

SVF 3021 Integrated Peace & Conflict Studies

Autumn, 2004

Course Organisation and Content

Coordinator

Associate Professor P. Stuart Robinson (Political Science)

Teachers

Associate Professor Vidar Vambheim – Education
Professor Carl Erik Schultz – Economics
Professor Per Christiansen – Law
Professor Randi Rønning Balsvik – History
Jens-Petter Nielsen – History

Guest lecturers

Dr. Roy Bhaskar – Centre for Critical Realism, London
Professor Michael Shapiro – Political Science, University of Hawaii
Professor Rob Walker – International Relations, Keele University

Objectives

This course is intended to provide students with an introduction to the field of peace and conflict studies and illuminate key epistemological issues and problems connected with peace research in a contemporary global context. To this end, students are to be acquainted with, first, the character and background of peace and conflict studies as a field, second, its key concepts and phenomena of study, including varieties of violence, alternative conceptions of peace and approaches to the handling of conflict, and, third, the broader and deeper context of study: the Western-dominated global order as it has evolved, been conceived and understood.

The overarching goal is to equip students with the theoretical and conceptual tools and historical background needed to analyse various aspects of conflict, violence and peace as they manifest themselves in the contemporary global order. This will be tested by allowing students to demonstrate their analytical skills and general theoretical and historical knowledge by means of answering take-home essay-questions, and also by means of discussing wide-ranging questions relating to the course literature in an oral examination.

Content

First, in Section One, students are introduced to concepts and approaches in peace studies and associated theoretical and epistemological issues. This should form the basis of a critical consideration of the methodological challenges to address in the course of empirical peace and conflict studies. Key themes to be explored are the relations between violence in its different forms, cultural conditions and peace, as well as the practical challenges faced by 'peace-workers'.

Then, in Section Two, issues of peace and conflict are to be related explicitly to the broad (and Western) social and political structures within which they are typically framed. These structures are understood to be both cultural, in the sense of a continuing tradition of thought, which disposes and constricts our political horizons, and institutional, in the form of prevailing organisations and legal

orders. As such, students are encouraged to relate both key aspects of the Western intellectual tradition, and key historical developments in state- and world-orders, to the continuing challenge to manage conflict, avoid war and build peace. This entails a brief review of important developments in the Western intellectual tradition and associated developments in the character and the pervasiveness of certain (Western) kinds of economic, social, and political orders.

The first step is to take up fundamental and broadly liberal ideas regarding: the relationship between the individual and the state; relationships between states, including the notion of an international society; and the prospects for peace and harmony in global terms. These ideas are considered in the light of the historical development of a modern system of sovereign nation-states, as well as a modern capitalist economy – especially as illuminated by liberal and Marxist theories of political economy.

Such a theoretical-historical background is designed to assist with more direct empirical consideration of a number of important historical >case studies=. These are examples of social conflicts, efforts at conflict management and resolution, and wars. Their study should allow students to begin to explore in more empirical detail such phenomena as imperialism, neo-imperialism, revolution, war and international conflict management.

Course texts

Listed below are all the textbooks (available from the university bookstore *Akademisk Kvarter*) that should be purchased, with the total number of pages to be used for this course (many of these will be used further for the other required courses). The precise extracts and where and how they fit into the curriculum are elaborated further under **Class outline** (see below). These textbooks are supplemented by web-articles and course-packages as explained under **Further required readings** (and also listed under **Class outline**).

Johan Galtung, *Peace by Peaceful Means: Peace and Conflict, Development and Civilization* (London: Sage, 1996) – 120 pp.

Inger Skjelsbæk and Dan Smith (eds.), *Gender, Peace and Conflict* (Sage, 2001) – 52 pp.

Michael Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars: A Moral Argument with Historical Illustrations* (New York: Basic Books, 2000 – 25 pp.

Roy Bhaskar, *The Possibility of Naturalism: A Philosophical Critique of the Contemporary Human Sciences* (London: Routledge, 2000) – 79 pp.

Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan* (London: Penguin, 1988) – 72 pp.

John Locke, *The Second Treatise of Government* (Hackett Publishing, 1980) – 59 pp.

Anthony Brewer, *Marxist Theories of Imperialism: A Critical Survey* (London: Routledge, 1990) – 110 pp.

Paul M. Sweezy, *The Theory of Capitalist Development* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1980) – 90 pp.

