

International Peace Research Institute, Oslo Institutt for fredsforskning

Annual Report 2004

Staff List

As of 31 December 2004 (Staff who left in 2004 are listed in grey italics)

Director Stein Tønnesson

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Ane Bræin (on leave) Gina Lende

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Conscientious Objectors

Knut Sindre Åbjørsbråten Håvard Bakken Gjermund Brende Stian Håklev

Externally Employed Staff

PRIO's Cyprus Office,

Nicosia Guido Bonino Emine Erk Ayla Gürel Yiouli Taki

Editor: Agnete Schjønsby Language Editor: John Carville Photo Editor: Knut Sindre Åbjørsbråten Design: Hilde Sørby, Bardus Design Cover Photo: Erik Hagen, PRIO. Soldier serving tea in a Western Sahara refugee camp.



Director's Introduction

Photo: Zhonghua Liu. Stein Tønnesson in the Yuyuan Garden, Shanghai

Two thousand and four ended with a tsunami killing more people than have been killed in war for a decade and devastating two areas long ravaged by civil war: the east and south coast of Sri Lanka and the west coast of Aceh. It remains to be seen whether the tragedy will have any effect on prospects for peace in those areas. Iraq remained in focus internationally, with the devastation of Fallujah and the preparations for national elections on 30 January 2005. Two thousand and four was also probably the world's greatest election year ever, with national elections held in large countries such as India, Russia, Indonesia and the USA, as well as highly contested elections in some countries, such as Ukraine. And it was the year when the Norwegian Nobel Committee widened the scope of its peace prize to reward an accomplished and charismatic environmentalist, Wangari Maathai of Kenva. Prioites have commented on and analyzed all these developments while continuing their long-term research projects.

In January 2004, Professor Øyvind Østerud of the University of Oslo took over from Professor Helge Pharo as Chair of the PRIO Board. I would like to take this occasion to renew my thanks to Helge Pharo for the wonderfully supportive role he played during the period of transition from Dan Smith's directorship to mine, and to Øyvind Østerud for his effective leadership of the Board in 2004, when the Board renewed my contract for a second four-year period.

In November 2004, PRIO's Foreign and Security Policy saw a smooth transition of leadership from Pavel Baev to J. Peter Burgess. With the change comes an ambition to broaden the scope of the programme's theoretical approach and to increase the depth of its empirical interests, in order to better chart and understand our evolving security reality – both within a Europe that may get its first constitution in 2005 and within the wider world. For this reason, we decided to narrow the title of the programme to the Security Programme.

A new emphasis on Europe research and the formation of European research partnerships will be an important part of the new fouryear strategy for 2006–09 that PRIO will elaborate in 2005.The new strategy is also likely to strengthen PRIO's commitment to engaged research, with emphasis on the establishment of a PRIO Cyprus Centre and involvement in peace education and training. Building on PRIO's course at the University of Oslo's summer school and its active participation in the University of Oslo's MA course in Peace and Conflict Studies (PECOS), PRIO entered into a new partnership in 2004 with Bjørknes College in Oslo and the Australian National University (ANU) in Canberra, establishing a new postgraduate degree programme in international relations. PRIO will teach the first semester at Bjørknes, with an emphasis on conflict and peace. Subsequent semesters will be spent in Canberra, and students will by awarded their degrees by the ANU.

The Centre for the Study of Civil War (CSCW) is now an established part of PRIO. Under the leadership of Scott Gates, it has already conducted a number of workshops, achieved an impressive publication record and added substantially to its activities through Håvard Hegre's Young Excellent Researcher programme, funded by the Research Council of Norway.

Two thousand and four also saw the start of a new three-year Strategic Institute Programme (SIP) on 'The Missing Peace: Conflict Resolution and Peacebuilding in the Middle East', with support from the Research Council of Norway. Kristian Berg Harpviken took over from Hilde Henriksen Waage as leader of the institute's Conflict Resolution and Peacebuilding (CRPB) programme, allowing the latter to concentrate on her tasks as Deputy Director and leader of the new SIP. In April, Hilde Henriksen Waage's report Peacemaking Is a Risky Business: Norway's Role in the Peace Process in the Middle East, 1993–96 was released, sparking heated debate in the Norwegian media (see pp. 10).

Meanwhile, Lene Bomann-Larsen's project on 'Corporate Actors in Zones of Conflict' – part of PRIO's Ethics, Norms and Identities programme – culminated in a collaborative book project with the United Nations University. *Responsibility in World Business*: Managing Harmful Side-Effects of Corporate Activity offers an approach to corporate decisionmaking based on the principles of just war theory, and analyses how companies should deal with the harmful side-effects of their business operations, the extent to which they should be held responsible for the wrongdoings of other actors, and how they can conduct business in a responsible manner in countries in which human rights abuses are widespread or where the environment is being degraded.

With the accession of Cyprus to the European Union on 1 May 2004 and Cyprus's decision in the referendum of 24 April to remain a divided island, our new PRIO Cyprus Centre, building on our work in Nicosia since 1997, will generate a number of new research, documentation and information projects to promote peace and reconciliation and intensify relations and cooperation between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots.

As you will note from the back of this year's Annual Report, PRIO will move to new premises during 2005. We are planning for a smooth transition, with as little disruption to our work as possible, and we look forward to the better opportunities the new location will allow us for receiving visitors and guest researchers.

PRIO's current four-year strategy was adopted in 2002 for the period 2002–05. The strategy and its achievements are currently undergoing an evaluation as part of the planning process for the next strategy period (2006–09). The following is a short presentation of PRIO's current strategy.

Challenges for Peace Research

A Focus on Civil War

Following the end of the Cold War, peace researchers became increasingly aware that internal armed conflict had for a long time been much more frequent than interstate conflict. Reflecting this realization, peace research moved away from the study of mainly international wars towards a focus on internal wars and external interventions in such conflicts. Special priority in the strategy period was given to the study of civil war:

- why and how civil wars break out;
- why they last as long as they do;
- what it takes for peace settlements to ensure lasting peace.

Research Methods

Research must be conducted through a combination of statistical studies, comparative case studies, single-case historical analyses and narratives based on fieldwork. A special challenge is to identify the recurring mechanisms in human interaction that lead to civil war, prolong it, or allow conflicts to be transformed and managed nonviolently. In this connection, the ethics of conflict behaviour and external intervention is an essential research topic.

Terrorism and Globalization

At the start of the 21st century, the risk of international warfare seemed once more to be on the rise, not least in the aftermath of the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 on New York and Washington, DC. This may call for renewed attention to international war. Research into civil war must also now be broadened to include international terrorist warfare, that is, violent actions by clandestine groups and states that do not operate solely within national borders but launch attacks against perceived enemies in other, sometimes distant, countries. This is neither 'international war' nor 'civil war' in the traditional meanings of those terms, but could perhaps be a kind of 'global civil war', thus reflecting the ongoing processes of globalization, which may or may not end in the formation of a global society.

Norms and Attitudes

More generally, the empirical study of norms and attitudes related to peace, war and violence is a promising research field. In highly developed countries, there is increasing reluctance to tolerate the loss of human life in armed conflict, and this should have a profound influence on the ways in which conflicts are conducted.

Gender and Conflict

Gender is an important, yet often neglected, aspect of the study of violent conflicts. It is a challenge both to develop research groups focusing on gender and conflict and to include gender perspectives in peace studies more generally.

