

SVF 3021 Integrated Peace & Conflict Studies

Fall, 2007

Course Organisation and Content

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Objective

This subject's general objective is to provide students with an introduction to the field of Peace and Conflict Studies. With this purpose, the course will illuminate key epistemological issues and problems connected with peace research in a contemporary global context. As a result, the subject will provide students with the theoretical approaches and historical background needed to analyse various aspects of conflict, violence and peace, as they manifest themselves in the contemporary global order. The student learning of these approaches, background and skills will be tested by an examination committee through: 1) A take home academic essay, that is to be written on the basis of key questions identified by the teaching staff and 2) Discussion of wide-ranging questions related to the required course literature in an oral examination.

Content

SVF-3021 Integrated Peace Studies is divided in two components: "Introduction to Peace Studies" and "The Western Global Order".

Introduction to Peace Studies: Intends to be a general presentation of what it means to do Peace and Conflict Studies, by putting forward key epistemological controversies and problems connected to Peace Research and Peace Education. Students will become acquainted with Peace and Conflict Studies' key concepts and phenomena of study, including varieties of violence, non-violence, alternative conceptions of peace and approaches to the handling of conflict. The course will also deal with the challenges and opportunities faced by work within Peace and Conflict Studies. The purpose of this component is to help students develop a balanced understanding of what it implies to generate knowledge with the explicit purpose of contributing to peace.

The Western Global Order: Research, generation of knowledge and learning always occur in a particular context. Therefore, the second part of the course is meant as a *contextualisation* of Peace and Conflict Studies in contemporary global society. It is important for peace students to be aware of their position in history and to be knowledgeable in some of the most determinant structures that have contributed to shape the *globalised* world we are a part of as peace researchers. The focus of this component is set on the development of the *Western Global Order* and its structures. These structures are understood to be: a) cultural, in the sense of a continuing tradition of thought, and b) institutional, in the form of prevailing organisations and legal orders. The study of these structures entails a brief review of important developments in the Western intellectual tradition and associated historical developments of certain Western kinds of economic, social, and political orders. Therefore, the course will start by covering 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. The study of these ideas needs to be done in the light of the historical development of a modern system of sovereign nation-states, as well as a modern capitalist economy – which in this course will be scrutinised through the perspectives of liberal and Marxist theories of political economy. Such a theoretical-historical approach is designed to function as a background for more direct consideration of a number of important historical *case studies*.

Students are encouraged to relate the two components of the course. This implies, in other words, to develop a theoretical approach of how key aspects of the Western intellectual tradition and its historical developments relate to the continuing challenge to manage conflict, avoid war and build peace.

Structure

I. Introduction to Peace Studies

A) Approaches and Concepts

- (i) Introduction
- (ii) Approaches to Peace I: Negative peace
- (iii) Approaches to Peace II: Positive peace
- (iv) Social Conflict and Peace I
- (v) Social Conflict and Peace II
- (vi) Social Conflict and Peace III
- (vii) Conclusion and Questions

B) Epistemology and Methodology

- (i) Normative and Positive Knowledge: Is There a Distinction?
- (ii) Peace Studies: An Applied Science?

II. Western Global Order

A) Cultural Structures: The claim to sovereign authority

- (i) Introduction
- (ii) Early Modern State-Building
- (iii) Modern State and Society
- (iv) Peace Studies, Restorative Justice and the Western Global Order

B) Institutional Structures

The Political Economic Order

- (i) Liberalism Humanitarianism, Economics, Peace and War
- (ii) Marxist and Neomarxist Critique: Economic Development and Forms of Imperialism

Conclusion A-B Part 1: Critical Theory, Conflict and Change

Conclusion A-B Part 2

Perspectives On the Global Order

- (iii) The State, the Nation, the Nation-State and Nation Building
- (iv) The Society of States
- (v) Peace and the Legal System
- (vi) Peaceful Relations Between States – The European Union
- (vii) International Law and Human Rights

C) Case Studies

Conditions of Conflict Violence and War

- (i) Social Conflicts and Revolutions in a Historical Perspective
- (ii) Conditions of Conflict and War: The Peace of Versailles 1919
- (iii) De/colonisation, Conflict and War: The Eritrean-Ethiopian War, 1998-2000

Conditions of Peace

- (iv) Arctic Europe – Prior to the Russian Revolution, Focusing on Norway and Russia
- (v) Arctic Europe – Since the Russian Revolution

Summary and Conclusions

Course texts

All the textbooks and the total number of pages to be used for this course are listed below and are available from the university bookstore *Akademisk Kvarter*. Some of these books will also be used further for the other required courses. The precise extracts and where and how they fit into the curriculum are elaborated further under the **Class outline** (see below). These textbooks (in alphabetical order) are complemented by electronic articles and course-packages as explained under **Further required readings** (and also listed under **Class outline**).