Tekeste Negash & Kjetil Tronvoll, *Brothers at War: Making Sense of the Eritrean-Ethiopian War* (James Currey Press, 2000) – ca. 95 pp.

Joseph S Nye, Jr., *Understanding International Conflicts: An Introduction to Theory and History* Third Edition (Longman, 2000) – 117 pp.

Course packages – all readings marked *C*

Internet articles – all readings marked *E1, 2, 3, etc.*

Individual offprints – all readings marked *O*

Further required readings

The selections from the texts listed above are listed below under ‘**Class outline**’, together with a number of further required articles and chapters. Those marked ***E1, 2, 3, etc.*** are available for download at the Internet web-address listed in the accompanying footnote. Those marked ***C*** are included in a series of course-packages tailored specially to this course. These can be purchased from *Akademisk Kvarter*, the University bookshop. Finally, those marked ***O*** are prepared as individual offprints to be provided to students directly, either in class, or from the office of the programme administrator, Hildegunn Bruland.

Class outline

Classes are two hours in duration unless otherwise stated. They are prefigured by a roman numeral and followed by the name of the relevant lecturer /seminar-leader.

Section One Peace and Conflict as a Field of Study

A) *Approaches and concepts*

The field of peace and conflict studies spans many levels: from the global to the personal, from distant history to the present, from long/slow ‘waves’ in history to individual events, from politics via culture and religion to psychology, from ‘pure’ theoretical studies to ‘craft’ (as in political action, skills, negotiations, etc.). The introductory lectures will give an overview of (some) approaches to the field, discuss problems related to definitions and understanding of (some) basic concepts (such as ‘war’, ‘peace’, ‘security’, and ‘violence’), and discuss how we can delimit and focus on certain aspects without losing sight of the wider context. Basic assumptions and values will be discussed with regard to their potential effect on the way we acquire knowledge and the kind of knowledge we acquire. Peace studies are empirical-theoretical, but they also aim to make a difference in the world. This duality may create tensions between scientific truths and our values/judgements, and between existing realities and the creation of new realities. Such problems will be discussed and some appropriate responses proposed. The lectures also give an introduction to conflict resolution, which will be studied in greater depth next semester.

(i) **Introduction to the field**

–Vambheim

The distinctive features of peace studies as a field are considered. Discussion takes up issues of spatial delimitation, systems, and the focus and boundaries of the field itself.

Required Readings

Johan Galtung, *Peace by Peaceful Means: Peace and Conflict, Development and Civilization* (Oslo: Sage, 1996), Part I: “Peace Theory”, Section 1: “Peace Studies: An Epistemological Basis” (9-23) and Section 2: “Peace Studies: Some Basic Paradigms” (24-39). (31 pp.)

Recommended:

Barash, David P. and Webel, Charles W.: *Peace and Conflict Studies*, Sage 2002.

Boulding, E.: *Cultures of Peace. The Hidden Side of History*. Syracuse University Press 2000.

Galtung, J: *Methodology and Ideology. Theory and Methods of Social Research*, Vol I, Christian Ejlers, Copenhagen 1977, Ch 1,2,3, p.13-97 [85 p].

(ii) Relating approaches and terminology

–Vambheim

Students take up fundamental epistemological issues pertaining to values, facts and theory building. In particular focus is the question of how key concepts are defined and how this affects the conceptions of research problems or questions and hence one's research focus.

Required Readings

Johan Galtung, *Peace by Peaceful Means: Peace and Conflict, Development and Civilization* (Oslo: Sage, 1996), Part IV: "Civilization Theory", Section I: "Cultural Violence", 196-210. (15 pp.)

C Charles Tilly, "War Making and State Making as Organized Crime", in Peter B. Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer and Theda Skocpol (eds.), *Bringing the State Back In* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 169-191. (23 pp.)

(iii) Conflict theory, conflict analysis and conflict transformation

–Vambheim

Various theoretical issues are considered: system versus actor approaches, interest-groups and their relationship with war and peace, such as gender and social class or strata, and the role of social structure.

Required Readings

C Frank R. Pfetsch and Christoph Rohloff, *National and International Conflicts, 1945-1995: New Empirical and Theoretical Approaches* (London: Routledge, 2000), Ch. 1: "Introduction" (pp 1-24) and Ch. 2: "Methodology" (25-61). (61 pp.)