Development and Conflict

Both civil and international wars are serious impediments to social and economic development in poor countries. This has led to an interest in conflict prevention and peacebuilding, and highlights the need to address the relationship between development and conflict. It is a challenge to integrate conflict management and peacebuilding into development plans for countries in which civil war is taking place or is a potential risk. This will require increased interaction between peace researchers, development researchers, and multilateral and bilateral aid agencies.

Theoretical and Practical Tools

Yet another challenge is to develop more scholarly research on the dialogue and conflict-management activities that are now conducted in areas of internal armed conflict. Such research should test existing theories of mediation and conflict management, and should develop new theories based on empirical studies of inter-ethnic dialogue, conflict-management efforts and peace settlements. The practical goal should be to promote nonviolent tools of political practice in societies suffering from protracted conflict.

Peace Education

In Norway, it is also an important challenge to develop peace education, which is a growing field internationally.

Main Goals

The main goals for PRIO in the period 2002–05 have been:

- to maintain and develop high-quality academic research within the core areas of peace research;
- to establish a Centre for the Study of Civil War;
- to increase the qualifications of all researchers through academic publishing;
- to develop basic and applied research in conjunction with operational activities;
- to maintain and develop a strategic bridge to important NGOs, with PRIO undertaking research and training while the NGOs manage operational activities;
- to consolidate PRIO at approximately its present size (50–60 members of staff); and
- to diversify the sources of funding and obtain more long-term funding.

Research Organization

In 2004, PRIO research was organized within three thematic programmes: the Ethics, Norms and Identities programme, the Conflict Resolution and Peacebuilding programme, and the Foreign and Security Policies programme (renamed the Security Programme in 2004). In addition, the Centre for the Study of Civil War (CSCW) – which was awarded Centre of Excellence status by the Research Council of Norway – was established in 2003. (The organization of the CSCW's research is presented separately; see insert pages I–XII in the middle of this report.)

Strategic Institute Programmes in 2004

- Ethics, Norms and Identities
- Conflict Resolution and PeacebuildingSecurity Programme/Foreign and Security
- Policies

Each Strategic Institute Programme consists of a group of related projects. Together, the programmes and projects fulfil PRIO's basic aim of studying the causes and consequences of peace and conflict. The programmes act as a focus for strategic planning, for budgeting, for directing research and generating new projects, and as a guide for recruitment policies. In addition, they provide the organizational basis for frequent internal seminars in which PRIO researchers present initial ideas and findings to groups of colleagues.

PRIO does not seek to cover every conceivable type and aspect of conflict, focusing instead on organized armed conflict. The institute's research staff are not committed to supporting particular policies, nor do the Strategic Institute Programmes adopt specific standpoints. Our aim is to conduct research that leads to solid conclusions, which can in turn serve as the basis for tenable generalizations and theories that are useful in confronting key international problems of our time.

For detailed information on all projects within the Strategic Institute Programmes, see the PRIO website at www.prio.no.

libetan Buddhist festival, Kumbum Monastery, Qin Photo: Åshild Kolås, PRIO



Ethics, Norms and Identities

Programme Leader: Gregory Reichberg

The Ethics, Norms and Identities (ENI) programme at PRIO comprises research within the fields of ethics, political philosophy, social psychology, social anthropology, religious studies and human geography. The aim of the programme is:

- to increase awareness of philosophical issues relevant to peace and conflict research;
- to conduct research on perceptions of identity and belonging, as well as beliefs about social, moral and legal norms, insofar as these contribute to conflict and/or peacebuilding; and
- to explore, often through fieldwork, local perceptions and factors that bear on conflict and conflict resolution.

The ENI programme is interdisciplinary. It emphasizes the importance of qualitative methodologies in the study of cultural and ethical norms, thereby complementing the work carried out in PRIO's other research units.

In 2004, the ENI programme brought to publication an edited volume on business ethics in zones of conflict – *Responsibility in World Business: Managing the Harmful Side-Effects of Corporate Activity* (Tokyo: United Nations University Press) – which included contributions from ENI researchers and an international panel of experts. A shorter version of the research project, entitled 'Corporate Actors in Zones of Conflict: Responsible Engagement', was published as a booklet in 2003 by PRIO and the Confederation of Norwegian Business and Industry (NHO).

EU Network on Applied Global Justice

Since 2003, the ENI programme has been a partner in an interdisciplinary research and training network on the theme of applied global justice, funded by the Fifth Framework Programme of the European Commission. This collaboration, which will continue until 2006, places PRIO in partnership with seven other European research institutions (in Zurich, Paris, Louvain, Madrid, Saarbücken, Tilburg and Graz). As part of this network, the ENI's working group hosted an international conference on 'The Right of Military Intervention' in Oslo in June 2004.

Gender Studies

Gender studies have become increasingly important within the ENI programme. In 2004, a group of ENI researchers led by Inger Skjelsbæk (with funding from the Research Council of Norway and the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs) produced a report on 'Gender Aspects of Conflict Interventions: Policy Implications of Intended and Unintended Consequences'.

Journal Publishing

The ENI programme continues to be active in journal publishing. ENI Research Professor Peter Burgess is editor of *Security Dialogue*, where he has given normative and identity issues greater prominence, alongside the journal's traditional focus on regional security issues. Gregory Reichberg and Henrik Syse likewise serve as Associate Editors of the *Journal of Military Ethics*, which was founded in January 2002.

Staff in 2004

Senior Researchers J. Peter Burgess Gregory Reichberg

Henrik Syse

Junior Researchers

Elise Barth Endre Begby Lene Bomann-Larsen Jørgen Carling Iselin Frysenlund Cecilie Hellestveit Helene Christiansen Ingierd Åshild Kolås Inger Skjelsbæk Delphine Thivet

MA Student

Erik Hagen

ENI Projects 2004:

- Corporate Actors in Zones of Conflict: Responsible Engagement
 Lene Bomann-Larsen, Gregory Reichberg
 & Henrik Syse
- Ethical Dimensions of War and Peace (strategic institute programme) Gregory Reichberg, Henrik Syse & Endre Begby
- Francophone Network on Identity-Based Conflict led by Peter Burgess
- Gender Aspects of Conflict Interventions: Policy Implications of Intended and Unintended Consequences
- Inger Skjelsbæk, Elise Barth & Karen Hostens • *Minority Rights in Vietnam*
- Åshild Kolås • Network on Applied Global Justice: Research Group on the Ethics of Military Intervention led by Gregory Reichberg
- An NGO in Vietnam Åshild Kolås
- Preventive Military Action: Normative Dimensions Gregory Reichberg & Henrik Syse
- The Sangha and Its Relation to the Peace Process in Sri Lanka Iselin Frydenlund
- Theory of European Security Identity
 Peter Burgess
- Tourism and Terrorism Åshild Kolås
- Transnational Entrepreneurs in an African Outpost: Chinese Migrants in Cape Verde Jørgen Carling

Doctoral Projects

- Ethnic Tourism and Cultural Reconstruction in Diging Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (defended January 2005) Åshild Kolås (supervisor at PRIO: Stein Tønnesson)
- On Being a Moral Decisionmaker in War Helene Christiansen Ingierd (supervisor at PRIO: Greg Reichberg)
- Peace Agreements in Civil Wars of Secession: A Legal Analysis
 Cecilie Hellestveit (supervisor at PRIO: Greg Reichberg)
- Sexual Violence in Time of War: Sexuality, Ethnicity and Gender Diversity in the Wars in Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1991–95 Inger Skjelsbæk (supervisor at PRIO: Greg Reichberg)
- Transnational Migration and Mobility Conflicts Jørgen Carling (supervisor at PRIO: Stein Tønnesson)
- War in Modernity: Between Concept and History in the Philosophy of Thomas Hobbes Delphine Thivet (supervisor at PRIO: Greg Reichberg)

MA Student Projects

 Risk Management and Repatriation Strategies Among Mauritanian Refugees in Senegal Erik Hagen (supervisor at PRIO: Jørgen Carling)



Ethical Dimensions of War and Peace: Completion of ENI's Strategic Institute Project

In 2004, the ENI programme's strategic institute project (SIP) on 'Ethical Dimensions of War and Peace', funded by the Research Council of Norway, completed its fifth and final year. Led by Senior Researchers Gregory Reichberg and Henrik Syse, the SIP has formed a key part of PRIO's institutional goal of maintaining a focus on the normative aspects of peace and conflict studies. It reflected the fact that ethics has become deeply embedded in debates over foreign and security policy, especially since the end of the Cold War. Norway is no exception in this regard. Indeed, ethical challenges are constantly being raised by Norwegian media, politicians and NGOs. The 'Ethical Dimensions of War and Peace' SIP paid special attention to the questions posed by the new challenges, as well as to how they can be addressed using various philosophical vocabularies and frameworks, particularly the just war tradition.

SIP Publications

The 'Ethical Dimensions of War and Peace' SIP resulted in numerous articles, both in scholarly journals and in the popular press, including:

- 'What Kind of War? 11 September and Beyond' (Security Dialogue, 2001);
 ''Dobbel effect'' og sivile tap' ['Double
- Effect' and Harm to Civilians] (*Dagbladet*, November 2001);
- 'Humanitarian Intervention: A Case of Offensive Force?' (Security Dialogue, 2002);
- 'Liberty, Statehood and Sovereignty: Walzer on Mill on Non-Intervention' (*Journal of Military Ethics*, 2003);
- 'Just War or Perpetual Peace?' (Journal of Military Ethics, 2002);
- 'Plato, the Necessity of War, the Quest for Peace' (*Journal of Military Ethics*, 2002);
- 'Rett intensjon som vilkår for rettferdig krig'

[Right Intention as a Prerequisite for Just War], in Bjørn Erik Rasch, Janne Haaland Matlary & Per Kristen Mydske, eds, *Spillet om Irak* [The Iraq Game] (Oslo: Abstrakt, 2003);

- 'Folkerett og etikk' [International Law and Ethics] (*Dagens Næringsliv*, January 2003);
- 'Klasebomber: legitimt i krig?' [Cluster Bombs: Legitimate in War?] (Dagbladet, July 2003).
- 'The Idea of Double Effect: In War and in Business', in Lene Bomann-Larsen & Oddny Wiggen, eds, Responsibility in World Business: Managing Harmful Side-Effects of Corporate Activity (Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 2004).
- 'Preemptive War: What Would Aquinas Say?' (*Commonweal*, 2004).

In 2003, Senior Researcher Henrik Syse published a volume applying just war theory to contemporary issues. The book – *Rettferdig krig? Om militærmakt, etikk og idealer* [Just War? Militæry Power, Ethics and Ideals] (Oslo: Aschehoug, 2003) – received considerable attention in Norwegian academic and political circles.

The SIP researchers (Gregory Reichberg, Henrik Syse and Endre Begby) have also completed a compilation of primary sources and commentary, entitled *The Ethics of War: Classic and Contemporary Readings.* To be published by Blackwell in late 2005, the volume brings together the most significant writings in Western thinking – ancient, medieval, modern and contemporary – on the ethics of war. The beginnings of reflection on the subject may be found in the writings of Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, Augustine and the medieval Canon lawyers. Major themes were then systematically developed by thinkers such as Aquinas, Vitoria, Suarez, Grotius, Vattel and Kant. Eclipsed for a time by developments in international law, ethical reflection on war has been revived by contemporary writers such as Paul Ramsey and Michael Walzer. Never before, however, have benchmark contributions by these various thinkers been brought together under one cover. The anthology will thus provide a valuable research tool, for use by researchers and the general public alike.

A companion volume, Just War: Disputed Questions, authored by Gregory Reichberg and Henrik Syse, has been partially completed during the SIP period. The book's first part concentrates on topics in the historical development of the just war tradition, while the second applies just war concepts to contemporary issues in the ethics of war.

Also completed during the SIP period were two edited works:

- Ethics and International Law appeared as a special issue of the Journal of Military Ethics, with articles on how those two disciplines relate both to each other and to issues of war and peace.
- Ethics, Nationalism and Just War: Medieval and Contemporary Approaches, with contributions from both ENI researchers and an international panel of experts, will likely be published in early 2006 by the Catholic University of America Press.

In addition to major funding from the Research Council of Norway, the 'Ethical Dimensions of War and Peace' SIP received generous grants from the Norwegian Ministry of Defence and the Earhart Foundation (USA).

> Watching the dance: Audience at a home for HIV orphans in Nakuru City, Kenya. Photo: Gudrun Østby, PRIO.





Security Programme

Programme Leader: Pavel Baev (until 1 November 2004); J. Peter Burgess (from 1 November 2004)

The Security Programme comprises interdisciplinary research projects focusing on the ways in which individual states, the European Union and the United Nations respond to a range of security challenges, while at the same time exploring new approaches that do not emphasize the state as the primary referent of security. While retaining its traditional policy perspectives, the programme aims to develop new fields of security research based on both the changing security challenges of our time and an evolving universe of methodological approaches. The Security Programme houses conventional security policy study and develops empirical casework. At the same time, the programme relates to innovative approaches that attempt to thematize new threats (economic, societal, political, environmental) and to adapt analyses to the new referent objects of security (individuals, communities, economic and ecological systems, etc.).

On 1 November 2004, J. Peter Burgess was appointed leader of the Foreign and Security Policies programme at PRIO, replacing Pavel Baev, who had served in this capacity since September 2000. With the change of programme leader come a number of innovations in relation to the programme's name and research profile.

The new Security Programme has a core competence in research on European affairs through ongoing individual research projects and two major research initiatives: the Euro-SIP on 'Europe Looking Outwards: The Quest for a European Security Identity' and the European Union Sixth Framework Integrated Project on 'The Changing Landscape of Liberty and Security in Europe' (CHALLENGE). Additional funding for individual research projects is also assured by the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Research Council of Norway. While taking advantage of already existing research networks in Europe and elsewhere, the Security Programme is working to strengthen relations with European partners and is currently developing a number of research proposals for European Research Area funding,

The change of programme name marks the new leader's ambition to broaden the scope of the programme's theoretical approach and to increase the depth of its empirical interests in order to better chart and understand our evolving security reality. J. Peter Burgess has a broad and cross-disciplinary academic background in social and political theory, cultural history, linguistics, literature and philosophy, and he has previously worked under both the Foreign and Security Policies and the Ethics, Norms and Identities programmes at PRIO. Since 2001, he has been the editor of Security Dialogue. Much of his work has focused on the intersection between culture, politics, economics and law in the formation of European identity.

Research in the Security Programme is based on a complementary relation between area research and thematic and theoretical disciplines. Core interests of the programme have been Russia–Europe relations, the Mediterranean basin (in particular, Turkey and Cyprus) and Eastern Asia. These geopolitical priorities are complemented by a number of theoretical and culture-historical approaches that reflect shifts in the notion of security and evolving political priorities – for example, migration studies, European political history, cultural studies, and legal and economic theory. A new era of security threats and securitization practices raises questions about political legitimacy, ethnic conflict, terrorism, the ethics of intervention, arms control, military sociology, institutional politics and small-arms transfer.

Security Dialogue, an internationally recognized peer-reviewed journal, is an important pillar of the Security Programme. It is both a forum for debating the premises of state-of-the-art security research and a point of dissemination for research in the fields prioritized by the programme.

Staff in 2004

Senior Researchers

Pavel Baev J. Peter Burgess Sven Gunnar Simonsen Stein Tønnesson Ola Tunander Hilde Henriksen Waage

Junior Researchers

Jørgen Carling Martin Langvandslien PinarTank Øystein Tunsjø



 The Changing Landscape of European Liberty and Security (CHALLENGE)
 Peter Burgess

Security Programme Projects 2004:

 After the Monopoly of Violence: The Legitimacy of Post-National

- Chechnya and Putin's Counter-Terrorism
 Pavel Baev
- Cooperation and Conflict Between Russia and the West in the Caspian Area Pavel Baev
- Ethnicizing Afghanistan? Sven Gunnar Simonsen
- Europe and the Developing World: Confronting Migration Pressure Jørgen Carling
- Europe Looking Outwards: The Quest for a European Security Identity
- led by Ola Tunander • *Maritime Conflict in Asia* Stein Tønnesson
- Military Intervention and Post-Conflict Nation-Building
- Sven Gunnar Simonsen
- Russia and Europe: Geopolitics and Geo-economics Pavel Baev
- Russia's Security and the Russian Military Pavel Baev
- Security in East Asia
- led by Stein TønnessonSubmarines & PSYOPs: US Policies for a Dissident State
- Ola Tunander
- Terrorism as a Key Security Challenge led by Stein Tønnesson
- US-European Differences After September 11 Ola Tunander

Doctoral Projects

- Changing Alliances: Moscow's Relations with Hanoi and the Role of China, 1949–1964 (defended January 2005) Mari Olsen (supervisor at PRIO: Pavel Baev)
- Turkey's Military Elite at a Crossroad: Paths to Desecuritization?
 PinarTank (supervisor at PRIO: Pavel Baev)

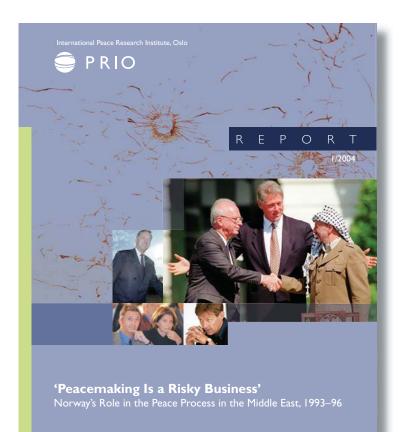
MA Student Projects

 Promising Restraint: The Carter Administration's Arms Transfers Policy Martin Langvandslien (supervisor at PRIO: Stein Tønnesson)

Saharawi refugee child, Southwestern Algeria. Photo: Erik Hagen, PRIO.

Europe Looking Outwards

The Foreign and Security Policies strategic institute programme (SIP) on 'Europe Looking Outwards: The Quest for a European Security Identity' entered its third year of activity in 2004. The SIP focuses on changes in the premises of Europe's geopolitical security identity over recent years. The end of the East–West divide has sharpened the EU's aspiration to consolidate and crystallize its identity. The most recent brick in the construction of the concept of European identity has been the development of a European Security and Defence Identity (ESDI) – which differs from the Western security identity most clearly expressed in a US-dominated NATO. However, this new conception of a 'European Security Identity' has not yet been adequately systematized or coherently communicated. The 'Europe Looking Outwards' SIP brings together various strands of research on Europe at PRIO in order to contribute to forming and exploring the new concept's scope.

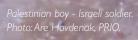


Hilde Henriksen Waage

Peacemaking Is a Risky Business

In April 2004, PRIO launched the report Peacemaking Is a Risky Business, based on Hilde Henriksen Waage's research on Norway's role in the Middle East peace process in the run-up to the Oslo Agreement of 1993. The report caused considerable stir in the media and was seen by many as provocative. The project (2001–04) was funded by the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

On 13 September 1993, the world witnessed an extraordinary breakthrough in the apparently insoluble Middle East conflict when the so-called Oslo Agreement was signed at the White House in Washington, DC. Rarely had the Middle East known such a moment of hope. Norway had made a decisive contribution to this, one of the most serious attempts at making peace in the strife-torn Middle East region since the creation of the State of Israel in May 1948. What had made Norway suitable for such an extraordinary task? And what kind of role had Norway played? Why did both Israelis and Palestinians find Norway, of all countries, acceptable as a mediating partner? And how can the outcome of the process be explained? Peacemaking Is a Risky Business explores how the Oslo peace process reflected the fundamentally asymmetrical power situation that existed between the Israelis and the Palestinians. On the one hand, Israel was the stronger party: it possessed a clear national security agenda and was unwilling to make concessions. On the other, despite its vision of a future Palestinian state, the PLO was prepared to make significant concessions in order to avoid further marginalization of itself and the Palestinian cause. The report explores how this basic asymmetry of power affected the room for manoeuvre of the Norwegians involved in the process.



2



Conflict Resolution and Peacebuilding

Programme Leader: Kristian Berg Harpviken

The CRPB programme undertakes research, training and education, policy development and dialogue projects within the broader fields of peacebuilding and conflict resolution. The programme roots all engagements in solid research competence and aims at developing synergies that bridge theory, applied knowledge and practice. This reflects an ambition not to be limited to carrying out research at a safe distance from conflicts under study but to also contribute actively to conflict resolution and peacebuilding. The CRPB programme emphasizes the empirical foundations of its projects - often through fieldwork in areas affected by armed conflict – while engaging in theoretical debates within its larger research area. CRPB researchers are generally engaged in dialogue with policymakers and practitioners, as well as involved in public debate. The programme has a high profile, attracting considerable attention and contributing an important dimension to PRIO's profile.

CRPB staff have considerable competence in relation to a number of countries and regions that are central in the post-Cold War conflict resolution and peacemaking agenda, including Afghanistan, Cyprus, Guatemala, Madagascar, Sri Lanka, Sudan and the wider Middle East. On the conflict resolution side, the programme had three main engagements in 2004:

- 'The Missing Peace' is a strategic institute programme (SIP) examining attempts to broker agreements between Israel and the Palestinians from 1947 to the present time.
- In Cyprus, PRIO has been engaged in facilitating dialogue and, in 2004, in informing the larger public about the UN peace plan in the run-up to the May referendum.

 A new CRPB project examines the role of religion in diplomacy and peacemaking, a topic that is emerging as a new pillar in PRIO's applied research.

PRIO is also engaged in analysis and policy dialogue in relation to a number of ongoing peacebuilding programmes. On Afghanistan, Kristian Berg Harpviken (in cooperation with Astri Suhrke and Arne Strand of the Chr. Michelsen Institute, Bergen) published a report in 2004 assessing the first two years of the peace process. In relation to Sri Lanka, Wenche Hauge has been engaged in providing policy analysis on topics of critical relevance, including the role of civil society and possible federal arrangements. In addition, the general role of civil society in peacebuilding has been examined in a concept paper that ties together experiences from a number of different countries and was presented to the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD). Over the past few years, peacebuilding has entered mainstream international political theory and debate, while at the same time increasing use has been made of international military forces both for the coercion of unwilling actors and for the delivery of assistance. Accordingly, the wider security domain of peacebuilding is a critical area of inquiry.