- Barash, David P. (ed.), *Approaches to Peace* (Oxford University Press, 2000)
Brewer, Anthony, *Marxist Theories of Imperialism: A Critical Survey* (London: Routledge, 1990)
Galtung, Johan, *Peace by Peaceful Means: Peace and Conflict, Development and Civilization*, (London: Sage Publications, 1996)
Hobbes, Thomas, *Leviathan* (London: Penguin, 1988)
Locke, John, *Second Treatise of Government* (Indianapolis: Hacket Publishing, 1980 [1689])
Lyotard, Jean F., *The Post-Modern Condition: A Report on Knowledge* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press)
Miall, Hugh, *Emergent Conflict and Peaceful Change* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).
Miall, Hugh, Ramsbotham, Oliver, Woodhouse, Tom, *Contemporary Conflict Resolution* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2005).
Negash, Tekeste, Tronvoll, Kjetil: *Brothers at War: Making Sense of the Eritrean-Ethiopian War* (Oxford: James Currey Press, 2000).
Nye, Joseph S, Jr.: *Understanding International Conflicts: An Introduction to Theory and History* Third Edition (New York: Longman, 2000)
Skjelsbæk, Inger and Dan Smith (eds.): *Gender, Peace and Conflict* (London: Sage Publications, 2001)
Sweezy, Paul M, *The Theory of Capitalist Development* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1980)
Walzer, Michael, *Just and Unjust Wars: A Moral Argument with Historical Illustrations* (New York: Basic Books, 2000).

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 from PC’s connected to the university network at the Internet 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*. Finally, those marked ***O*** are prepared as individual printouts to be provided to students directly.

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.

I. Introduction to Peace Studies

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 or 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*. We will also 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

Barash, David P. (ed.), *Approaches to Peace* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), Ch. 1: "Approaches to War", pp. 5-60 (56 pp.).

Miall, Hugh, *Emergent Conflict and Peaceful Change* (New York: Palgrave, 2007), Ch. 1-5, pp. 1-120 (121 pp.)

Recommended Readings:

Galtung, Johan, *Methodology and Ideology. Theory and Methods of Social Research*, Vol I, Christian Ejlertsen, (Copenhagen 1977), Ch. 1, 2 and 3, pp. 13-97 (85 pp.).

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

(ii) Approaches to Peace I: Negative Peace

–Vambheim

The concept 'peace' will be explored with a focus on its relation to war and realism in Peace Studies.

Required Readings

Barash, David P. (ed.), *Approaches to Peace* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), Ch. 2: "Building Negative Peace", pp. 61-125 (65 pp.).

Walzer, Michael, *Just and Unjust Wars: A Moral Argument with Historical Illustrations* (London: Basic Books, 2000), Ch. 1: "Against Realism", pp. 3-20 (17 pp.).

Recommended Readings

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

(iii) Approaches to Peace II: Positive Peace

–Vambheim

The concept 'positive peace' will be explored theoretically, and through empirical examples.

Required Readings

C Archer, Clive, Joenniemi, Pertti, *The Nordic Peace* (London: Ashgate, 2003), Ch. 1, pp. 1-23 (23 pp.).

Barash, David P. (ed.), *Approaches to Peace* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000) Ch. 3: "Building Positive Peace", pp. 129-166 (50 pp.).

C Fischer, Dietrich, *Nonmilitary Aspects of Security: A Systems Approach* (Aldershot: Dartmouth 1993), pp. 5 – 28 (24 pp.).

Walzer, Michael: *Just and Unjust Wars: A Moral Argument with Historical Illustrations* (London: Basic Books, 2000), "Afterword: Nonviolence and the Theory of War", pp. 329-335 (7 pp.).