Johan Galtung, *Peace by Peaceful Means: Peace and Conflict, Development and Civilization* (Oslo: Sage, 1996), Part I: "Peace Theory", Section 3: "Woman : Man = Peace : Violence?" (pp. 40-48) and Part II, Section 1: "Conflict Formations" (pp. 70-80), 2: "Conflict Life-Cycles" (pp. 81—88), 3: "Conflict Transformations" (89-102), 4: "Conflict Interventions" (103-113) and 5: "Nonviolent Conflict Transformation" (pp. 114-126). (66 pp.)

Michael Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars: A Moral Argument with Historical Illustrations* (Basic Books, 2000), Ch. 1: "Against Realism" (pp. 3-20) and "Afterword: Nonviolence and the Theory of War", 329-335. (25 pp.)

Inger Skjelsbæk and Dan Smith (eds.), *Gender, Peace and Conflict* (Sage, 2001), "Introduction" (pp. 1-13). (13 pp.)

Inger Skjelsbæk, "Is Femininity Inherently Peaceful? The Construction of Femininity in the War", in Inger Skjelsbæk and Dan Smith (eds.), *Gender, Peace and Conflict* (Sage, 2001), pp. 47-67 (21 pp.)

Drude Dahlerup, "Women in Political Decisionmaking: From Critical Mass to Critical Acts in Scandinavia", in Inger Skjelsbæk and Dan Smith (eds.), *Gender, Peace and Conflict* (Sage, 2001), pp. 104-121. (18 pp.)

(iv) 'Cultural violence' / 'cultural peace'?

–Vambheim

Issues and problems relating to cultural peace analysis are explored.

Required Readings

- *C* Alan Campbell: "Peace," in Signe Howell et al (eds.), *Societies at Peace* (Routledge, 1989), pp. 213-243. (31 pp.)
- *C* Clayton A. Robarchek, "Hobbesian and Rousseauan Images of Man: Autonomy and Individualism in a Peaceful Society", in Signe Howell et al (eds.), *Societies at Peace* (Routledge, 1989), pp. 31-59. (29 pp.)
- *C* Satha-Anand (Quader Muheideen) Chaiwat, "The Nonviolent Crescent: Eight Theses on Muslim Nonviolent Actions", in Abdul Aziz Said et al (eds.), *Peace and Conflict Resolution in Islam*, Ch. 10 (pp. 195-211). (17 pp.)

(v) Culture, religion and violence

–Vambheim

Notions of cultural peace and/or violence are take up in connection with the putatively peaceful and/or violent aspects of secular and/or religious culture.

Required Readings

- *C* Clayton A. Robarchek, "Hobbesian and Rousseauan Images of Man: Autonomy and Individualism in a Peaceful Society", in Signe Howell et al (eds.), *Societies at Peace* (Routledge, 1989), pp. 31-59. (29 pp.)
- *C* Satha-Anand (Quader Muheideen) Chaiwat, "The Nonviolent Crescent: Eight Theses on Muslim Nonviolent Actions", in Abdul Aziz Said et al (eds.), *Peace and Conflict Resolution in Islam*, Ch. 10 (pp. 195-211). (17 pp.)

(vi) Conflict resolution/transformation: Theory or craft?

–Vambheim

A case is presented as the basis for the exploration of various relevant tools for handling the conflict in question. This forms the basis for reflection on the epistemological nature and status of conflict studies.

Required Readings'

- *C* Thomas Weber, *Conflict Resolution and Gandhian Ethics* (New Delhi: The Gandhi Peace Foundation, 1991), Ch. 5: "Civil Disobedience and Social Conflict", pp. 82-106. (24 pp.)

(vii) Conflict-resolution workshop

–Vambheim

Students engage in a practical exercise in conflict resolution/transformation.

B) Epistemology and Methodology

Section One is concluded by building on the preceding introduction to peace studies and research by exploring more directly central issues in the philosophy of social science and how these might be addressed in peace studies, generally, as a field, and with respect to specific types of research project.

(i) Critical Realism in the Social Sciences

–Bhaskar

Turning to the issue of how to approach peace research, Dr. Bhaskar introduces the philosophical and epistemological starting-point of critical realism. Critical realism rejects both the spurious objectivism of positivism and the radical idealism of some forms of postmodernism, and establishes an alternative ontology appropriate to critical social inquiry. In the first instance, this is explored as a general methodology for the social sciences.

