

**National Research University – Higher School of Economics**  
School of Philosophy  
**Syllabus of the course: “War and Peace”**

**Government of the Russian Federation**  
**National Research University Higher School of Economics**

Department of Philosophy

Syllabus of the course:  
**War and Peace.**

Author of the syllabus: Boris Kashnikov, Doctor of Philosophy, Professor.

Approved by the School of Philosophy  
day/month/year «\_\_\_»\_\_\_\_\_ 2019

Moscow, 2019

## 1 Course Description

The course offers a substantive study of the normative aspects of war and peace. The students are supposed to familiarize themselves with the major theories of the philosophy of war as well as some approaches related to theoretical pacifism, realism and just war theory. The course is interdisciplinary. The students will study the historical aspects of war, philosophical and normative issues of war and theological attitudes to war.

This course is based on knowledge and competences which were provided by the following disciplines:

- Philosophy.
- Political Science
- General Sociology
- History of religion

The following knowledge and competences are needed to study the discipline:

- The basic skills of philosophical analysis in terms of war and peace
- The basic knowledge of the normative foundations of war
- The knowledge of the basics definitions in terms of war and violence

## 2 Teaching Objectives and Outcomes

The major learning objectives are comprised of factual knowledge of the development of the historical faces of war and the normative theories of war stemming from philosophy, ethics and theology. The students are supposed to developed the adequate skills of normative analysis of war to be able to take part in the practical discourse on war and to provide philosophical analysis of the ongoing conflict, war or some other outbreak of substantial violence.

## 3 Course Plan

№	Topic	Total hours	Work in the class		Independent study
			Lectures	Seminars	
1.	Nature, meaning and short history of war	12	4	4	4
2.	The Four Horsemen of Violence. War, Genocide, Revolution and Terrorism.	12	4	4	4
3.	The normative attitudes to war in philosophy and religion: Pacifism, Realism, Militarism, Crusade and a Holy War	12	4	4	4
4.	Just war theory as philosophical and religious doctrine.	12	4	4	4
5.	The normative principles of war in philosophy and religions. Jus in Bello and Jus ad Bellum.	12	4	4	4
<b>Total:</b>		60	20	20	20

### 1. Nature, meaning and short history of war

- 1. The definitions and conceptions of war.** Different definitions of war. The major features of war as an institute. The problem of the embeddedness of war in human history. War and progress. Total war. Absolute war. War and religion. War and philosophy.
- 2. Clausewitz “On War”.** War as continuation of politics by other means. War as a duel. Absolute and limited war. The aim of war. The conception of “trinity”. The friction of war and the “fog of war”. Military genius. Military strategy and tactics. The goals of war. The influence of Clausewitz on the consequent military and political thought.
- 3. The reason and motives of war.** War and reason. Rationality and war. The reasons for war. Interests and war. Honor and war. Standing and war. Fear and war. War of aggression and self-defense. National-liberation movements and war. Humanitarian intervention.
- 4. The modes of warfare.** Insurgency. Partisanship. Asymmetric warfare. Strategic air war. Little wars. Nuclear war. War of attrition. Terror war. Ideological war. Digital war. Economic war. Blockade. Cyber war. Religious wars.
- 5. The pre human warfare.** Aggression in nature. Konrad Lorenz “On Aggression”. Sociobiology and the survival of the fittest. The “militancy” of apes and the traces of war in early hominids.
- 6. War and human nature.** Hobbesian tradition of human nature. Rousseau and the conception of the “noble savage”. Hume and the double nature of human beings. The contemporary conceptions of human violence. The cultural conception. The biological conception. Game theoretical approach.
- 7. War in hunter-gather society.** 99% of human history was history of cave man. Anthropology of primitive warfare. Archeology of warfare. The necessity of war. War as way of life.
- 8. War in agrarian society.** The emergence of sedentary way of life and the clash with nomads. The emergence of vast empires and class differentiation. The regional and social inequality. The conception of the class nature of war.
- 9. War in industrial society.** The emergence of contemporary state. “War made state, states made war”. Gun powder and war. Military technologies. Standing armies. Conscription. Strategy. Reason d’état.
- 10. War and postmodern condition.** Postmodern war. The changing nature of sovereignty. Global condition. Politics as continuation of war. Globalization and permanent war. Global police operations. Permanent war. Major features of asymmetric warfare. Terrorism as the result of asymmetries.
- 11. New technologies.** Precision weapons. Drones. Enhanced soldier.

#### **Optional readings:**

- Black, J. *Why Wars Happen*. Chicago: Reaction books, 2005.
- Dawes, J. *Evil Man*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013.
- Evera, S. van. *Causes of War: Power and the Roots of Conflict*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998.
- Gat, Azar. *War in Human Civilization*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- Lorenz, Conrad. *On Aggression*. London: Routledge, 2002.
- Singer, P.W. *The Ethics of Killer Applications: Why Is It So Hard To Talk About Morality When It Comes to New Military Technology?* *Journal of Military Ethics*, Vol. 9, No. 4. 2010.
- Lucas, George R. *Postmodern War*. *Journal of Military Ethics*, Vol. 9, No. 4, 289-298, 2010.
- Arkin Ronald C. *The Case for Ethical Autonomy in Unmanned Systems*. *Journal of Military Ethics*, Vol. 9, No. 4, 2010. Lin Patrick. *Ethical Blowback from Emerging Technologies*. *Journal of Military Ethics*, Vol. 9, No. 4, 2010.
- Baarda van Th.A. and Verweij, D.E.M. (eds.) *Moral Dimension of Asymmetrical Warfare*. Leiden and Boston: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2009. Brill, 2009.
- Gross, Michael L. *Moral Dilemmas of Modern War. Torture, Assassination and Blackmail in an Age of Asymmetric Conflict*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

#### **Required Reading:**

- Grayling, A.C. *War. An Enquiry*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2017.
- Clausewitz, Carl von. Howard, Michael; Paret, Peter (eds.) *On War [Vom Krieg]*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1984. Book One. *On the Nature of War*.

## 2. The Four Horsemen of Violence. War, Genocide, Revolution and Terrorism.

**1. The nature of violence.** Violence and force. The meaning of violence. Structural violence. Institutional violence. Violence and law. Violence and civilization.

**2. Genocide.** Genocide in history of civilization. Genocide and modernity. The modern cases of genocide. Genocide in international law.

**3. Revolutionary violence and insurgency.** Tyrannicide. Coup d'état. The war of Partisan. National liberation war. Fanon and his “Wretched of the Earth”. Revolutions. Dostoyevsky and “The Devils”. The early evaluations of revolutionary violence. The possible justifications of uprisings.

**4. State repressions.** Early conceptions of the permissible level of state violence in Augustine and Aquinas. Absolutism in Europe. Hobbes on the prerogative of sovereign power. Nazism. Bauman and “Modernity and the Holocaust”. Purges in the USSR. The Gulag system. Sozenitsin and “The Red Wheel”. Mccarthyism in the USA. “Discipline and Punish” by Foucault. Contemporary problems with the prerogative of the government.

**5. Criminal violence.** Crime and society. Criminality as subculture. Violence in detention facilities. The phenomenon of Gulag. “Thief’s law”. Mafia and mafia’s wars. Mafia and the state. The role of religion in criminal violence.

**6. Terror, war and violence. The nature of terrorism.** The distinction of terror and terrorism. Terrorism as communicative action. Game theoretical approach to terrorism. Terrorism and the major forms of violence. Terrorism as fact and value. The subjective nature of “terroristic” labelling. The justification of terror. The case of Russian revolutionary terrorism. The idea of global terrorism. The case of Al-Qaeda. The case of ISIS.

### Optional readings:

Bloom, Mia. *Dying to Kill: The Allure of Suicide Terror*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2005.

Khosrokhavar, F. *Inside jihadism: understanding jihadi movements worldwide* / F. Khosrokhavar. – London; New York: Routledge, 2016.

Steinhoff, Uwe. *On the Ethics of War and Terrorism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Fotion, Nick, Kashnikov Boris and Lekea, Joanne. *Terrorism. The New Word’s Disorder*. London: Continuum, 2007.

### Required Reading:

Malesevic, Sinisa. *The Rise of Organized Brutality. A Historical Sociology of Violence*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2017.