Recommended Readings:

Archer Clive, Joenniemi, Pertti (eds.), *The Nordic Peace*, (London: Ashgate 2003), 171-198 (17 pp.).

Barash, David P. (ed.), *Approaches to Peace* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), Ch. 4: "Nonviolence", pp.167-198 (32 pp.).

(iv) Social Conflict and Peace I

–Vambheim

Various theoretical issues are considered: system versus actor approaches, interest groups and their relationship to war and peace, such as gender, social class and other aspects of social structure.

Required Readings

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

E1 Gullvåg Holter, Øystein, 'A Theory of Gendercide', *Journal of Genocide Research*, Vol. 4, No. 1, pp. 11-38 (27 pp.).

Miall, Hugh, Ramsbotham, Oliver, Woodhouse, Tom, *Contemporary Conflict Resolution* (London:

Polity Press, 2005). Ch 11 & 12, pp. 249-264 & 265-275 (27 pp.)
Skjelsbæk, Inger, Smith, Dan (eds.), *Gender, Peace and Conflict* (Sage Publications, 2001),
“Introduction”, (London: Sage Publications, 2001), pp. 1-13 (14 pp.).

Recommended Readings:

Carreira, Helena, *Gender and the Military*, Class Military Studies, pp. 72-86 (London: Routledge 2006)
Galtung, Johan, *Peace by Peaceful Means: Peace and Conflict, Development and Civilization* (Oslo: Sage Publications, 1996), Part I, “Peace Theory”, section 3: “Woman:Man = Peace:Violence?”, pp. 40-48 (9pp.).
Skjelsbæk, Inger, Smith, Dan (eds.), “Is Femininity Inherently Peaceful? The Construction of Femininity in the War”, in *Gender, Peace and Conflict* (London: Sage Publications, 2001), pp. 47-67 (20 pp.)

(v) Social Conflict and Peace II

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

Required Readings

Galtung, Johan, *Peace by Peaceful Means: Peace and Conflict, Development and Civilization* (London: Sage Publications, 1996), Part IV: “Civilization Theory”, section 1: “Cultural Violence”, pp.196-210 (15 pp.).
C Howell, Signe, “To be angry is not to be human, but to be fearful is”, in Howell, Signe, et al. (eds.), *Societies at Peace* (London: Routledge, 1989), pp. 45-59 (15 pp.)
C Mead, Margareth, *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies* (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1963), pp. 279 – 322 (43 pp.)
C Robarchek, Clayton A., “Hobbesian and Rousseauian Images of Man: Autonomy and Individualism in a Peaceful Society”, in Howell, Signe, et al. (eds.), *Societies at Peace* (London: Routledge, 1989), pp. 31-44 (14 pp.)
C Satha-Anand, Chaiwat (Quader Muheideen), “The Nonviolent Crescent: Eight Theses on Muslim Nonviolent Actions”, in Aziz Said, Abdul, et al. (eds.), *Peace and Conflict Resolution in Islam* (Lanham: University Press of America, 2001), Ch. 10, pp. 195-211 (17 pp.)
C Weber, Thomas, *Conflict Resolution and Gandhian Ethics* (New Delhi: The Gandhi Peace Foundation, 1991), Ch. 5: “Civil Disobedience and Social Conflict”, pp. 82-106; and Ch. 6: “International Conflict”, pp. 95-106. (25 pp.)

Recommended Readings:

Boulding, Elise, *Cultures of Peace, The Hidden Side of History* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2000). (347 pp.)
Campbell, Alan, “Peace,” in Howell, Signe, et al. (eds.), *Societies at Peace* (London: Routledge, 1989), pp. 213-224 (12 pp.)
Galtung, Johan, *Peace by Peaceful Means: Peace and Conflict, Development and Civilization* (London: Sage Publications, 1996), Part IV “Civilization Theory”, Sections 2-4, pp. 211-252 (32pp)
Heelas, Paul, “Identifying Peaceful Societies”, in Howell, Signe, et al.(eds.), *Societies at Peace* (London: Routledge, 1989), pp. 225-243. (19 pp.)