Required Readings

Roy Bhaskar, *The Possibility of Naturalism: A Philosophical Critique of the Contemporary Human Sciences* (London: Routledge, 2000), Ch. 1: “Transcendental Realism and the Problem of Naturalism” (pp. 1-24) and Ch. 2: “Societies” (pp. 25-79). (79 pp.)

(ii) Critical Realism (and Meta-Reality) and Peace Studies

–Bhaskar

Critical realism, together with its further philosophical elaboration through the conception of meta-reality, is explored as a specific philosophy of, and strategy of inquiry and action in, the field of peace and conflict studies.

Required Readings

C Roy Bhaskar, *From Science to Emancipation: Alienation and the Actuality of Enlightenment* (London: Sage, 2002), pp. 3-46. (44 pp.)

(iii) Case Methodology

–Bhaskar

Students take the epistemological and methodological starting point of critical realism (meta-reality) and explore its potential application to research-project ideas.

Section Two The Western Global >Order = Philosophy, Theory & History

PART ONE: WESTERN INTELLECTUAL TRADITIONS AS WORLD VIEWS

The emergence of a Western-dominated global order with particular reference to its cultural underpinnings and development, and especially as expressed in its intellectual and social history, is explored.

A) *Western political-theoretical foundations*

The foundation for critical reflection on the character of the contemporary global order is provided through a consideration of the emergence of the modern European state and its associated international system or society. These developments are explored through a mixture of social-historical analysis and a reading of certain key texts in the history of Western political and social thought.

(i) **Early modern state-building**

–Robinson

First on the agenda is how the modern state and the international system of states are thought to have emerged from the context of medieval Europe and its feudal structures. This forms the foundation for considering more specifically how state institutions – and associated societal forms – have come to be theorised, understood and legitimised, beginning with the influential contemporary account of Thomas Hobbes. The emergence of the modern system of states also provides a kind of case-study in processes of profound social and political change more generally. This is highly relevant, in particular, to current processes of change associated with a putative ‘globalisation’.

Required Readings

E1 John Gerrard Ruggie, “Territoriality and Beyond: Problematizing Modernity in International Relations”, *International Organization* 47:1 (1993), pp. 139-174. (36 pp.)

Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan* (London: Penguin, 1988), “The Introduction” (pp. 81-3), Chs. 13-15 (183-217), 17-18 (223-239), 20 (251-3 only), 21 (261-274). (72 pp.)

Recommended

Leviathan, remainder.

Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Empire* (London: Harvard University Press, 2000), Part One: “The Political Constitution of the Present”, pp. 1-66.

Benno Teschke (1998), “Geopolitical Relations in the European Middle Ages: History and Theory”, *International Organization* 52:2 (1998), pp. 325-58.

John Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (London: BBC, 1972).

David Held and Anthony McGrew, David Goldblatt and Jonathan Perraton, *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture* (Oxford: Polity Press, 1999), Introduction, pp. 1-31.

Reference

Perry Anderson, *Lineages of the Absolutist State* (London: Verso, 1979).

E1

<http://www.jstor.org/browse/00208183/dm980281?config=jstor&frame=noiframe&userID=81f2051e@uit.no/018dd5533b0050dd3987&dpi=3>

(ii) Modern state and society

–Robinson

The understanding (and legitimising account) of the state and its associated social organisation is further explored through Hobbes's and others' accounts of society as a transcendence of 'the state of nature' by means of a kind of social contract. This is problematised with the help of the much more recent and highly critical reappraisal of the state – and its violent practices – provided by Tilly.

Hobbes is also to be considered for his introduction of key modern and liberal themes of individual freedom, equality and natural law, explored further in the ideas of Locke.

Required Readings

John Locke, *Second Treatise of Government*, Chs. 1-5, 8, 12, 15 and 18. (ca. 59 pp.)

REVIEW: *C* Charles Tilly, "War Making and State Making as Organized Crime", in Peter B. Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer and Theda Skocpol (eds.), *Bringing the State Back In* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 169-191. (See **Section One**.)

Recommended

Leviathan, C.B. Macpherson's introduction, pp. 9-63.

C.B. Macpherson, *The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism*, II: "Hobbes: The Political Obligation of the Market", pp. 9-106.