Small-Arms Transfer

The Norwegian Initiative for Small Arms Transfers (NISAT) project continued to develop innovative research on small arms and light weapons, with Nicholas Marsh as project leader and Anne Thurin as a new member of staff in 2004. For NISAT, the year's highlights included the launch in April of a new database on the international licensed trade in small arms and light weapons. The database, which now contains over 300,000 records of small-arms transfers, was over a year in the making and represents a major improvement to the project's ability to analyze the global small-arms trade. In addition, in September 2004 the NISAT project began an examination of the consequences of small-arms diffusion from a development and humanitarian perspective. This study, commissioned by Norwegian Church Aid (NCA), will lead to the publication of a report - provisionally entitled The Small Arms Crisis – in 2005.

Landmine Engagement

Another major multiyear engagement is the Assistance to Mine-Affected Communities (AMAC) project, which examines the organization and impact of efforts to ameliorate the effects of landmines and unexploded ordnance. Having spearheaded a debate on mine action and peacebuilding in recent years, the project launched its report Preparing the Ground for Peace (PRIO Report 2/2004) at the Nairobi Summit for a Mine-Free World in December. The report, edited by Kristian Berg Harpviken and Rebecca Roberts, included case-studies from Afghanistan, Sri Lanka and Sudan. A second longstanding area of concern for AMAC has been the development impact of landmines, and this led to the publication of a report - in cooperation with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) – entitled Reclaiming the Fields of War. This report was edited by Kristian Berg Harpviken together with Jan Isaksen of the Chr. Michelsen Institute.

Staff in 2004

Senior Researchers

Kristian Berg Harpviken Wenche Hauge Rebecca Roberts Stein Tønnesson Hilde Henriksen Waage

Junior Researchers

Jørgen Carling Jacob Høigilt Are Hovednak Gina Lende Nicholas Marsh Frida Nome Hanne Eggen Røislien Pinar Tank

Research Assistants and COs Guido Bonino Gjermund Brenne Martin Halvorsen Kyrre Holm Martin Langvandslien Anne Thurin

MA Students Are Hovdenak Ellen Stensrud

Advisers

Ane Bræin Emine Erk Ayla Gürel Jamie Bruce Lockhart Dan Smith Yiouli Taki

Middle East Research

In addition to the strategic institute programme on 'The Missing Peace', PRIO's broad Middle East expertise has resulted in several smaller research projects with a focus on this troubled region. In 2004, PRIO began work on a project entitled 'Regime Stability in the Middle East', funded by Statoil. The project is conducting an analysis of factors affecting regime stability in the Middle East and is a joint project with the Norwegian School of Management (BI). PRIO has also been engaged in an evaluation project for NORAD: 'Studying the Other: An Evaluation of the Palestinian Forum for Israeli Studies, MADAR'.

New Areas of Research: Post-Conflict Security and Migration

A different aspect of post-conflict security is addressed through the project 'Integrating Armed Actors in Peace Processes'. In an attempt to expand upon the standard repertoire of so-called Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) processes, this project examines ways in which various types of armed groups can be constructively engaged, drawing on casestudies from Afghanistan and Guatemala. The project is a cooperation between PRIO and the Chr: Michelsen Institute, and it takes place under the larger umbrella project 'What Kind of Peace Is Possible?', led by Canada's North–South Institute.

In addition, migration is emerging as a key research area. On one hand is the issue of migration during conflicts – including the potential role of displaced communities in armed violence; on the other is the intensification of conflict over migration, in addition to tightening border controls, which lies at the heart of Frida Nome's book *Langs smuglerruta* [The Smugglers'Trail] (Oslo: Cappelen, 2005). Jørgen Carling is also focusing on the conflictual nature of migration, while continuing his work on the development impact of migrant remittances.

CRPB Projects 2004:

- Assistance to Mine-Affected Communities (AMAC)
- led by Kristian Berg Harpviken • *Cyprus Initiative*
- led by Hilde Henriksen Waage • European Small Arms and the Perpetuation
- of Violence: COST Action A25 led by Nicholas Marsh
- The Great Powers and the Middle East led by Hilde Henriksen Waage
- Greek–Turkish Forum
 led by Hilde Henriksen Waage
- Migrant Remittances and Development Cooperation |ørgen Carling
- The Missing Peace: Conflict Resolution and Peacebuilding in the Middle East led by Hilde Henriksen Waage
- Nigerian Immigration, Human Smuggling and Trafficking in Europe Jørgen Carling
- The Norwegian Initiative on Small Arms Transfers (NISAT)
 led by Nicholas Marsh
- Peacebuilding in Afghanistan Kristian Berg Harpviken
- Regional Stability in the Middle East led by Hilde Henriksen Waage
- Religion in Diplomacy and Peacemaking led by Kristian Berg Harpviken
- The Sri Lankan Peace Process in a Comparative Perspective Wenche Hauge
- Studying the Other Frida Nome

Doctoral Projects

- Aiding Palestinians: The Changing Role of United Nations Relief and Work Agency (UNRWA)
 Kjersti Gravelsæter Berg (project associated with the 'Missing Peace' SIP; supervisor at PRIO: Hilde Henriksen Waage)
- Social Networks in Flight: The Dynamics of Forced Migration in Afghanistan and Beyond Kristian Berg Harpviken (supervisor at PRIO: Stein Tønnesson)

MA Student Projects

- Mixed Courts: The Cambodian Case

 The UN Involvement and the
 Prospects for a Fair Trial in Cambodia
 Ellen Stensrud (supervisor at PRIO:
 Stein Tønnesson)
- Negotiating Palestine Refugees: A Question of Legitimacy Are Hovdenak (supervisor at PRIO: Hilde Henriksen Waage)
- Right Versus Might: A Study of the Armistice Negotiations Between Israel and Egypt in 1949 Ingrid Næser (supervisor at PRIO: Hilde Henriksen Waage)

Photo: Sven Gunnar Simonsen, PRIO Afghanistan.

Peace and Reconciliation in the Eastern Mediterranean

Project Leader: Hilde Henriksen Waage & Stein Tønnesson

Project Manager: Gina Lende Project Advisers: Jamie Bruce Lockhart, Dan Smith, Emine Erk & Pinar Tank PRIO Representatives in Cyprus: Yiouli Taki & Ayla Gürel Office Manager (Cyprus): Guido Bonino

Public Information Project Team: Mete Hatay, Yiouli Taki, Ayla Gurel & Alexis Alexiou

The aim of this project is to contribute to stability and reconciliation in the Eastern Mediterranean. The project operates with a focus on the regional dimension, since various problems in the region are interlinked. The project has two main objectives:

- to build bi-communal contacts and cooperation in Cyprus, and support reconciliation on the island;
- to facilitate Greek–Turkish dialogue and confidence-building.

The project was initiated in 1997, and PRIO established an office in Cyprus in 1998. The Cyprus office is run by local PRIO representatives in close cooperation with the project management in Oslo.