Juergensmeyer, Mark, *Terror in the Mind of God. The global rise of religious violence* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), (336 pp.)

Miall, Hugh, Woodhouse, Tom, Ramsbotham, Oliver, *Contemporary Conflict Resolution: The Prevention, Management and Transformation of Deadly Conflicts* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999), pp 1-38 (38 pp.).

(vi) Social Conflict and Peace III

–Vambheim

Miall, Hugh, *Emergent Conflict and Peaceful Change* (New York: Palgrave, 2007), Ch. 5 (25 pp.)

Miall, Hugh, Ramsbotham, Oliver, Woodhouse, Tom, *Contemporary Conflict Resolution*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2005), Ch. 1 & 3, pp. 3-31 & 55-77, Ch. 11, pp. 249-264 (65 pp.)

(vii) Conclusion and Questions

–Vambheim

Approaches and concepts in “Introduction to Peace Studies” have been investigated, and this part of the MPCT-programme is concluded with a summary and the possibility for further questions.

Required Readings

O Galtung, Johan, *On the social costs of modernisation*, United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, Working Papers, Discussion Paper 61, March 1995 (37 pp.)

* O * Huntington, Samuel, et al., *The Clash of Civilisations: The Debate* (New York: Foreign Affairs 1996) (68 pp.)

Miall, Hugh, *Emergent Conflict and Peaceful Change* (Hampshire: Palgrave 2007), Ch. 8 (6 pp.)

B) Epistemology and Methodology

This component is intended as an exploration of *one* central issue in contemporary philosophy of knowledge: the *demarcation problem* and how it relates to Peace Studies. The various approaches to this issue contribute to (de) legitimise, determine, structure and give a direction to Peace Studies.

(i) Normative and Positive Knowledge: Is there a distinction?

-Valiente

Peace Studies are generally presented as normative sciences or sciences that involve value and teleological statements in relation to the explicit purpose of non-violence. The particular sort of knowledge generated in Peace Studies is characterised differently by philosophers of knowledge and so is its legitimacy. This depends on where philosophers draw a line (demarcate) between positive knowledge and other sorts of knowledge, and which arguments they use for drawing this line.

There are roughly two extremes and a middle position amongst important philosophers of science from the 20th century: A) those that argue that it is possible and necessary to distinguish sharply between positive and other sorts of knowledge. Among this group, there are those who think that non-science is meaningless and those that think that non-science is a meaningful and a necessary sort of knowledge, even for the purposes of positive or descriptive knowledge. B) In the other extreme, there are those that think that the distinction of forms of knowledge is constructed by the grand narratives that are used to legitimise knowledge. Once those narratives are exposed, it is possible to *de-legitimise* knowledge and deconstruct the distinction between non-science and positive knowledge.

Required Readings

- *C* Ayer, Alfred, *A Very Short Introduction to Hume* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), Chapter 4: "Cause and Effect", pp. 68-91 (23 pp)
- *C* Ayer, Alfred, *Language, Truth and Logics*, Chapter 1: "The Elimination of Metaphysics" (London: Dover Publications, 1971), pp. 45-61 (16 pp)
- Liotard, Jean F., *The Post-Modern Condition: A Report on Knowledge* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), pp. 3-41 (38 pp.)
- *C* Popper, Karl, *The Logic of Scientific Discovery*, (London: Routledge Classics, (1950) 2002), pp. 3-26 (23 pp)

(ii) Peace Studies: Applied science?

-Valiente

These philosophical debates occur in relation to much broader ontological and metaphysical discussions between philosophers that can be categorised as naïve realists, critical realists, open realists, materialist realists, scientific realists, idealists, weak constructivists, strong constructivists and all of these can be either monists, dualists or pluralists, and so on. Ideally, peace students should be familiar with such issues, their own philosophical stances, those predominant in society and how this affects their research and dissemination of their work. However, for the purposes of this course, it will be enough with presenting *one* ontological middle position, that has implications on the philosophy of knowledge that legitimise, determine, structure and gives a direction to Peace Studies. It is based on the philosophical understanding of *reality* as a *formal* continuum with *content*. There are different *forms* of reality, consisting of things in themselves and postulations. *Reality* cannot be fully explained by our senses, logos (our language and concepts) or reason. Thereby, intellectual knowledge of reality can only be an approximation, but not an exhaustive understanding of it. Just as reality cannot be fully explained by sharply defined concepts, the distinction between the notions of positive and normative knowledge is blurry. And just as there are different *forms* of reality, there are different degrees of knowledge that originate from each of these various forms of reality and approaches to it. The legitimacy and meaningfulness of knowledge is determined by the degree knowledge manages to affect what human beings call reality. There are degrees of knowledge that exhaust more aspects of reality and consequently these degrees of knowledge have a greater effect on it. This position is relevant for legitimising, determining, structuring and orienting studies that want to affect reality in the direction of peace. Such an approach is useful to make an analysis of what peace researchers have defined as the epistemology, challenges and methods of Peace Studies.

Required Readings

- *O* Valiente, Alberto, Working Paper: *Some Philosophical Considerations for Peace Studies. The Value of Pragmatism*, Conference Proceedings, "Methodologies in Peace Research", Centre for Peace Studies, University of Tromsø, March 21-13, 2007 (Forthcoming) (17 pp.)

Recommended Readings

- Baert, Patrick, 2005, *Philosophy of the Social Sciences: Towards Pragmatism* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2005) (256 pp.)
- Bing, Anthony G., 'The Substance of Peace Studies, Peace Studies as Experiential Education', *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 504, *Peace Studies: Past and Future* (Jul., 1989), pp. 48-60 (12 pp.)
- Feyerabend, Paul, *Against Method* (London: Verso Books 1993) (279 pp.)
- Fowler, Tomas, 'The Formality of Reality: Xavier Zubiri's Critique of Hume's Analysis of Causality', *The Xavier Zubiri Review*, Vol. 1, 1998, pp. 57-66 (9 pp.)

- Fowler, Thomas, 'Reality in Science and Reality in Philosophy: Importance of the Concept of Reality by Postulation', *The Xavier Zubiri Review*, Vol. 7, 2005, pp. 41-56 (15 pp)
- Fowler, Thomas, 'A Framework for Political Theory Based on Zubiri's Concept of Reality', *The Xavier Zubiri Review*, Vol. 4, 2002, pp. 109-132 (23 pp.)
- Galtung, Johan, *Three articles by Johan Galtung: What is Peace Studies? The Epistemology and Methodology of Peace Studies*, CPS Working Papers: No. 1, 2003 (Part one and two).
- *E2*** Galtung, Johan, 'Twenty-Five Years of Peace Research: Ten Challenges and Some Responses', *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 22, No. 2. (Jun., 1985), pp. 141-158 (17 pp.)
- Jenkins, Irdell, 'What is a Normative Sciences?', *The Journal of Philosophy*, Vol. 45, No. 12 (Jun. 3, 1948), pp. 309-332 (23 pp.)
- Kent, George, 'The Application of Peace Studies', *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 15, No. 1, (Mar., 1971), pp. 47-53 (6 pp.)
- Oakley, Allen, 'Popper's Ontology of Situated Human Action', *Philosophy of the Social Sciences*, Vol. 32, No. 4, (2002), pp. 455-486 (31 pp.)
- *E3*** Patomaki, Heiki, 'The Challenge of Critical Theories: Peace Research at the Start of the New Century', *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 38, No. 6. (Nov., 2001), pp. 723-737 (14 pp)

II. The Western Global Order

A) Cultural Structures: The claim to sovereign authority

(i) Introduction

- Meyer

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.

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 a selection of key texts in the history of Western political and social thought. Central here is the constitution of political authority in the modern sovereign state, and how this shapes the role of legitimate violence and the limits of peace within and between political communities.

(ii) Early Modern State-Building

-Meyer

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 – began to be theorised, understood and legitimised, beginning with the groundbreaking account of Thomas Hobbes.

