

WS 18/19

# ring vorlesung

des Exzellenzclusters  
»Die Herausbildung normativer Ordnungen«

## The End of Pacification? The Transformation of Political Violence in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century

Campus Westend / Hörsaalzentrum

Oct. 11 / Dec. 12 / Jan. 23 / Jan. 30 / Feb. 06 / Feb. 13 / 18 h c.t.

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**NORMATIVE ORDERS**

Exzellenzcluster an der Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main

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# Programme

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## Where? When? What?

- |             |  |  |
|-------------|--|--|
| <b>HZ 9</b> | <b>Thu, Oct. 11, 2018</b><br>18 h c.t. | <b>Has War Declined through Human History?</b><br>Prof. Michael Mann, University of California, Los Angeles  |
| <b>HZ 9</b> | <b>Wed, Dec. 12, 2018</b><br>18 h c.t. | <b>Sexual Violence during War</b><br>Prof. Elisabeth J. Wood, Yale University  |
| <b>HZ 9</b> | <b>Wed, Jan. 23, 2019</b><br>18 h c.t. | <b>Sanktionskriege: Probleme dezentraler militärischer Normdurchsetzung</b><br>Prof. Christopher Daase, Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main, Exzellenzcluster „Normative Ordnungen“ |
| <b>HZ 9</b> | <b>Wed, Jan. 30, 2019</b><br>18 h c.t. | <b>Disturbing the Peace: How the United States Influences Trends in Global Political Violence</b><br>Prof. Matthew A. Evangelista, Cornell University                                |
| <b>HZ 9</b> | <b>Wed, Feb. 6, 2019</b><br>18 h c.t.  | <b>Global Change and Civil Wars</b><br>Prof. Stathis N. Kalyvas, University of Oxford  |
| <b>HZ 9</b> | <b>Wed, Feb. 13, 2019</b><br>18 h c.t. | <b>Pockets of Barbarism: Internal and External Challenges to the International Humanitarian Order</b><br>Prof. Jennifer M. Welsh, McGill University, Montreal                        |



**Prof. Christopher Daase**  
Cluster of Excellence Normative  
Orders  
Peace Research Institute  
Frankfurt



**Prof. Nicole Deitelhoff**  
Cluster of Excellence Normative  
Orders  
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**Dr. Julian Junk**  
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## Preface

# The End of Pacification? The Transformation of Political Violence in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century

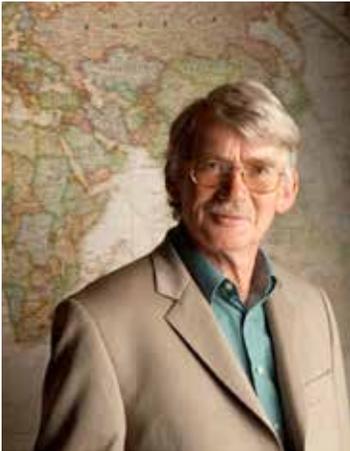
The history of the modern world has been told as a process of decreasing recourse to rampant violence: As a process of civilization that taught societies to tame human affects; as a process of legalization that led states and societies to regulate conflicts peacefully; and as a process of rising interdependence that made international conflict increasingly unprofitable. Even instances of massive collective violence, including world wars and the Holocaust, have been interpreted as deviant data points within an impressive macro-historical trend of pacification. This progressive narrative has been reinforced by the institutionalization of liberal norms and values, the global expansion of democracy and the peaceful termination of the Cold War.

While this diagnosis resonates with the Enlightenment ideas of modernization and rationalization, it runs the risk to oversee counter-evidence and underestimate developments that point to the opposite direction. New technologies allow for new kinds of weapons and the militarization of outer space and the internet. Non-state actors increasingly engage in mass-ter-

rorism and new kinds of civil war. States adapt to these developments combining conventional and unconventional strategies in hybrid-warfare. What is more, the laws of war are increasingly violated and established institutions of regulating conflict are being questioned. Even the validity of formally agreed principles such as the illegality of violent conquest or the prohibition of chemical weapons are under pressure.

Do we witness the end of pacification? Is political violence transforming itself to the effect that it once again dominates political agendas? Or do we simply see the systemic contradictions inherent in the process of pacification which had all along consisted in the transformation and externalization rather than the overall reduction or even elimination of violence? Leading scholars from various disciplines aim to find answers to these questions in this lecture series.