(iii) Liberal humanitarianism

–Robinson

The connection between liberal political thought and a Modernist world-view is considered. This world-view entails a specific account of social order and immanent peace. Key themes to be considered here are the relationship between natural law, the social contract and individual rights or freedoms (including how rights are problematised by utilitarian thinking) and, last but not least, the liberal account of democracy. These theoretical themes can then be connected to Kant's influential account of the liberal or republican peace. Macpherson provides a critical perspective on liberal political theory as capitalist ideology.

Required Readings

C C.B. Macpherson, "Liberal Democracy as a System of Power", in *The Real World of Democracy*, pp. 35-45. (9 pp.)

C J.S. Mill, from "On Liberty" and "Utilitarianism", in Jene M. Porter (ed.), *Classics in Political Philosophy* (Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice-Hall, 1989), pp. 436-471. (36 pp.)

C Immanuel Kant, from "Essay on Theory and Practice", "Perpetual Peace", and "The Metaphysical Elements of Right", in Chris Brown, Terry Nardin and Nicholas Rengger (eds.), *International Relations in Political Thought: Texts from the Ancient Greeks to the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 428-455. (28 pp.)

REVIEW: Michael Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars: A Moral Argument with Historical Illustrations* (Basic Books, 2000), pp. 3-20. (See **Section One**.)

Recommended

- A. Linklater, "Men and Citizens in International Relations", in H. Williams (ed.), *A Reader in International Relations and Political Theory* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1993), pp. 309-325.
- Hedley Bull, "The Grotian Conception of International Society", in Herbert Butterfield and Martin Wight (eds.), *Diplomatic Investigations* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1966), pp. 51-73.
- C.B. Macpherson, *The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism*, V: "Locke: The Political Theory of Appropriation", pp. 194-262.
- , *The Real World of Democracy*, remainder.

B) The political-economic order

The shift here is from the national and international to the global or transnational. This entails consideration, in theoretical and historical context, of the nexus between politics and economics (as central to processes of conflict and violence), explored with the help, in particular, of broadly Marxist theory.

(i) Economic Perspectives: Liberal, Marxist

–Schulz

Students are introduced to Marxist economic theory, its position on issues of conflict and violence and its position of opposition to liberal economic thought. This forms the theoretical foundation for consideration of the nature and role of violence in relations between states.

Required Readings

Anthony Brewer, *Marxist Theories of Imperialism: A Critical Survey*, Chs. 1: "Introduction" and 2: "Marx". (60 pp.)

Recommended

Paul M. Sweezy, *The Theory of Capitalist Development: Principles of Marxian Political Economy* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1980), Chs. 2: "The Qualitative-value Problem", 3: "The Quantitative-value Problem" and 4: "Surplus Value and Capitalism", pp. 23-71.

(ii) Political-economic development and conflict

–Schulz

The relationship between capitalism as a form of economic and social development (or modernisation) and forms of imperialism is examined.

Required Readings

Paul M. Sweezy, *The Theory of Capitalist Development: Principles of Marxian Political Economy* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1980), Chs. 13: "The State", 14: "The Development of Monopoly Capital", 15: "Monopoly and the Laws of Motion of Capitalism", 16: "World Economy", and 17: "Imperialism", pp. 239-328. (90 pp.)

(iii) World economic order

–Schulz

Shifting to a more global perspective allows the consideration of world systems as centre-periphery dependency-relationships and their associated issues of structural violence. Empirical focus is on the specific institutions of economic management such as the Bretton Woods order and how they relate to processes of economic globalisation.

Required Reading

Brewer, Ch 8: “Dependency Theories”, and 10: “Classes and Politics in the Third World”. (50 pp.)

Recommended

Robert Cox, “Social Forces, States and World Orders: Beyond International Relations Theory”, *Millennium* 10:2 (1981), pp. 126-155.

C) Perspectives on the global order

The nature of the global order itself is examined more closely (and critically), including its epistemic (including nationalistic) and institutional (especially legal) dimensions. This entails some dialectic encounters with some widely divergent approaches to theorising politics and international relations.

(i) Nation-building, cultural governance, and the indigenous subject

Three hours

–Shapiro

Professor Shapiro considers the role of the arts in both enabling and resisting state efforts at constructing homogeneous national cultures, and the ways in which indigenous peoples have been victimized by the nation-building process. Selected film-scenes and transparencies of landscapes, among other things, will be used to illustrate these themes.