E2 <http://www.jstor.org/cgi-bin/jstor/printpage/00223433/ap020085/02a00050/0.pdf?backcontext=results&dowhat=Acrobat&config=&userID=81f25cb3@uit.no/01cc99333cd59e10bae5b9ad6&0.pdf>

E3 <http://www.jstor.org/cgi-bin/jstor/printpage/00223433/ap020158/02a00060/0.pdf?backcontext=results&dowhat=Acrobat&config=&userID=81f25cb3@uit.no/01cc99333cd59e10bae5b9ad6&0.pdf>

Required Readings

- Hobbes, Thomas, *Leviathan* (London: Penguin, 1988), 'The Introduction', pp. 81-3, Chs. 13-15, pp. 183-217, Chs. 17-18, pp. 223-239, Ch. 20, pp. 251-3 only, Ch. 21, pp. 261-274. (72 pp.)
- *E4*** Ruggie, John Gerard, 'Territoriality and Beyond: Problematizing Modernity in International Relations', *International Organization*, Vol. 47, No. 1 (1993), pp. 139-174 (36 pp.)

Recommended Readings

- Anderson, Perry, *Lineages of the Absolutist State* (London: Verso, 1979) (576 pp.)
- Berger, John, *Ways of Seeing* (London: BBC, 1972) (176 pp.)
- Hardt, Michael, Negri, Antonio, *Empire* (London: Harvard University Press, 2000), Part One: "The Political Constitution of the Present", pp. 1-66 (65 pp.)
- Held, David, McGrew, Anthony, Goldblatt, David, Perraton, Jonathan, *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture* (Oxford: Polity Press, 1999), Introduction, pp. 1-31 (30 pp.)
- Hobbes, Thomas, *Leviathan*, (London: Penguin, 1988), Chs. 1-8 and 11, (400 pp.)
- Machiavelli, Niccolo, *The Prince*, (London: Penguin, 2003), (144 pp.)
- Teschke, Benno, 'Geopolitical Relations in the European Middle Ages: History and Theory', *International Organization*, Vol. 52, Part 2 (1998), pp. 325-58 (33 pp.)

(iii) Modern State and Society

–Meyer

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 and/or fulfilment of the 'state of nature' by means of a kind of social contract. In the work of Locke the state is thus explained, legitimised and defended (violently where required) as the guarantor of individual freedom, equality and natural law. The state as social contract is *problematized* with the help of the much more recent and highly critical reappraisal of the state – and its violent practices – provided by Charles Tilly.

Required Readings

- Locke, John, *Second Treatise of Government* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 1980 [1689]) Chs. 1-5, 8, 12, 15 and 18. (ca. 59 pp.)
- *C*** Tilly, Charles, 'War Making and State Making as Organized Crime', in Evans, Peter, Rueschemeyer, Dietrich, Skocpol, Theda (eds.), *Bringing the State Back In* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 169-191 (23 pp.)

Recommended Readings

- Cox, Robert, 'Social Forces, States and World Orders: Beyond International Relations Theory', *Millennium*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (1981), pp. 126-155 (29 pp.)
- Hobbes, *Leviathan*, (London: Penguin, 1988), Macpherson's introduction, pp. 9-63, (54 pp.)
- Macpherson, Crawford Brough, *The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism*, II: 'Hobbes: The Political Obligation of the Market' (London: Oxford Paperbacks 1964), pp. 9-106 (95 pp.)

E4

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

(iv) Peace Studies, Restorative Justice and the Western Global Order

–Hydle

Finally, a critical view to the Western Global Order's traditional ways of dealing with conflict is provided from the perspective of Restorative Justice.

Required Readings

C The European Forum for Victim-Offender Mediation and Restorative Justice, *Victim-Offender Mediation in Europe Making Restorative Justice Work* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2000), pp. 1-96 (96 pp.)

Recommended Readings

- *O*** Hydle, Ida, 'An Anthropological Approach to Peace and Conflict Resolution Studies'. *Contemporary Justice Review*, Vol. 9, No. 3, (September 2006), pp. 257-268 (11 pp.)
- *E5*** International Institute of Restorative Practices, *What Are Restorative Practices?* (4 pp.)

C) Institutional Structures

The Political-Economic Order

The shift here is from the national to the global or trans-national. 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) Liberal Humanitarianism, Economics, Peace and War

–Moses

The connection is considered between liberal political thought and a specific account of social order and immanent peace (in its global dimensions, especially through the work of Kant), which might be considered a kind of modernist worldview. This is based on foundational principles of either natural law or utility, and enshrines a particular understanding of individual rights or freedoms and proper procedures of democratic representation. Macpherson problematises liberal political theory as capitalist ideology.