**Christopher Daase**  
**Nicole Deitelhoff**  
**Julian Junk**



**Prof. Michael Mann**  
University of California,  
Los Angeles

Thursday, Oct. 11th, 2018, 18 h c.t.  
Campus Westend, Hörsaalzentrum HZ 9

# Has War Declined through Human History?

## Abstract

For over 150 years liberal optimism has dominated theories of war. It has been repeatedly argued that war either is declining or will shortly decline. There have been exceptions, especially in Germany and more generally in the first half of the twentieth century, but there has been a recent revival of such optimism, especially in the work of Azar Gat, John Mueller, Joshua Goldstein, and Steven Pinker who all perceive a long-term decline in war through history, speeding up in the post-1945 period. Critiquing Pinker's statistics on war fatalities, I show that the overall pattern is not a decline in war, but substantial variation between periods and places. War has not declined and current trends are slightly in the opposite direction. Civil wars in the global South have largely replaced inter-state wars in the North, but there is also Northern involvement in most of them. War for the North is now less "ferocious" than "callous", which renders war less visible and less central to Northern culture, which has the deceptive appearance of pacifism. Viewed from the South the view has been

bleaker both in the colonial period and today. Globally war is not declining, but it is being transformed.

## CV

Michael Mann is Distinguished Research Professor of Sociology, UCLA, and Honorary Professor, Cambridge University. He has a BA and D.Phil. from Oxford University. He is a member of both the American and British Academies. His major publication project has been the four volumes of *The Sources of Social Power* published by Cambridge University Press: Volume 1: *A History of Power from the Beginning to 1760* (published in 1986); Volume 2: *The Rise of Classes and Nation-States, 1760–1914* (1993); Volume 3: *Global Empires and Revolution, 1890–1945* (2012); Volume 4: *Globalizations, 1945–2011* (2013). He also has books on American imperialism, fascism, and ethnic cleansing. Two books of essays have discussed his work, *The Anatomy of Power: The Social Theory of Michael Mann* (2006), and *Global Powers: Mann's Anatomy of the twentieth Century and Beyond* (2018). He is currently writing a book on war.

Wednesday, Dec. 12th, 2018, 18 h c.t.  
Campus Westend, Hörsaalzentrum HZ 9

# Sexual Violence during War



**Prof. Elisabeth J. Wood**  
Yale University

## Abstract

When rape occurs frequently by an armed organization, it is often said to be a strategy of war. But some cases of conflict-related rape are better understood as a practice, violence that has not been explicitly adopted as organization policy but is nonetheless tolerated by commanders. Drawing on examples from World War II to Vietnam to current conflicts, I present a typology of conflict-related rape that emphasizes not only vertical relationship between commanders (principals) and combatants (agents) but also the horizontal, social interactions among combatants. I analyze when rape and/or other forms of sexual violence are likely to be prevalent as organizational policy and

those for which they are likely to occur as a practice. I emphasize not only the gendered norms and beliefs of the society from which combatants come but also how these might be transformed by the organization's socialization processes. I conclude with a brief assessment of the implications for research and for policy.

## CV

Elisabeth Jean Wood is Crosby Professor of the Human Environment and Professor of Political Science, International and Area Studies at Yale University. She is the author of *Forging Democracy from Below: Insurgent Transitions in South Africa and El Salvador* and *Insurgent Collective Action and Civil War in El Salvador*, and co-editor with Morten Bergsmo and Alf B. Skre of *Understanding and Proving International Sex Crimes*. Among her recent articles are "Rape as a Practice of War: Towards a Typology of Political Violence," "The Persistence of Sexual Assault within the US Military," "Rape during War Is Not Inevitable" and "The Social Processes of Civil War: The Wartime Transformation of Social Networks," as well as two articles co-authored with Francisco Gutiérrez Sanín, "What should we mean by 'pattern of political violence'? Repertoire, targeting, frequency, and technique" and "Ideology and Civil War." A fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, she teaches courses on comparative politics, political violence, collective action, and qualitative research methods.

