper.