

Universität Bremen
Institut für Interkulturelle und Internationale Studien (InIIS)
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Winter Semester 2020/21

Seminar: War and Peace

Monday 14-17h, Unicom
first 4 sessions in class (GW 2)
afterwards hybrid teaching
VAK: 08-351-2-MA IR-MC2

Second version, October 19, 2020

October 5 GW2, room B 3009
October 12 GW2, room B 3009
October 19 GW2, room B 3009
October 26 GW 2, room B 2900

Course description

This class shall render students familiar not only with the most prominent theories on war and peace in international relations and some related disciplines but also with the strand and methods of empirical research and ongoing debates in IR on these subjects. Other perspectives (history, social anthropology) will be touched as well.

The seminar will start off with four mostly lecture-like sessions on main debates, theoretical approaches and empirical findings on war and peace of the last thirty years of research.

After this first part, you are in charge of organizing sessions, of course with my assistance and active participation that you can define.

In that second, larger part of the seminar, we decided to pick the region of East Africa in order to study questions of war and peace along a concrete regional context, using expertise and people around at InIIS for our sessions.

In your short paper or term paper, you may of course pick empirical cases from everywhere, and in each session a short comparative discussion is mandatory as well.

How we proceed

I designed this class as a mixture of lectures (first 4 sessions) and a workshop. In the first four sessions, we will assemble in a larger classroom and have an almost normal setting. These will be the traditional 4 hours session of the MAIR class. We will switch to hybrid or online sessions from session # 5 till the last session, as big rooms will no longer be available. This will be the research part of this seminar. You students have to play a much more active role in preparing sessions in small teams for the sessions 5-12. We will have hybrid/online sessions of about 90 minutes each week, and you are supposed to work in your small group another 90 minutes at least for preparing your session. A week in advance, each group will have an extra-meeting with me to discuss ideas for the upcoming session.

Assignments and Grading

There are two requirements in this class, apart from class participation: a contribution to a team and either one short paper or a term paper. Grades and workload for this class will be calculated as follows:

6 CP = Participation in class (2 CP) + team work (2 CP = 50 % of final grade) + small paper (2 CP = 50 % of final grade)

9 CP = Participation in class (2 CP) + team work (2 CP = 40 % of final grade) + term paper (5 CP = 60 % of final grade)

Active participation in class may improve your grade.

I recommend writing a term paper in this class if you have not yet accumulated much experience on writing longer papers along a research question. This is your third semester, and all steps of writing a term paper are a perfect preparation for your M.A. thesis.

Rules for a small paper: A small paper has a length of about 1,500 words and would deal with one session's topic in a critical manner. It is not enough to summarize the readings' content. Also, you should look beyond the region of East Africa in terms of empirical material. Additional material that you have to research independently needs to be included. The small paper must have an argument, i.e. a statement that is argued for by material of whatever source. Both theoretical as well as empirical arguments are welcome. Other than the topics of sessions, you may write on a topic of your choice if I approve that topic. The MAIR "style sheet" is the mandatory formal standard for term papers. Deviations can lead to grade reductions. Please send your text as a **docx-file** to Claudia Herold (herold@uni-bremen.de) till **February 28**.

Rules for the term paper: The length of term papers should range between 4,000 and 6,000 words. Term papers should focus on one of the sessions' topics or another war & peace topic if you consult with me beforehand. In this class, term papers must have "empirical content", which means that I do not accept purely theoretical or conceptual papers. The MAIR "style sheet" is the mandatory formal standard for term papers. Deviations can lead to grade reductions. Please send your text as a **docx-file** to Claudia Herold (herold@uni-bremen.de) till **February 28**.

Reading and preparing sessions:

After the first four sessions, this class will proceed with sessions that students prepare. You will work in small groups, and you may plan me in for single tasks. A week ahead of the respective session, you need to present to me what you intend to do.

So don't wait too long to meet and talk about possible contents. Think of what you want to tell the seminar first and then look out for relevant and telling material. You can suggest readings, invite guests (see suggestions below), present texts or empirical material or stir up controversial discussion on topics. Further texts, short movie clippings, photographs, maps, statistics. You can also divide the seminar into groups for separate discussion. My job at the end of each session will be to summarize core contents.

Each session will require some preparation from all of us, yet to different degrees. Tasks will be communicated in time. Your co-students will put some effort in preparing a session. Please respect their suggestions for each session. If there is mandatory reading, everyone is requested to read this. I recommend taking notes on main assertions in the text. Also, it is helpful to read the passage on the respective session in the syllabus in order to know in what regards we will presumably discuss the text.

Overview

1. War after 1945 – the empirical record
2. Theories of war and peace in IR: Clausewitz and the three paradigms
3. Towards a political sociology of war and peace
4. East Africa – intro into the region (focus on Uganda)
5. The politics of armed groups
6. International relations of non-state armed actors
7. What does violence mean?
8. The UN as outcome of WW 2 and its role now
9. American foreign policy in the region
10. „The war on terror“ in Somalia and its effects in Kenya
11. EU and AU in the region of East Africa
12. (choice)
13. (choice)

Session # 1, War after 1945 – the empirical record

October 5 GW2, room B 3009

In this session we will go through the syllabus first and check who would like to work on what subject, including the two last sessions. We will also talk about the logic of a research seminar. The remainder of the session will be devoted to an overview about war development since 1945. Where did wars take place? What forms dominated? Do we see patterns of change? Which countries were more affected, which intervened most? What does this tell us about international politics? (presentation by Schlichte)

Session # 2. Theories of war and peace in IR: Clausewitz, Sun Tzu and the three paradigms

October 12 GW2, room B 3009

In this session we want to establish the main findings of war studies in IR as it stood in 2002, and combine this with two classical texts on war, one from Prussia in the 19th century, and the other from China around 500 BC. This shall allow us to contrast the understandings of current IR theories with older understandings and weighing merits and shortcomings of these conceptualizations.

Reading: Clausewitz 1832, Sun Tzu
(discussion, introduction by Schlichte)

Session # 3. Towards a political sociology of war and peace

October 19 GW2, room B 3009

In this session I will present main tenets of my own thinking about war and peace, which is basically a critical historical sociology of the subject. There are historical changes in how political violence develops, and social theories can help us understand these changes we will study the dynamics that organized political violence actually mean, politically, socially, economically. We will start with a text that is an overview on how these questions have been addressed in the discipline of IR.

Format: (Lecture by Schlichte, discussion)
Mandatory reading: Gaufman/Schlichte 2019

Afterwards: consultation with team for session #4

Session # 4. East Africa – intro into the region (focus on Uganda)

October 26 GW 2, room B 2900

In this last session that we can do jointly in class, we will start with your research part of the seminar. We are happy to have a Ugandan-born colleague at InIIS, Jude Kagoro (judekagoro@yahoo.com), who is an expert on Uganda's political history, its armed forces and its international relations. I suggest inviting him for an introductory discussion on the political history of the region that we will focus on in the next sessions. He has already declared himself ready to join us for the session or parts of it.

Team: Giorgi Davidian, Iryna Vaitsekhovich, Daniele Nicolosi

Mandatory reading: Tripp, chapter 2?

Afterwards: consultation with team for session # 5

Session # 5. The politics of armed groups

November 2

For decades, research had ignored two things: the growing importance of intra-state warfare and the dynamics of non-state actors. For this session, I suggest to pick one or two of such actors from the region, to study their trajectory and to see what this teaches us about the politics of armed action and its political outcome.

Mandatory reading: Schlichte 2009, *With the State ...*; OR Staniland 2012

Team: Eby Igbojekwe, Oluwamayokun Ojumu, Amelia Price

Afterwards: consultation with team for session # 6

Session # 6. International relations of non-state armed actors

November 9

History is replete with armed groups turned into governments, with George Washington as major case. Even nowadays, many governments are former war fractions (Uganda, Rwanda, Nicaragua, Vietnam, Angola, Algeria, ...). How is that possible? Why do some armed groups succeed in conquering state power while most others do not? Do international politics play a role here? Again, I suggest picking one or two cases here from the region for a more detailed discussion.

Mandatory reading: Hensell/Schlichte (forthcoming)

Gabrielle Rousseau-Bélanger, Mayara Pinheiro, Victoria Alvarez Cid

Afterwards: consultation with team for session # 7

Session # 7. What does violence mean?

November 16

Many theories of war do as if violence is just a form of action like any other. Meanwhile, however, we know that this is not the case. There are multiple effects of violence that impinge on social and individual lives, often in disastrous ways. What is violence actually, how can we understand what it triggers? Again, we have an experienced scholar at InIIS, Philipp Schulz (pschulz@uni-bremen.de), who has worked extensively on war violence in East Africa. I suggest inviting him for this session. He has already declared himself ready to join us for the session or parts of it.

Team: Esther Hammond, Nadine Wunderer, Andy O. A. Badu; Justina Hutchinson

Mandatory reading: to be suggested by team and/or Philipp Schulz

Afterwards: consultation with team for session # 8

Session # 8. The UN as outcome of World War Two and its role now
November 23

In this session, we will switch to a “peace” perspective. International organizations play a major role in this field, with the UN-system at the top. How do IOs contribute to avoiding wars? What do they do once there is a violent conflict? We could draw here on a PhD student of mine, Janosch Kullenberg, who has worked for the UN and is finishing his thesis on the UN mission in the DR Congo.

Reading: Mazower, Kullenberg

Team: Matias Acosta, Eli Kojo Anibra; Anna Guryanova

Afterwards: consultation with team for session # 9

Session # 9. American foreign policy in the region
November 30

In the view of many, the US is the decisive actor in international politics, still today. How did it influence war and peace in East Africa? What are attitudes and instruments of US-American foreign policy in that region? How typical is that for its foreign policy generally?

Team: Dean Gandley, Tim Peter, Zhorelle Brown

Afterwards: consultation with team for session # 10

Session # 10. „The war on terror“ in Somalia and its effects in Kenya
December 7

The most pressing war in the region of East Africa now is the war against Al-Shabaab in Somalia. It has serious repercussions in neighboring countries, in particular in Kenya. Hawa Noor Mohammed (honor@bigsss-bremen.de) hails from an affected part of Kenya, and is about to hand in her PhD in Bremen on this topic. We can draw on her expertise to understand the situation, connected to the “Global War on Terror”. She has already declared herself ready to join us for the session or parts of it.

Mandatory reading: to be selected by the team: Mamdani 2004 (?), Keen 2006; Maruf /Joseph 2018; Cainkar/Selod 2018)

Team: Shelby Helser, Jayoung Son

Afterwards: consultation with team for session # 11

Session # 11. EU and AU in the region of East Africa
December 14

Does the EU have a foreign policy? What is Germany’s role in the region of East Africa? What does the concept of “strategic autonomy”, much discussed in German and EU foreign policy circles, mean? Do regional organizations, in the case of East Africa the African Union, matter in the dynamics of war and peace? For this session, we might be able to draw on the experiences and views of Annette Weber, working for “Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik”, the most important German foreign policy think-tank. She knows the region as well as the machinery of German foreign policy.

Reading: (team will decide)
Team: Jonas Pauly, Gülsüm Ayse Varol; Sibe Lin

Afterwards: consultation with team for session # 12

Session # 12. (choice)

December 21

option: **Military Industrial Complex** (Shadrak Bentil?)
Going to War: Foreign Policy Decision Making
Feminist perspectives on war and peace

Afterwards: consultation with team for session # 13

Session # 13 (choice)

January 11, 2021

suggestion: The future of peace
The future of war
How to write a term paper + **Inviting Mabruk Derbesh** (Libyan scholar hosted at InIIS)

Reading: (incomplete)

- Bartov, Omer 1985: The Eastern Front, 1942-1945. German Troops and the Barbarization of Warfare, London.
- Bayart, Jean-Francois 1991: Finishing with the idea of the “third world”, in: James Manor (ed.) Rethinking Third World Politics, London: Longman, 51-71.
- Clausewitz, Carl von 1832: On War. First Book, Chapter 1+2, preface and introduction, online: ><http://www.clausewitz.com/readings/OnWar1873/TOC.htm><
- Cohn, Carol / Enloe, Cynthia 2003: A conversation with Cynthia Enloe: Feminist Looks at Masculinity and the Men Who Wage War, in: Signs, 28, 4,
- Collins, Randall 2008: Violence. A micro-sociological theory, Princeton, NJ., 1-82.
- Fearon, James / Laitin, David 2003: Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War, in: American Political Science Review, 97, 1.
- Galtung, Johan 1969: Violence, Peace, and Peace Research, 6, 3, 167-191.
- Gaufman, Lisa / Schlichte, Klaus 2020: State, Power and Security, in: Handbook of Political Science – A Global Perspective, ed.by D. Berg-Schlosser, B. Badie, L. Morlino, London: Sage, vol. 3, 1366-1381.
- Grossman, Dave 1995: On Killing. The psychological cost of learning to kill in war and society, Boston.
- Harbom, Lotta / Wallensteen, Peter 2010: Armed Conflicts, 1946-2009, in: Journal of Peace Research, 49, 54, 565-575.
- Harbom, Lotta & Peter Wallensteen, 2010: Patterns of Major Armed Conflict 2000-2009, SIPRI Yearbook 2010. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

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- Howard, Michael 1976: War in European History, Oxford.
- Jung, Dietrich/Schlichte, Klaus/Siegelberg, Jens 2000: Afterword: Warfare in 1995, in Gantzel/Schwinghammer 2000, 169-183.
- Kaldor, Mary 1999: New and Old Wars. Organized violence in a globalized era, Stanford UP.
- Marton, Peter 2008: State Failure vs. Global Governance, Perspectives, 16, 1, 85-107.
- McKenna, Thomas 1998: Muslim Rebels. Everyday politics and armed separatism in the Southern Philippines, Berkeley, Cal.: University of California Press.
- Mearsheimer, John T. 1995: A Realist Reply, in: International Security, 20, 1, 82-93.
- Mueller, John 2009: War Has Almost Ceased to Exist: an assessment, in: Political Science Quarterly, 124, 2, 297-321.
- Neitzel, Sönke / Welzer, Harald 2011: Soldaten. Protokolle vom Kämpfen, Töten und Sterben, Frankfurt a.M.
- Peceny, Mark, and Caroline C. Beer. 2002. Dictatorial Peace? in: American Political Science Review 96:15–26
- Pinker, Steven 2007: Why violence has declined, in: The New Republic, March 19,2007 (<http://www.global-mindshift.com/discover/Memebase/A%20HISTORY%20OF%20VIOLENCE.pdf>)
- Reid Sarkees, Meredith n.d.: The COW Typology of War: Defining and Categorizing Wars (ersion 4 of the Data), >http://www.correlatesofwar.org/COW2%20Data/WarData_NEW/COW%20Website%20-%20Typology%20of%20war.pdf< (accessed August 14, 2012)
- Reid Sarkees, Meredith / Wayman, Frank W. 2010: Resort to War: A data guide to inter-state, extra-state, intra-state and non-state war, 1816-2007, Washington DC.
- Rosato, Sebastian 2003: The Flawed Logic of Democratic Peace Theory, in: American Political Science Review, 97, 4.
- Schlichte, Klaus 2009: 2009aIn the Shadow of Violence. The politics of armed groups, Frankfurt a.M: Campus Verlag; international distribution by Chicago University Press).
- Schlichte, Klaus 2009b: With the State against the State? The formation of armed groups, in: Contemporary Security Policy, 30, 2, 246-264.
- Selby, Jan 2008: The Political Economy of Liberal War and Peace, in: Michael Pugh et al. (eds.), Whose Peace? Critical Perspectives on the Political Economy of Peacebuilding, London: Palgrave, 11-29.
- Shaw, Martin 1991: Post-Military Society, Philadelphia, Penn.
- Singer, David J. 1961: The Level of Analysis Problem in International Relations, in: World Politics, 14, 1.
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- Sun Tzu 2003: The Art of War, New York.
- Tripp, Aili Mari 2010: Museveni's Uganda, Boulder, Col.: Lynne Rienner.
- Vagts, Alfred 1959: A History of Militarism, New York.
- Waltz, Kenneth 1993: The Emerging Structure of International Politics, in: International Security, 18, 2, 44-79.