## 3. The normative attitudes to war in philosophy and religion: Pacifism, Realism, Militarism, Crusade and a Holy War.

**1. War and normativity.** The normative nature of war. Military virtues and values. Cohesion. Military and the state.

**2. Absolute pacifism.** The unreasonableness of absolute pacifism. Religious absolute pacifism in Buddhism. Absolute pacifism of Tolstoy.

**3. Contingent pacifism.** The classification of contingent pacifisms. Political pacifism. Individual pacifism. Nuclear pacifism. Personal pacifism. Pacifism and feminism.

**4. Pacifism and contemporary political movements.** Pacifism and the contemporary left movement. Pacifism and environmentalism. Pacifism and anti-war movement.

**5. Religious pacifism.** Pacifism in sectarian Christianity. Pacifism of Quakers. Pacifism in Buddhism.

**6. Militarism.** Absolute militarism of some ancient cultures. War as an way of life and an end in itself. Military values. Achilles complex. Kant on sublimity of war. Hegel on virtues of war and degeneration of peace. Militarism of Mussolini. Contingent militarism.

7. **Early realism. Thucydides. On Peloponnesian war.** The general approach of Thucydides. Melian dialogue.
8. **Realism and early modernity. Machiavelli and Hobbes.** Machiavelli on war. Hobbes on state of war, prerogative and international relations.
9. **Realism of the 20th century.** Realism in international politics of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Henry Kissinger.
10. **American realism of Niebuhr and Morgenthau.** Moral man and immoral society. Politics among nations. The struggle for power and peace. Pessimism. The realism of Greek tragedy. Lebow and “Why nations fight”.
11. **Contemporary realism and contemporary politics.** Globalism and global police operations. The transformation of realism through just war theory.
12. **Crusade.** The short history of crusades.
12. **The idea of Holy War.** The faces of Holy War. The meanings of Holy War. The comparison of Holy War and Just War. The two words concept. The historical development in justification of war. The idea of Jihad in Shaybani’s Siyar. Augustinian idea of two cities and holy war. The concept of Jihad in Farabi. Authority to make war in Western tradition. Authority to make war in Islam. Rival claims to authority. Worldly authorities and the success of God’s plan. The Islamic ideal of religio-political unity. The Islamic juristic ideal and practice of statecraft. The idea of defensive Jihad. Ghaza – war for the faith. Appropriating the models for Jihad in modern practice. Individual duty and the right to wage Jihad.

#### **Optional readings:**

- Cady, Duane L. *From Warism to Pacifism. A Moral Continuum*. Second Edition. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Temple University Press, 2010.
- Coates, A.J. *The Ethics of War*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1977.
- Coppetiers, Bruno, Fotion, Nick (eds.). *Moral Constraints on War, Principles and Cases*. Second Edition. Lanham: Lexington Books, 2008.
- Fiala, Andrew. *Practical Pacifism*. New York: Algora Publishing, 2004.
- Galtung, Johan and Jacobsen, Carl. *Searching for Peace. The Road to Transcend*. London, Sterling, Virginia: Pluto Press, 2000.
- Harrison, Wagner R. *War and the State : The Theory of International Politics*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2010.
- Grayling, A.C. *War. An Enquiry*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2017. P. 187-216.
- World Religions and Norms of War*. By Vesselin Popovski, , Gregory M. Reichberg, and Nicholas Turner  
United Nations University Press, 2009

#### **Required Reading:**

- Leo Tolstoy. *The Kingdom of God is within you*. Any edition. Chapter 8. Doctrine of Non-resistance to Evil by Force Must Inevitably Be Accepted by Men of the Present Day.
- Craig, Campbell. *Glimmer of a New Leviathan: Total War in the Realism of Niebuhr, Morgenthau, and Waltz*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2003.
- Johnson, James Turner. *The Holy War Idea in Western and Islamic Traditions*. University Park, Pensilvania: The Pensilvania State University Press, 2001.

## **4. Just war theory as philosophical and religious doctrine.**

1. **St. Augustine and the foundation of the Just War Theory.** The unique plight of Christianity as state religion. The blend of Roman militarism and Christian pacifism. The sinful violence versus non sinful violence. The sin of hate, the virtue of chastity. Just cause. Good intentions. Legitimate authority. The roots of crusading in the writings of Augustine.