Required Readings

- *C*** Macpherson, Crawford Brough, "Liberal Democracy as a System of Power", in *The Real World of Democracy* (Toronto: House Of Anansi 1992), pp. 35-45 (9 pp.)
- *C*** Mill, John S., from "On Liberty" and "Utilitarianism", in Porter, Jene M. (ed.), *Classics in Political Philosophy* (Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice-Hall, 1989), pp. 436-471 (36 pp.)
- *C*** Kant, Immanuel, from "Essay on Theory and Practice", "Perpetual Peace", and "The Metaphysical Elements of Right", in Brown, Chris, Nardin Terry, Rengger, Nicholas (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.)
- Walzer, Michael, *Just and Unjust Wars: A Moral Argument with Historical Illustrations* (London: Basic Books, 2000), pp. 3-20 (17 pp.)

Recommended Readings

E5 <http://fp.enter.net/restorativepractices/whatisrp.pdf>

- Bull, Hedley, "The Grotian Conception of International Society", in Butterfield, Herbert, Wight, Martin (eds.), *Diplomatic Investigations* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1966), pp. 51-73 (22 pp.)
- Linklater, Andrew, "Men and Citizens in International Relations", in Williams, Howard, et al. (eds.), *A Reader in International Relations and Political Theory* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1993), pp. 309-325 (16 pp.)
- Macpherson, Crawford Brough, V: "Locke: The Political, Theory of Appropriation", in *The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism* (Toronto: House Of Anansi 1992), pp. 194-262 (68 pp.)
- Reiss, Hans (ed.), *Kant: Political Writings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986) (325 pp.)

(ii) Marxist and Neomarxist Critique: Economic Development and Forms of Imperialism

–Moses

Students are introduced to Marxist economic theory, its position on issues of conflict and violence and its form 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

Brewer, Anthony, *Marxist Theories of Imperialism: A Critical Survey* (London: Routledge, 1990), Ch. 1: "Introduction", pp. 1-23 (24 pp.)

Recommended Readings

Brewer, Anthony, *Marxist Theories of Imperialism: A Critical Survey* (London: Routledge, 1990), Ch. 2: "Marx" (32 pp.)

Sweezy, Paul M., *The Theory of Capitalist Development: Principles of Marxian Political Economy* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1980), Ch. 2: "The Qualitative-value Problem", Ch. 3: "The Quantitative-value Problem" and Ch. 4: "Surplus Value and Capitalism", pp. 23-71 (48 pp.)

Conclusion A-B Part 1: Critical Theory, Conflict and Change

–Meyer

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

Brewer, Anthony, *Marxist Theories of Imperialism: A Critical Survey* (London: Routledge, 1990), Ch 8: "Dependency Theories", pp. 161 – 199 (38 pp.)

O Cox, Robert, "Social Forces, States and World Orders: Beyond International Relations Theory", *Millennium*, Vol. 10, No. 2, (1981), pp. 126-155 (29 pp.)

Sweezy, Paul M., *The Theory of Capitalist Development: Principles of Marxian Political Economy* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1980), Ch. "World Economy", and 17: "Imperialism", pp. 287-328 (41 pp.)

Recommended Readings

Brewer, Anthony, *Marxist Theories of Imperialism: A Critical Survey*, (London: Routledge, 1990), Ch. 10: "Classes and Politics in the Third World", pp. 225 – 259 (34 pp.)

Sweezy, Paul M., *The Theory of Capitalist Development: Principles of Marxian Political Economy* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1980), Ch. 13: "The State", Ch. 14: "The Development of Monopoly Capital", Ch. 15: "Monopoly and the Laws of Motion of Capitalism", Ch. 16, pp. 239-286 (47 pp.)

Conclusion A-B Part 2

–Meyer

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.

(iii) The State, the Nation, the Nation-State and Nation Building

–Eriksen

Tor Dahl Eriksen discusses the terms state and nation, what distinguishes a state from a nation, and when the different terms are congruent. A foundation is laid for the application of the different terms when investigating nation-state and nation building.