'Annan Plan' and Referendum

The year 2004 began with a sense of optimism about new possibilities for bicommunal talks, partly because of a change in government in the Turkish-Cypriot north and partly on account of the expected accession of the Greek-Cypriot Republic of Cyprus to the EU. It came as a surprise to many that the two parties agreed in February 2004 on a very strict and detailed UN timetable that eventually led to a twin referendum on the so-called Annan Plan on 24 April 2004.The

proposed plan was accepted by the Turkish Cypriots in the referendum, but strongly rejected by the Greek Cypriots. Consequently, no solution was reached and it was a divided Cyprus that entered the European Union on 1 May 2004. Later, in December, the EU decided to open accession talks with Turkey, and these will begin on 3 October 2005. Surprisingly for many, it was the Cyprus issue (recognition of the Republic of Cyprus by Turkey) that represented the last stumbling block before an agreement on accession talks could be reached. Greek–Turkish relations have been dominated both by the Cyprus question and by Turkey's EU application. PRIO's projects were naturally affected by these major political developments.

Information and Citizens' Guides

PRIO's Cyprus Initiative consists of several activities carried out by local PRIO representatives, who are based in an office provided by the UN in the Ledra Palace Hotel in the Green Line, with support from the project management in Oslo. The main activity in 2004 was the Public Information Project (co-funded with UNOPS), which had an extremely intense period between February and the end of April. The idea of an information project related to the Annan Plan began over a year earlier, when PRIO became engaged in discussions about the need to make the Annan Plan available to the public in both parts of Cyprus. The basic idea was to provide information about the plan that was as objective and as accessible as possible, in order to prepare the ground for an informed debate leading up to the twin referendum.A team of two Greek Cypriots and two Turkish Cypriots was established in 2003 and

remained dedicated to the project in the run-up to the referendum on 24 April 2004. This team produced two 50-page easy-tounderstand booklets: The Annan Plan for Cyprus: A Citizen's Guide and The Property Regime in the Annan Plan: A Citizen's Guide. They also produced and distributed leaflets, launched and maintained a website (www. cyprusdecides.org), participated in TV debates, contributed newspaper articles and organized numerous public meetings across the country.

In addition, the Cyprus office has continued to facilitate dialogue, particularly in the context of the Dialogue Forum, and has also engaged in research.

New PRIO Centre in Cyprus

Following the result of the twin referendum in April 2004, PRIO consulted its wide network in the region to explore future needs for work. It was firmly established that PRIO should continue with its activities in facilitating dialogue and that it should carry out projects – similar to the Information Project on the Annan Plan – that aim to provide information to the general public on key issues relating to the conflict and thus contribute to informed debate.

The PRIO Cyprus Centre will be launched in 2005. The Centre will be led by an internationally recruited manager who will be based on the island, and it will maintain its local profile by recruiting staff from the island's two main communities. The Centre will host an annual high-profile international conference in Cyprus and will carry out a range of activities in the fields of dialogue, exchange visits, training, education and research.

The Missing Peace: Conflict Resolution and Peacebuilding in the Middle East

Project Leader: Hilde Henriksen Waage Researchers: Kristin Amundsen, Kjersti G. Berg, Ane Bræin, Nils Butenschøn, Kristian Berg Harpviken, Cecilie Hellestveit, Jacob Høigilt, Are Hovdenak, Ingrid Næser, Frida Nome, Hanne Eggen Røislien, Trude Strand

Few adversaries have been more enmeshed in a vicious spiral of hostility than the Israelis and Palestinians. Countless attempts by a range of individuals, organizations and states both large and small to open up direct channels of dialogue between the two parties have ended in failure. For years, the USA has also been involved in attempts to end the fighting over land that both parties claim as their own. The same is true of the United Nations. So why is there no peace in the Middle East? And to what extent is thirdparty intervention necessary or desirable? Have the many failed interventions lacked the necessary skills, political will, clout – or all three of those factors? And does the power asymmetry between a strong Israel and the considerably weaker Palestinians explain the absence of a peaceful outcome?

In 2004, PRIO established a strategic institute programme (SIP), funded by the Research Council of Norway, to develop insight into these questions from an international, regional and national perspective. This 'Missing Peace' SIP aims primarily to explore a set of theories, assumptions and prescriptions related to conflict resolution, drawing on the expertise on the societies and politics of the Middle East region built up at PRIO in recent years. On the international level, the failure of various attempts at mediation (mainly by the UN and the USA during a period of over 50 years) will be analysed and explained. So also will the interplay between war and attempts at creating political order in the Middle East since the end of World War I. On the regional level, the project will analyse how religious networks have achieved recognition as important players within several conflict scenarios, and how organizations like Hezbollah and Hamas prevent compromise solutions – and consequently peace. On the national level, 'The Missing Peace' will focus on three important obstacles:

- institutional development (or the lack of it) in the Palestinian areas;
- Palestinian suicide bombings; and
- the Jewish settler movement.

The SIP researchers – emphasizing contemporary and diplomatic history, political science, religion, culture and law – will examine these interrelated issues, seeking to compare and integrate theories, analytic methods and empirical findings.



Centre for the Study of Civil War, PRIO



CSCW Staff List

As of 31 December 2004 (CSCW Staff who left in 2004 are listed in grey italics)

Director Scott Gates

Working Group Leaders

Pavel Baev Jon Elster Nils Petter Gleditsch Ola Listhaug Karl Ove Moene Kaare Strøm

Research Staff

Steven I. Brams Helge Brunborg Jeffrey Checkel Paul Collier Han Dorussen Joan Esteban James Fearon Kathryn Furlong Diego Gambetta Elisabeth Gilmore Kristian Skrede Gleditsch Kristian Berg Harpviken Wenche Hauge Anke Hoeffler Stephen Holmes Stathis Kalyvas David Lake David Lektzian Halvor Mehlum Erik Melander Mansoob Murshed Eric Neumayer Benjamin Nyblade Magnus Öberg Roger D. Peterson

Arvid Raknerud Sabrina Ramet Bjørn Erik Rasch Debraj Ray Greg Reichberg Kristen Ringdal James Robinson Jan Ketil Rød Todd Sandler Sven Gunnar Simonsen Stergios Skaperdas Indra de Soysa Henrik Syse Stein Tønnesson Ragnar Torvik Hilde Henriksen Waage Barbara Walter Elisabeth Wood

Doctoral Students

Aysegul Aydin Halvar Buhaug Tanja Ellingsen Håvard Hegre Pablo Kalmanovitz* Päivi Lujala Anita Schjølset Inger Skjelsbæk (on leave) Zan Strabac Håvard Strand Pinar Tank Henrik Urdal

MA Students

Turid Beitland Lene Siljeholm Christiansen Rachel Gjelsvik Haug Christine Johannesen Anna V. Lorentzen Ragnhild Nordås* Jostein Tellnes* Lars Wilhelmsen*

Research Assistants

Helga Malmin Binningsbø Annegret Flöter Lars Grønflaten Martin Halvorsen Bethany Lacina Naima Mouhleb Christin Mørup Ormhaug Taylor Owen Gudrun Østby *Nadia Thieme*

Administration

Dorthe Bakke* Andrew John Feltham Glenn Martin Marit Moe* Martha Snodgrass

Visiting Scholars

Aldo Benini, independent scholar Margit Bussman, University of Konstanz Christopher Butler, University of New Mexico Gretchen Casper, Pennsylvania State University Cullen Hendrix, UC San Diego Stephanie McWhorter, UC San Diego Clionadh Raleigh, University of Colorado Patrick Regan, Binghamton University Erin Simpson, Harvard University

* also Research Assistant

Individuals falling under more than one category are listed under their primary role. This report, with hypertext links, is also available at www.prio.no/cscw.