- 2. St. Thomas and the establishment of the Just War Theory.** The nature of war in the middle ages. Two cultures. Just war theory as official normative conception of war of Res publica Christiana. The justification of uprising.
- 3. Francisco de Vitoria. The revitalization of the Just War Theory.** The new formulations of the major principles. The practical role of the just war theory. De Indis. The critique of violence of the Spanish politics in colonies.
- 4. Hugo Grotius. The secularization of the Just War Theory and the emergence of the international law.** The completion of the just war theory. The transformation of the just war theory into secular international law. The major principles of international law.
- 5. The reemergence of Just War Theory in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.** Walzer, “Just and Unjust Wars” and sovereignty paradigm. The justice of self-defense. The conception of supreme emergency. Preventive war and preventive war. The possibility of limited intervention. The set of principles. Cases.
- 6. Latest developments. Human rights paradigm.** Just combatants versus unjust combatants. Human rights and the necessity of their global support. The justification of humanitarian intervention. The justice of war on terror.
- 7. The contemporary implications of the just war theory. Ideology of justice.** Just war theory and the war on Serbia. The war on Libya. The war on Iraq. Afghanistan. Just war theory as official ideology of war in the USA.
- 8. The critique of the Just War Theory.** An inadequate conception of justice. The mistake in normative settings. The wrong assumptions. Does justice justify war? The impossibility of just war in the contemporary setting.

**Optional readings:**

- Coates, A.J. *The Ethics of War*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1977.
- Coppieters, Bruno, Fotion, Nick (eds.). *Moral Constraints on War, Principles and Cases*. Second Edition. Lanham: Lexington Books, 2008.
- Fiala, Andrew. *The Just War Myth. The Moral Illusions of War*. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2008.
- Keen, Maurice Hugh. *The Laws of War in the Late Middle Ages*. London: Routledge, 1965.
- Rodin, David. *War and Self-Defense*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2003.
- Walzer, Michael. *Arguing About War*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004.
- Rawls, John. *The Law of Peoples*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999.
- McMahan, Jeff. *Killing in War*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2009.
- Christopher, Paul. *The Ethics of War and Peace. An Introduction to Legal and Moral Issues*. Second Edition. Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1999.

**Required Reading:**

- Walzer, M. *Just and Unjust Wars. A Moral Argument with Historical Illustrations*. Fifth Edition. New York: Basic Books, 2015.
- Lee, Steven. *Ethics and War. An Introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

## **5. The normative principles of war in philosophy and religions. Jus in bello and Jus ad Bellum.**

- 1. The nature of principles of the just war.** Norms, principles and rules. The principles with no empirical foundation. The wishful thinking character of the principles. Principles with no definite rules.
- 2. Just cause.** Self-defense versus the defense of others. Promotions of values. Aggression. The problem of self-defense.
- 3. Good intentions.** The subjectivity of intentions. The problem of measurement. Intentions and motives. Intentions and means.

- 4. Legitimate authority.** The problem of legitimation. What makes authority? State sovereignty. The authority of international law and international institutions. The legitimacy of separatism. The legitimacy of Nazism. What legitimates the Nurnberg tribunal? The doubtful legitimacy of NATO interventions.
- 5. Last resort.** What makes resort last. The problem of criteria.
- 6. Proportionality.** The proportional and disproportional violence. The subjectivity of principles. Impossibility of universally valid rules.
- 7. Reasonable chance of success.** Risk loving and risk aversive behavior. The impossibility of common rules of success. What makes success. Moral and rational dimension of success. The subjectivity of values.
- 8. The general idea of limited and constrained war.** The historical tradition of constrained war. Chivalry. The wars of mercenaries of the early modernity. The tradition of constrained war in ancient Greece and India.
- 9. Proportionality in bello.** Proportionality in strategy and tactics of war. The cases of proportional and disproportional war. The subjectivity of the principles.
- 10. Discrimination in bello.** The distinction of combatants and noncombatants at war. The grows of deaths among civilians in contemporary war.
- 11. Geneva law.** The sequence of statutes.
- 12. Hague Law.** The early and contemporary statutes.
- 13. ICRC and humanitarian law of war.** The legacy of Henri Dunant. The spirit of Solferino. The emergence of International Red Cross. Promulgation of humanitarian law in national legal systems.
- 14. The contemporary implications of humanitarian law.** International court of justice. The Haag tribunal. The problems with the implementation of international law.