Wednesday, Jan. 23rd, 2019, 18 h c.t.  
Campus Westend, Hörsaalzentrum HZ 9

# Sanktionskriege: Probleme dezentraler militärischer Normdurchsetzung

## Abstract

Mit der völkerrechtlichen Ächtung des Krieges im 20. Jahrhundert ist der Krieg nicht verschwunden. Vielmehr entwickelten sich spezifische Rechtfertigungen militärischer Gewalt, darunter der Sanktionskrieg zur Aufrechterhaltung eines internationalen Rechtszustands. Bis heute berufen sich Staaten auf die Notwendigkeit, globale Normen notfalls dezentral militärisch durchzusetzen, um langfristig ein globales Gewaltmonopol zu etablieren und das Kriegsverbot zu verwirklichen. Wie ist diese Erwartung – empirisch und normativ – zu bewerten? Hat sich die Zuversicht (etwa Hans Kelsens) erfüllt, und sind wir auf dem Weg zu einem globalen Gewaltmonopol; oder hat sich die Befürchtung (etwa von Carl Schmitt) bestätigt, Sanktionskriege würden die Kriegführung nur verschärfen? Im Vortrag werden (1) die theoretischen Positionen zum Kriegsverbot einerseits und zu dezentralen Sanktionskriegen andererseits historisch rekonstruiert; (2) werden die konkurrierenden Erwartungen mit den Ergebnissen der empirischen Kriegsforschung konfrontiert; und (3) wird eine normative Einordnung vorgenommen und nach Stand und Perspektive des liberalen Projektes einer Ächtung des Krieges gefragt.

## CV

Christopher Daase ist Professor für Internationale Organisation an der Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main im Rahmen des Exzellenzclusters „Die Herausbildung normativer Ordnungen“. Gleichzeitig ist er Stellvertretender Direktor des Leibniz-Instituts Hessische Stiftung Friedens- und Konfliktforschung und Leiter der Abteilungen „Internationale Sicherheit“ und „Transnationale Akteure“. Seine Forschungsschwerpunkte liegen im Bereich der Sicherheitspolitik (insbesondere Kriege und Bürgerkriege, Terrorismus und Radikalisierung, nukleare Nichtverbreitung und Rüstungskontrolle) sowie der internationalen Institutionen. Christopher Daase ist geschäftsführender Herausgeber der „Zeitschrift für Internationale Beziehungen“, Vorsitzender des Forschungsrates der Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP) und vertritt die Politikwissenschaft im Fachkollegium Sozialwissenschaften der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG).



**Prof. Christopher Daase**  
Goethe-Universität  
Frankfurt am Main  
Exzellenzcluster „Normative  
Ordnungen“

Wednesday, Jan. 30th, 2019, 18 h c.t.  
Campus Westend, Hörsaalzentrum HZ 9

# Disturbing the Peace: How the United States Influences Trends in Global Political Violence



**Prof. Matthew A. Evangelista**  
Cornell University

## Abstract

In the debates over whether the world is undergoing a long-term decline in political violence or merely a transformation, the United States plays a distinctive role. Having accumulated more political and military power than history has ever seen, the United States finds itself in a hegemonic position that offers it disproportionate influence on the norms governing the use of force. Even if prevailing global trends point toward greater pacification of political life, can US behavior undermine those trends? This presentation seeks answers by examining several patterns evident in recent US behavior, some of which represent US initiatives, others of which follow other states' examples. These include: selective individualization and permissive legalization of armed conflict; violent polarization of domestic conflict; government-sanctioned persecution of refugees and immigrants; and promotion of misogynist nationalism. Some of these behaviors are the product of Donald Trump's administration, but others are of longer gestation.

## CV

Matthew Evangelista is President White Professor of History and Political Science and former chair of the Department of Government at Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, USA. He received his undergraduate degree in Russian History and Literature from Harvard and his MA and PhD in Government from Cornell. He has been a visiting scholar at Harvard, Stanford, the Brookings Institution, and the European University Institute in Florence, and a visiting professor at the Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore in Milan, Università di Bologna, and Università di Roma Tre. His recent books include *Law, Ethics, and the War on Terror* (2008), *Gender, Nationalism, and War* (2011), *The American Way of Bombing: Changing Ethical and Legal Norms, from Flying Fortresses to Drones* (2014), and *Do the Geneva Conventions Matter?* (2017). He has served on the editorial boards of Cornell University Press and journals including *World Politics* and *International Organization*, and as Chair of the National Council for Eurasian and East European Research.

Wednesday, Feb. 6th, 2019, 18 h c.t.  
Campus Westend, Hörsaalzentrum HZ 9

# Global Change and Civil Wars



**Prof. Stathis N. Kalyvas**  
University of Oxford

## Abstract

The systematic and comparative analysis of civil wars has relied primarily on the experience of the post-WWII and Cold War period (1945-1990) to draw general lessons which are extrapolated into the future. This is clearly problematic, as both the pre- and the post-Cold War periods vary on a number of key dimensions; it stands to reason that this variation would impact the likelihood but also the character of civil wars. Yet, this reasonable conjecture has yet to be explored systematically. Moving beyond early superficial and misleading speculation about “new versus old wars,” recent research has pointed to changes in warfare between the

Cold War and the post-Cold War period, but also emerging differentiations between the post-Cold War unipolar and Liberal era and an emerging period of multipolarity and newly ideological insurgencies. I take stock of these trends and sketch a theory that seeks to specify how macro-historical change has shaped civil wars from the late 18th century to the present.

## CV

Stathis N. Kalyvas is Gladstone Professor of Government and Fellow of All Souls College at Oxford. Until 2018 he was Arnold Wolfers Professor of Political Science at Yale University, where he also directed the Program on Order, Conflict, and Violence and codirected the Hellenic Studies Program. He is the author of *The Rise of Christian Democracy in Europe* (Cornell University Press, 1996), *The Logic of Violence in Civil War* (Cambridge University Press, 2006), *Modern Greece: What Everyone Needs to Know* (Oxford University Press, 2015), the co-editor of *Order, Conflict, and Violence* (Cambridge University Press, 2008) and the *Oxford Handbook on Terrorism* (Oxford University Press, 2019), and the author of over fifty scholarly articles in five languages. His current research focuses on global trends in civil conflict and political violence with an additional interest in the history and politics of Greece. His work has received several awards, including the Woodrow Wilson Award for best book on government, politics, or international affairs.

## Abstract

This lecture challenges the meta-narrative of gradual pacification, by examining the manifestations, drivers, and consequences of the contemporary return of 'barbarism' in armed conflict. While Stephen Pinker and others point to the vast majority of countries in the world that now enjoy relative peace, the 'remaining 20 percent' is experiencing both interstate and civil conflict in which indiscriminate attacks on civilians, the annihilation of religious and ethnic minorities, and the starvation of populations are a regular part of the strategic repertoire of belligerents. The lecture will assess both the reasons for the increasing lethality of armed conflicts for civilians, particularly in urban settings (with a particular focus on Syria and Yemen), as well as the impact on the regime of international humanitarian law that aims to regulate conflict and minimise suffering. It will also argue that contemporary challenges to that regulation are not only external to the regime, but also internal to its principles and rules. IHL has always had within it an inherent tension between humanitarian considerations and the imperative of military necessity, which has in some cases enabled the current return of barbarism. The lecture will also contest the tendency to cast non-state armed groups as the key perpetrators of barbarism, and demonstrate how nation-states themselves are also contributing to an erosion of the international humanitarian order.

## CV

Jennifer M. Welsh is the Canada 150 Research Chair in Global Governance and Security at McGill University (Montreal, Canada). She was previously Professor and Chair in International Relations at the European University Institute (Florence, Italy) and Professor in International Relations at the University of Oxford, where she co-founded the Oxford Institute for Ethics, Law and Armed Conflict.

Wednesday, Feb. 13th, 2019, 18 h c.t.  
Campus Westend, Hörsaalzentrum HZ 9

# Pockets of Barbarism: Internal and External Challenges to the Inter- national Humanitarian Order



**Prof. Jennifer M. Welsh**  
McGill University, Montreal

From 2013-2016, she served as the Special Adviser to the UN Secretary General, Ban Ki-moon, on the Responsibility to Protect. Professor Welsh is the author, co-author, and editor of several books and articles on humanitarian intervention, the evolution of the notion of the 'responsibility to protect' in international society, the UN Security Council, and Canadian foreign policy. Her most recent books include *The Return of History: Conflict, Migration and Geopolitics in the 21st century* (2016), which was based on her CBC Massey Lectures, and *The Responsibility to Prevent: Overcoming the Challenges of Atrocity Prevention* (2015).