Required Readings

C James Mayall, *Nationalism and International Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), Ch. 4: “Nationalism and the International Order”, pp. 50-69. (20 pp.)

C James Der Derian, “The Boundaries of Knowledge and Power in International Relations”, in Der Derian and M.J. Shapiro (eds.), *International/Intertextual Relations* (Toronto: Lexington Books, 1989), pp 3-10. (7 pp.)

C Michael J. Shapiro, “Textualizing Global Politics”, in Der Derian and Shapiro, pp 11-22. (12 pp.)

C Michael J. Shapiro, *Methods and Nations: Cultural Governance and the Indigenous Subject* (New York: Routledge, 2004), Ch. 1: “Social Science, ‘Comparative Politics’, and Inequality”, 1-32. (31 pp.)

(ii) Conceptual, ideological and institutional foundations

Three hours

–Walker

Professor Walker reads the political realism observable in Weber, Schmitt and Morgenthau in terms of its reflexive textual relationship with the modernism and idealism of liberal thought from Hobbes

to Kant.

Required Readings

- *C* Max Weber, "Politics as a Vocation", in W.G. Runciman (ed.), *Weber: Selections in Translation* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1978), pp. 212-225. (14 pp.)
- *C* Hans Morgenthau, "Morgenthau," in H. Williams, Moorhead Wright and Tony Evans (eds.), *A Reader in International Relations and Political Theory* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1993), pp. 192-202. (11 pp.)
- *C* Carl Schmitt, *Political Theology: Four Chapters on The Concept of Sovereignty*, Chs. 1-3, pp. 5-52. (48 pp.)

Recommended

- R.B.J. Walker, *Inside/Outside: International Relations as Political Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), Ch. 4: "History, Structure, Reification", pp. 81-103, and Ch. 7: "Sovereign Identities and the Politics of Forgetting", in *Inside/Outside*, pp. 159-183.
- John Hoffman, *Sovereignty*, Chs. 1, 2 and 5, pp. 1-20 and pp. 43-53.
- Jean Bethke Elshtain, "Reflections on War and Political Discourse: Realism, Just War and Feminism in a Nuclear Age", in Elshtain (ed.), *Just War Theory* (New York: NYU Press, 1992), pp. 260-279.

Reference literature

- James Der Derian and Michael J. Shapiro (eds.), *International/intertextual Relations: Postmodern Readings of World Politics* (Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1989).
- Darryl Jarvis, "Postmodernism: A Critical Typology", *Politics and Society* 26:1 (1998), pp. 95-143.

(iii) The Society of States

—Robinson

One aspect of relations between states that may be overlooked because it is so ingrained and therefore, typically, taken for granted is the web of constitutive principles and rules, binding states together. The apparent salience of such a normative dimension leads some writers to characterise inter-state relationships as constituting a kind of society of states. Such principles and rules imbue international relations with a degree of regularity or even order. This may be overlooked by some of the more culturally and institutionally insensitive versions of realist international theory.

Required Readings

- *C* Alan James, *Sovereign Statehood: The Basis of International Society*, Ch. 2, pp. 13-36. (24 pp.)
- *C* Hedley Bull, "Society and Anarchy in International Relations", in Herbert Butterfield and Martin Wight (eds.), *Diplomatic Investigations* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1966), pp. 35-50. (16 pp.)
- *C* -----, "The Emergence of a Universal International Society", in Bull and A. Watson (eds.), *The Expansion of International Society* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), pp. 117-126. (10 pp.)
- *C* John Vincent, *Human Rights and International Relations* (1986), Ch. 1: "The Idea of Human

Rights”, pp. 7-18. (12 pp.)

Recommended

Martin Wight, Western “Values in International Relations”, in Butterfield and Wight, pp. 89-131.

(iv) International law, conflict and violence

Three hours

–Christiansen

The focus is on the rules of international society in their most developed form, introducing some basic legal concepts and enquiring into the sources of international law (mainly customary law and treaties). This forms the foundation of a preliminary look at the use of force and the international legal order.

Required readings

C Hugh Thirlway, “The Sources of International Law” (pp. 117-143), in Malcom D. Evans (ed.), *International Law* (Oxford University Press, 2003). (27 pp.)

C Christine Gray, “The Use of Force and the International Legal Order” (pp. 589-618), in Evans (ed.), *International Law*. (30 pp.)

Recommended

Stephen C. Neff, “Short History of International Law” (pp. 31-56), Eileen Denza, “The Relationship between International and National Law” (pp. 415-440), and Hugh Thirlway, “The International Court of Justice”, in Evans (ed.), *International Law*.

(v) International law and human rights

Three hours

–Christiansen

The specific relationship between international law and individual and human rights, which becomes increasingly important in international law, is explored.

Required readings

C Robert McCorquodale, “The Individual and the International Legal System” (pp. 299-322), in Evans (ed.) *International Law*. (24 pp.)

C Henry J. Steiner, “International Protection of Human Rights” (pp. 757-786), in Evans (ed.), *International Law*. (30 pp.)

PART TWO: DYNAMICS OF CONFLICT, CONDITIONS OF WAR AND PEACE

Attention is turned to empirical cases of, first, conflict and violence and, second, relatively peaceful conflicts. These are designed to illustrate and interrogate the theoretical debates and broad

historical analyses hitherto considered.

A) *Conditions of conflict, violence and war*

Different forms of violent conflict are considered. These range from forms of armed revolution or insurrection, through civil wars, to armed conflict between rival states.

(i) Social conflict and revolutions in historical perspective

–Balsvik

The aim is to explore an historically based way of thinking about the future (although history can never prescribe what the future will be like) by comparing the French Revolution of 1789, the Russian Revolution of 1917, and the 1974 Revolution in Ethiopia: the conflicts, contradictions and changing social forces that created oppositional forces. Extreme inequalities and injustices in the distribution of land in societies that were primarily agricultural were at the core of all three revolutions. Also important were: the presence of spokesmen – an intelligentsia – who could give voice to grievances and point to reformist measures; the insensitivity of the privileged few; the imperial autocracy; rule by divine right; the lack of safety valves and prospects for reform; and the unexpected, unique configuration of *events*, which led to a situation of crisis and started the processes towards revolution. How could developments have taken a different course (contra-factual thinking, what might have been if...)? Can the history of these three revolutions enlighten our thinking about the relations of power on the contemporary global scene?

Required Readings

- *C* Bahru Zewda, *A History of Modern Ethiopia: 1885-1991*, Ch. 6: "Revolution and its Sequel", pp. 228-248 only. (21 pp.)
- *C* Richard L. Greaves et al, *Civilizations of the World: The Human Adventure* (Harper and Row, 1990), Ch. 26: "Europe, Africa, and the Americas" (pp. 661-684) and Ch. 35: "The Age of Western Domination" (pp. 897-926). (54 pp.)

Reference literature

Richard L. Greaves et al, *Civilizations of the World: The Human Adventure* (Harper & Row, 1990).

(ii) Conditions of war in historical perspective: The Case of World War One

–Balsvik

Students first consider the characteristics of the international setting in the pre-war years: the sense of rising insecurity and fear: Peoples/nationalities sought to break out of the Empires of Turkey and Austria-Hungary, a movement of pan-Slavism supported by Russia; the rise of the economic and military power (and naval power in particular) of Germany, which from the point of view of France and Britain, in particular, caused an imbalance in European power relations; an obsession with measures to obtain security – the creation of alliances, secret diplomacy, and the arms race. Also to be considered are the horrors of war: the unexpected trench warfare; the dreadful number of deaths; the need to create an ideology to legitimise the war; the starvation, at times, among the civilian population. Other effects of the war are considered, such as the breakthrough of women in the workforce and The Peace Treaty of Versailles: What was the perception of the causes of war, how to prevent new wars, the role played by French fear of Germany and desire for revenge? Why have some historians regarded the Second World War as a continuation of the First? To what extent

can the Great Depression and the rise of Nazism in Germany be seen as caused by World War I?

Required readings

Joseph S Nye, Jr., *Understanding International Conflicts: An Introduction to Theory and History*, Third Edition (Longman, 2000), Chs. 2-4 (pp. 32-111). (80 pp.)

C Richard L. Greaves et al, *Civilizations of the World: The Human Adventure* (Harper and Row, 1990), Ch. 34: Industrial Society and the Liberal Order” (865-890). (26 pp.)

(iii) De/colonisation, conflict and war: The Eritrean-Ethiopian War, 1998-2000

Four hours

–Balsvik

Students are introduced to the events and parties involved (including some statistics), the apparent issue and the kind of war – probably the biggest military engagement in Africa since World War II. Both parties were among the poorest states in Africa, yet bought, between 1998 and 1999, the most modern arms and aircraft from the arms market, valued at approximately 500 million US dollars. 800,000 soldiers were mobilized, with at least 50 000 dead. 500 000 civilians were displaced.

How could this war happen? The border issue is explored. The contested area was not claimed when Eritrea won its independence from Ethiopia in 1993. Both parties accuse each other of using the border as a pretext. The lecture will also explore the perceptions/images each party has about the other. The conflict is plagued by the heritage of colonialism and by the thirty-year war in which Eritrea fought for its independence from Ethiopia. Eritreans held that they had a case similar to all other former colonial states in Africa: they demanded independence within the former Italian colonial borders. A UN decision in 1952 federated de-colonized Eritrea with Ethiopia. Ethiopia was looked upon as a second colonial power. According to the Ethiopian perception, the Eritrean fight for independence was not a colonial case – the UN had returned Eritrea to the motherland. They fought a war of secession. The underestimated psychological factors have to be explored.

How can past history throw light upon the recent conflict including the story of differences in development? Why are the contestants called “brothers”? What are their common roots and identity in the depths of history? To what extent was Eritrean territory integrated in the Ethiopian empire before the colonial era? How did colonial aspirations and the colonial experience affect Eritrea and Ethiopia? The Eritrean People’s Liberation Front fought the government of Emperor Haile Selassie and the military government after the revolution in 1974, both of which followed a ruthless policy of suppression. The EPLF and the guerrillas within Ethiopia that fought the military regime were comrades in arms and marched together into Addis Ababa in 1991, and Eritrea got its independence.

Also to be considered are: the question of nationalities and the Ethiopian and Eritrean constitutional constructions; what economic motives might have encouraged Eritrea to raise the border issue; peace mediation and the ‘balanced approach’ – conflict management as opposed to conflict resolution.

Required Readings

Tekeste Negash & Kjetil Tronvoll, *Brothers at War: Making Sense of the Eritrean-Ethiopian War* (James Currey Press, 2000). (ca. 95 pp.)

B) Conditions of peace: The Case of Arctic Europe

The final section uses the case of Arctic Europe, focussing on the relationship between Norway and Russia, to illustrate processes of and conditions for dealing with conflict without resort to arms.

(i) Arctic Europe – Prior to the Russian Revolution, focussing on Norway and Russia

–Nielsen

In this multi-ethnic area four different states have met and established their borderlines with few military confrontations or clashes. This lecture will examine some of the factors that may have contributed to this: the peculiar Norwegian-Russian asymmetrical neighbourliness, sparse populations, topographical and climatic impediments to warfare, peripheral position with regard to national centres, strong regional links and contact across the borders.

Required readings

C Jens Petter Nielsen, “The Barents region in Historical Perspective”, in Olav Schram Stokke & Ola Tunander (eds.), *The Barents Region: Cooperation in Arctic Europe* (Sage, 1994), pp. 87-100. (14 pp.)

C Olav Riste, *Norway's Foreign Relations: A History* (Universitetsforlaget, 2001), Ch. 10 (pp. 206-34). (29 pp.)

(ii) Arctic Europe – Since the Russian Revolution

–Nielsen

Even if in the interwar years relations between Russia and the West became strongly polarised and ideological, this was a period of low tension in the North. Later, during the Cold War, Arctic Europe became one of the most militarised parts of the world. Still it is possible to argue that in the north the Cold War was a little more relaxed than elsewhere. The termination of the Cold War brought about the Norwegian initiative to establish a transnational region in the North, including Russia. In contrast to the Cold War period, when contact with Russians was the same as uncertainty, the Barents Region concept is, quite to the contrary, that contact *leads* to security.

Required readings

C Ola Tunander, “Inventing the Barents Region: Overcoming the East-West Divide”, in Olav Schram Stokke and Ola Tunander (eds.), *The Barents Region: Cooperation in Arctic Europe* (Sage, 1994), pp. 31-44. (14 pp.)

C Fredrik Fagertun, “Threats and Threat Scenarios in the North during the Cold War”, *Acta Borealia* 1 (2003), pp. 75-90. (16 pp.)

Joseph S Nye, Jr., *Understanding International Conflicts: An Introduction to Theory and History*, Third Edition (Longman, 2000), Ch. 5 (pp. 112-149). (38 pp.)

(iii) Summary and conclusions

–Robinson