**Optional readings:**

Coppetiers, Bruno, Fotion, Nick (eds.). *Moral Constraints on War, Principles and Cases*. Second Edition. Lanham: Lexington Books, 2008.

Geras, Norman. *Crimes Against Humanity: Birth of a Concept*. New York: Manchester University Press, 2011.

Daniel Thürer and Daniel Thurer. *International Humanitarian Law : Theory, Practice, Context*. All Pocket, 2011.

**Required Reading:**

Coppieters, Bruno, Fotion, Nick (eds.). *Moral Constraints on War, Principles and Cases*. Second Edition. Lanham: Lexington Books, 2008.

## 4 Grading System

Type of grading	Type of work	1 term	2 term	Parameters
Current	Homework	Weekly	Weekly	Participation in the discussion.
Midterm	Essay	By the end of the term		Essay on one of the topics. 10 thousand characters.
Final	Research paper		10 days before the session	Research paper on one of the topics. 20 thousand characters.
Final	Exam			Oral exam by the end of the semester.

### **Course Evaluation Criteria**

The current work will be graded based on the effort and quality of the presentations at class. The quality of the research paper will be evaluated based on academic merit. The final exam will consist of student’s oral presentation of two topics according to the list.

#### **Guidelines for Knowledge Assessment**

O stands for “grade”. The final grade  $O_{\text{final}}$  will be formed based on the results of the final oral exam  $O_{\text{exam}}$  and accumulated grade  $O_{\text{acc}}$ . The accumulated grade  $O_{\text{acc}}$  in its turn is formed of two parts, namely research paper  $O_{\text{paper}}$ ,  $O_{\text{essay}}$  and current class work  $O_{\text{current}}$ . Current class work will be evaluated based on participation, activity in the debates and homework. The formula for the accumulated grade is the following

$$O_{\text{acc}} = 0,25 O_{\text{current}} + 0,5 O_{\text{paper}} + 0,25 O_{\text{essay}}$$

The formula for the final grade is the following

$$O_{\text{final}} = 0,5 O_{\text{acc}} + 0,5 O_{\text{exam}}$$

If the student attends all or almost all the class meetings he, or she may skip the final exam. In this case the accumulated grade will go as the final one. It is optimal. Class attendance is required. Unexcused absences will lower the participation grade. Students are expected to regularly do the homework reading and study according to the lists of sources (books, documents, electronic resources) provided by the lecturer. On seminars students are expected to take active part in the discussion and demonstrate good acquaintance with the content of lectures, documents and respective literature. If the student misses more than 25% of class meetings, he or she will miss the opportunity to skip the final exam. The deadlines should be met. In case of the breaking deadline the instructor will extract one point off the grade for each day missed. Research paper should contain the analyses of literature on the subject as well as analysis of the matter. It must contain the necessary apparatus: references and bibliography and must contain the structure of the research paper: introduction, conclusion and chapters. The topic of the paper may be chosen from the list of approximate topics and must be consulted with the instructor. Under each rubric one may find the list of optimal reading and the list of reading assignment. The latter corresponds to the major highlighted subtopics of the program and contains the exact pages to be read in preparation to the seminar. The essay may not contain the academic apparatus. It must contain a certain thesis and the defense of the thesis. It will be evaluated based on logic, consistency and erudition.

## **5 Methods of Instruction**

The course combines two major methods of instruction: lectures and discussion in the class. To be ready for both, the students are supposed to do a lot of reading and prepare oral presentations as well as submit papers according to the deadlines.

### **Tentative topics of essays**

- Is war inevitable?
- Is eternal peace possible?
- Is pacifism reasonable?
- Why people wage wars?
- Does violence stem from human nature?
- Is it possible to wage war to establish peace?
- Is just war possible?
- Does religion enhance or constrains war?



Can war be constrained?

### **Tentative topics of the research papers**

Orthodox Christianity and War.

Russian Orthodox Church’s attitude to war.

Ivan Ilyin on resistance to evil by the sword.

Buddhism on pacifism and possible resistance to evil.

The justification of war in Judaism.

The attitude to war in Islam.

Contingent pacifism.

Feminism, pacifism and war.

Religious pacifism.

Contemporary human rights paradigm of Just War Theory and humanitarian intervention.

The philosophical and religious foundations of international justice.