Director's Introduction



The refrain heard from politicians, policy advocates and the media in general is that civil wars are more prevalent than ever before; they are deadlier than before; and there is considerable risk that they will spread to neighbouring countries. Indeed, recent media headlines from Iraq, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Darfur and Ivory Coast frequently give this impression. The problem is that such general impressions do not fit the facts. Research conducted by the Centre for the Study of Civil War and its partner institutions indicates a more complex situation, with both reassuring and disturbing trends. Data collected by the Uppsala Conflict Data Program, which works in

partnership with the CSCW, reveal a downward trend since 1991 in the number of armed intrastate conflicts involving at least 25 battle casualties. The number in 2003 was 27, down from 30 civil conflicts in 2002 and 35 in 2001. We are seeing more wars being peacefully terminated than starting up.

The severity of these conflicts is also declining. Research conducted by Nils Petter Gleditsch (Leader of the Working Group on Environmental Factors in Civil War) and Bethany Lacina (a Research Assistant at the CSCW and a doctoral student at Stanford University) indicates that the number of battle deaths associated with all forms of war has experienced a marked downward trend since 1946. The Vietnam War, the Korean War, the Chinese Civil War and the Iran–Iraq War dominate this period. No civil wars, even the most protracted ones, come close to the numbers killed in battle in World Wars I and II. However, this is not to trivialize the human carnage in such places as the Democratic Republic of Congo, where deaths due to disease and the effects of the war far outnumber battle casualties. Part of the complex humanitarian picture here is the large number of deaths resulting indirectly from conflict - not simply deaths in battles or in so-called organized violence – and how researchers and policymakers should conceptualize these distinctions so as to be able to propose preventative or ameliorative policy action.

Civil conflicts rarely spread from one country to another. Work on the geographical dimension of civil conflict by a number of scholars associated with the CSCW shows that war in one country tends to remain where it started. The violence, however, does spread across immediate borders. Indeed, rebel groups often base their operations near porous international boundaries. Neighbouring countries offer a conduit for arms shipments and a safe haven out of easy reach of government forces. Neighbouring countries also tend to play host to refugees fleeing conflict zones.

While our research at the Centre for the Study of Civil War offers some more optimistic trends than those typically found in newspapers or on television, we are in no danger of losing sight of the depth of human misery caused by war. Civil war remains by far the dominant form of armed conflict in the world today.

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CSCW Highlights 2004

Doctoral Training for Nordic Students

Although the CSCW is primarily a research centre, the training of doctoral students is also an important part of its mission. Prior to the Centre's foundation, CSCW staff had run two methods courses at PRIO for doctoral students, mainly from Norway. In 2003, the CSCW formed a consortium with seven university departments within the Nordic countries, known as the Nordic Network on the Political Economy of Governance and Conflict (PEGC). PEGC received network funding from the Nordic Academy for Advanced Study (NorFA, now NordForsk). Its aim is to promote doctoral training in theorybuilding through formal models of both strategic interaction and institutions, as well as systematic empirical testing of such models. Courses are designed to attract PhD students in political science and economics in particular, although all students with satisfactory methods competence are welcome.

The first PEGC course, entitled 'Responsive Institutions and Conflict Prevention', was held

at the CSCW on 14-18 lune 2004, directed by professors Hannu Nurmi of Turku University and Kaare Strøm of the University of California San Diego. A second course, on 'Statistical Analysis of Spatial Data', was held on 21-25 June, directed by Roger Bivand of the Norwegian School of Business Administration and Kristian Skrede Gleditsch of the University of California San Diego. The second course was organized by the Department of Sociology and Political Science at NTNU and co-sponsored by PEGC. Both courses were well attended by students from all of the Nordic countries. Total enrolments in the first two years are 43, including 9 doctoral students from outside the Nordic/Baltic area who were gualified to attend and were funded by other means. The June 2005 PEGC course will be held in the Department of Economics at NTNU.

The PEGC network also offers mobility stipends to enable doctoral students to visit other institutions of the consortium and participate in Nordic doctoral courses. To date, 17 persons have received such support. The PEGC Board consists of Nils Petter Gleditsch (PRIO & NTNU, Chair), Karl Ove Moene (University of Oslo), Hanne Marthe Narud (University of Oslo), Ola Listhaug (NTNU), Kaare Strøm (UCSD), Martin Paldam (Aarhus University), Hannu Nurmi (Turku University), Mats Hammarström (Uppsala University) and Gylfi Zoëga (University of Iceland), with Henrik Urdal (PRIO) acting as secretary. Alongside the training associated with the PEGC network, the CSCW has also invited resource persons who have given guest lectures and tutored the Centre's own doctoral students. So far, James Fearon (Stanford University), Eric Neumayer (London School of Economics) and Gerald Schneider (University of Konstanz) have participated in this programme.

EU-Funded Project on Polarization and Conflict (PAC)

PRIO/CSCW is one of eight partners in this four-year Specific Targeted Research Project (STREP) funded by the EU 6th Framework Programme. The consortium is coordinated by Joan Esteban at the Spanish Council for Scientific Research (CSIC), Barcelona. The leader of the research team in Oslo is Scott Gates, and Nils Petter Gleditsch is a member of the consortium's Scientific Advisory Board.

Governments are increasingly concerned with the patterns of income distribution that are emerging in most advanced societies. Social and technological changes cause benefits to fall unevenly within populations. As a result, income distributions in some OECD countries, such as the USA and the UK, are becoming bi-modal, or 'polarized', showing a diminishing 'middle class', while other countries are showing decreased polarization and income disparity. Globally, there are growing signs of social clustering and polarization, and these phenomena seem to favour the rise of social unrest.

The study of social conflict in sociology and political science has mainly focused on case studies rather than on the building of a formal theory of conflict. Economists are now starting to address this shortcoming, applying formal modelling. The two nearly independent approaches of modelling and case studies must not remain isolated but should rather be integrated, or at least encounter one another within a committed framework. The purpose of this multi-disciplinary STREP, therefore, is to promote and coordinate research on the conceptualization, modelling and measurement of polarization and conflict, as well as the links between the two. Much is to be gained by combining the different disciplinary approaches, as well as by bringing together theorists and applied researchers. By coordinating our research, we hope to have a greater impact on the thematic research priorities of our various disciplines.

In addition to the CSCW and the CSIC, other PAC consortium partners are Tel Aviv University, Utrecht University, the University of Konstanz, the University of Toulouse, Bocconi University (Milan) and the London School of Economics and Political Science.

The VIP Group

The VIP (Violence, Interventions, Peace) is an informal group of master's degree students, PhD candidates and faculty at NTNU who share a common interest in conflict-related research questions. The group was established in February 2002 and operates in collaboration with the CSCW. It has recruited many members from the Political Science MA course on 'Causes of War', although it also benefits from active participation from other departments at NTNU, including Geography, Economics and History. The group holds weekly seminars at which members can present anything from a thesis outline to a

conference paper and receive feedback from a designated discussant. This offers an excellent opportunity to practise the discussant role. Guests from the CSCW and the Department of Sociology and Political Science at NTNU also present work at VIP seminars. In 2004, these included James Fearon of Stanford University, Erik Gartzke of Columbia University and Patrick Regan of Binghamton University (currently a Fulbright scholar at the CSCW). Many papers for the annual conventions of the International Studies Association and other academic meetings have been tested first at the VIP group. In 2004, the group's activities were coordinated by Halvard Buhaug and Tanja Ellingsen. Active participants included Silje Aslaksen (Economics), Helga Malmin Binningsbø, Linda Bjørgan, Marit Brochmann, Halvard Buhaug, Tanja Ellingsen, Silja Eriksen, Scott Gates, Nils Petter Gleditsch, Christine Fjeldstad Johannesen, Arild Kroken, Roy Krøvel (History), Tove Grete Lie, Päivi Lujala (Economics), Ragnhild Nordås, Jan Ketil Rød (Geography), Indra de Soysa and Zan Strabac.