# The Cluster

The Frankfurt Cluster of Excellence “The Formation of Normative Orders” explores the development of normative orders with a focus on contemporary conflicts concerning the establishment of a “new world order”. The network is funded by the national “Excellence Initiative” and combines a series of research initiatives in Frankfurt and the surrounding area. The Cluster is based at Goethe University in Frankfurt/Main.

## The Research Programme

Normative orders play a decisive role in conflicts over a just and fair economic order and the realisation of peace, human rights and democracy. These orders serve to justify a system of political rule and a specific distribution of goods and life chances. The Cluster investigates how such orders are handed down, modified, institutionalised and practised over long periods of time. In the second funding phase, researchers from the fields of philosophy, history, political science, legal studies, anthropology, economics, theology and sociology will focus greater attention on the question of how justifications assert themselves in the reality of social power relationships. The Cluster is divided into three research areas:

### **I. THE NORMATIVITY OF NORMATIVE ORDERS:**

#### **Origins, Vanishing Points, Performativity**

With the onset of modernity, the formation of normative orders itself becomes normative – that is, it becomes reflexive and produces critical standards and procedures for examining normative orders. As a result, normative orders become exposed to persistent revision which compels them to change

from within. At the same time, normative orders, viewed from a dialectical perspective, produce one-sided justifications or justifications that immunise themselves against criticism and likewise generate discursive power. This is the core idea of the first research area which examines the ‘Normativity of Normative Orders’ with regard to its reflexivity, the genesis of normativity and how it is constituted through narratives, art and the media.

### **II. THE DYNAMICS OF NORMATIVE ORDERS:**

#### **Rupture, Change, Continuity**

The projects of the second research area deal with the transformation of normative orders, whether it be long-term change or change brought about by conflicts between competing orders. On the one hand, the goal here is to develop possible models of transformation; on the other hand, the focus is on the consolidation of normative orders following periods of crisis and radical change. On the programme are case studies on postrevolutionary situations in antiquity up to the transformations currently taking place in North Africa. A further focus is on historical and contemporary constellations in which revitalised religious and nonreligious discourses engage in negotiation over normative orders. A special point of interest is the broad spectrum of Islamic movements.

### **III. THE PLURALITY OF NORMATIVE ORDERS:**

#### **Competition, Overlapping, Interconnection**

A variety of competing patterns of order exists at the supranational level. A possible global security order is also an inherently plural construct whose realisation is being pursued by a variety of means. Companies and international organisations are involved in this endeavour in addition to states. The aim of the third research area is to engage in empirical research and normative reflection on new types of legitimation of transnational orders. This also involves the recognition that different types of legitimation and legitimacy of supranational orders compete with each other. Thus a political order is often legitimised by recourse to democratic participation, though also with reference to public interests or social development.

# People

## Directors of the Cluster:

Prof. Dr. Rainer Forst  
(Chair in Political Theory and Philosophy)

Prof. Dr. Klaus Günther  
(Chair in Legal Theory, Criminal Law and Law of Criminal Procedure)

## Managing Director:

Rebecca Caroline Schmidt

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## Partners

- › Goethe University Frankfurt am Main (applicant – speaker)
- › Technische Universität Darmstadt
- › Peace Research Institute, Frankfurt am Main
- › Max Planck Institute for European Legal History, Frankfurt am Main
- › Max Planck Institute for Comparative Public Law and International Law, Heidelberg
- › Institute for Social Research, Frankfurt am Main
- › Frobenius Institute, Frankfurt am Main
- › Point Sud, Centre for Research on Local Knowledge, Bamako/Mali

## Principal and Partner Investigators:

- › Prof. Dr. Armin von Bogdandy
- › Prof. Dr. Christoph Burchard
- › Prof. Dr. Christopher Daase
- › Prof. Dr. Nicole Deitelhoff
- › Prof. Dr. Mamadou Diawara
- › Prof. Dr. Thomas Duve
- › Prof. Dr. Moritz Epple
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- › Prof. Dr. Klaus Dieter Wolf

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