Required Readings

- *C* Der Derian, James, "The Boundaries of Knowledge and Power in International Relations", in Der Derian, Shapiro, M.J. (eds.), *International / Intertextual Relations* (Toronto: Lexington Books, 1989), pp. 3-10 (7 pp.)
- *C* Mayall, James, *Nationalism and International Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), Ch. 4: "Nationalism and the International Order", pp. 50-69 (20 pp.)
- *C* Shapiro, Michael J., "Textualizing Global Politics", in Der Derian, Shapiro, Der Derian, Shapiro, Michael J. (eds.), *International / Intertextual Relations* (Toronto: Lexington Books, 1989), pp. 11-22. (12 pp)

(iv) The Society of States

–Eriksen

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

C Vincent, John, *Human Rights and International Relations*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986). Ch. 1: "The Idea of Human Rights", pp. 7-18 (12 pp.)

Recommended Readings

Wight, Martin, *Western "Values in International Relations"*, in Butterfield H., Wight M. (eds.), *Diplomatic Investigations: Essays in the Theory of International Politics* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1966), pp. 89-131 (43 pp.)

(v) Peace and the Legal System

– 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 Gray, Christine, "The Use of Force and the International Legal Order", in Evans, Malcom, (ed.), *International Law* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 589-618 (30 pp.)

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

Recommended Readings

Neff, Stephen C., "Short History of International Law", Denza, Eileen, "The Relationship between International and National Law", Thirlway, Hugh, "The International Court of Justice", in Evans, Malcom (ed.), *International Law*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 31-56 and pp. 415-440 (49 pp.)

(vi) Peaceful Relations Between States – The European Union

– Christiansen

Required readings

E6 Treaty establishing the European Union

Recommended Readings

E7 Treaty establishing the European Community

E8 Treaty establishing a constitution for Europe

E9 Site containing historic documents in European integration.

(vii) International Law and Human Rights

– Christiansen

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

E6 http://europa.eu.int/eur-lex/lex/en/treaties/dat/12002M/pdf/12002M_EN.pdf

E7 http://europa.eu.int/eur-lex/lex/en/treaties/dat/12002E/pdf/12002E_EN.pdf

E8 <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/JOHtml.do?uri=OJ:C:2004:310:SOM:EN:HTML>

E9 <http://www.lib.byu.edu/~rdh/eurodocs/ec.html>

Required readings

- *C* McCorquodale, Robert, "The Individual and the International Legal System", in Evans, Malcom (ed.), *International Law*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 299-322 (24 pp.)
- *C* Steiner, Henry J., "International Protection of Human Rights", in Evans, Malcom (ed.), *International Law*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 757-786 (30 pp.)

C) Case Studies

Attention is turned to specific 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.

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* Greaves, Richard L., et al., *Civilizations of the World: The Human Adventure* (New York: Harper and Row, 1990), Ch. 26: "Europe, Africa, and the Americas" and Ch. 35: "The Age of Western Domination", pp. 661-684 and pp. 897-926 (54 pp.)

Recommended Readings

Zewde, Bahru, *A History of Modern Ethiopia: 1885-1991* (Oxford: James Currey, 2001), Ch. 6: "Revolution and its Sequel", pp. 228-248 only (21 pp.)

(ii) *Conditions of War in Historical Perspective: The Peace of Versailles 1919*

–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

Nye, Joseph S. Jr., *Understanding International Conflicts: An Introduction to Theory and History*, Third Edition (Boston: Addison Wesley, 2000), Chs. 3-4: “Balance of Power and World War I” and “The Failure of Collective Security and World War II”, pp. 54-107 (51 pp.)

Recommended Readings

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

Nye, Joseph S., Jr., *Understanding International Conflicts: An Introduction to Theory and History*, Third Edition (Boston: Addison Wesley, 2000): Ch. 2: “Origins of the Great Twentieth-Century Conflicts” pp. 30 – 53, (23 pp.)

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

–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.

Required Readings

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

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.

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

–Fagertun

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

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

(v) Arctic Europe – Since the Russian Revolution

–Fagertun

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 trans-national 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 Fagertun, Fredrik, ‘Threats and Threat Scenarios in the North during the Cold War’, *Acta Borealia* Vol. 1, (2003), pp. 75-90 (16 pp.)

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

Recommended readings

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

Summary and conclusions

–Vambheim