Making Sense of Suicide Missions

Suicide attacks have become the defining act of political violence of our age. From New York City to Baghdad, from Sri Lanka to Israel, few can doubt that such acts are a terrifying feature of an increasing number of violent conflicts. And they are a notable feature of some – though by no means most – civil wars. Since 1981, around 30 organizations throughout the world – some secular and others affiliated to radical Islam – have carried out more than 600 suicide missions. Although a tiny fraction of the overall number of guerrilla and terrorist attacks occurring in the same period, the results have proved significantly more lethal.

Are these the actions of aggressive religious zealots and unbridled, irrational radicals, or is there a logic driving those behind them? Are their motivations religious, or has Islam provided a language to express essentially political causes? How can the perpetrators remain so lucidly effective in the face of certain death? And do these disparate attacks have something like a common cause? For nearly three years, a team of internationally distinguished scholars investigated both organizers and perpetrators of this extraordinary phenomenon. The result is the volume Making Sense of Suicide Missions, edited by Professor Diego Gambetta of Nuffield College, Oxford, and published in March 2005 by Oxford University Press. The book marshals a wealth of original information and conducts close comparisons across a range of cases. Investigating the interplay between motivation and technique, the volume's authors raise such challenging questions as: If suicide missions are so effective, why are they not more common? If killing is what matters, why not stick to 'ordinary' violent means? Or, if dying is what matters, why kill in the process?

Five of the book's nine contributors presented papers in Oslo at an August 2004 workshop on 'Techniques of Violence in Civil War', organized by the CSCW's Working Group on Microfoundations of Civil War.

In October 2004, the volume's editor, Diego Gambetta, was in Oslo again, to deliver the annual Eilert Sundt lecture, an honour bestowed by the University of Oslo for outstanding achievement in the social sciences. The event was well received by academics and the media alike. The following day, Gambetta engaged CSCW and PRIO scholars in a more informal and interactive discussion of the book's findings.

Conflict Database and Datasets

The CSCW and the Department of Peace and Conflict Research (PCR) at Uppsala University, Sweden, have collaborated in the production of a dataset of armed conflicts, both internal and external, covering the period from 1946 to the present. The CSCW maintains a database designed to serve the needs of academic statistical and macro-level research. This database complements both the annual compendium of ongoing armed conflicts published in *Journal of Peace Research* and the database maintained at PCR that provides qualitative overviews of recent conflicts worldwide.

The CSCW has developed a set of extensions to the PRIO/Uppsala conflict dataset, such as information on the geographic extent of conflicts. An extension added in 2004 was a dataset on the number of battle-related deaths in the conflicts coded as most lethal in the dataset. This is an improvement over the main dataset, which only notes whether conflicts exceed 25 or 1,000 battle deaths per year. Other extensions in progress are precise dating of the start and end of conflicts to aid in the study of the duration of conflict and supplementary information identifying the country or countries within which particular international conflicts took place.

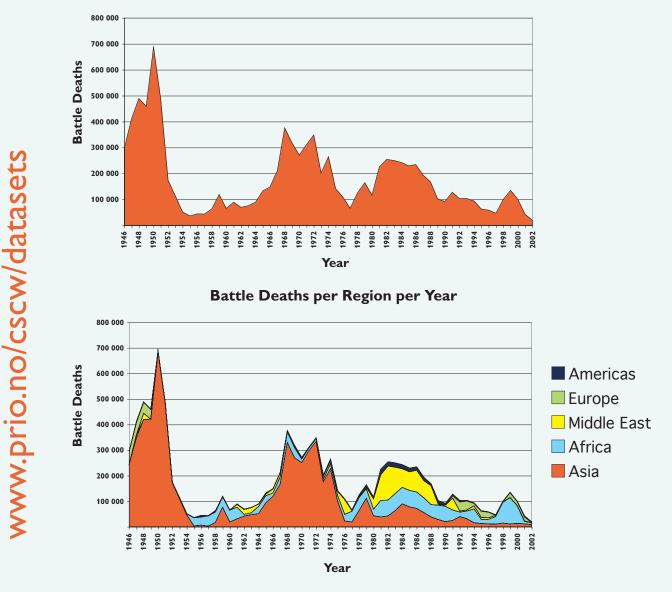
In 2004, the CSCW started up another project to extend the PRIO–Uppsala dataset in collaboration with Kristian Skrede Gleditsch of the University of California San Diego, Lars-Erik Cederman of the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology and Simon Hug of the University of Zurich. The GROW-Net project stresses the importance of treating civil wars as complex phenomena, and will direct theoretical and empirical attention to the components that form such wars. To facilitate this, the project will develop more fine-grained data on groups participating in conflicts, the territories in which fighting occurs, and individual events and battles that make up particular wars.

The CSCW is also developing other datasets. New in 2004 was a dataset on river basins that will be made publicly available when the accompanying article is published. Among the

datasets developed and made available at PRIO's websites are Vanhanen's Polyarchy dataset on competition and participation in political systems, a dataset of the precise dates of regime changes in the Polity dataset, a dataset that reports the length of all international boundaries, and datasets on countries' demographic and ethnic composition. Ongoing projects will collect information on the precise geographical extent, location, reserve size and discovery date of natural resources by using Geographical Information System (GIS) tools. PRIO also maintains a web page where CSCW researchers post their replication datasets, and one where replication datasets for articles published in Journal of Peace Research may be accessed.

Project Leaders: Håvard Hegre (from June 2004), Nils Petter Gleditsch.

Researchers in 2004: Halvard Buhaug, Kristian Skrede Gleditsch, Bethany Lacina, Christin Mørup Ormhaug, Taylor Owen, Clionadh Raleigh, Håvard Strand, Lars Wilhelmsen, Gudrun Østby.



Battle Deaths per Year

MA Projects

Lethal Religions: Communal Violence in India – The Case of Gujarat *Turid Beitland* Adviser: Ola Listhaug (NTNU)

The Democratic Interventionist Impulse: Democratic Interventionism and Democratization

Lene Siljeholm Christiansen Advisers: Nils Petter Gleditsch & Håvard Hegre (PRIO)

Political Violence and Conflict Resolution in Belgium: A Success Story?

Rachel Gjelsvik Haug Adviser: Ola Listhaug (NTNU)

State Religiosity and Civil War: How Religious Heterogeneity and the Degree of Separation Between Religion and State Influence the Risk of Intrastate Armed Conflict

Ragnhild Nordås Advisers:Tanja Ellingsen (NTNU) & Nils Petter Gleditsch (PRIO & NTNU)

Application of the Adjusted Winner Procedure to the Negotiations on Wealth-Sharing in Sudan

Jostein Tellnes Adviser: Scott Gates & Endre Stiansen (both PRIO)

A Democratic Peace – Revisited Lars Wilhelmsen Advisers: Nils Petter Gleditsch (PRIO) & Håvard Strand (UiO)

Khaibakh, Chechnya Photo: © Heidi Bradner 1

Working Group Activities

Working Group on Values and Violence



Leader: Ola Listhaug, NTNU

The group started off in January 2004 with a seminar on Sabrina Ramet's forthcoming book The

Three Yugoslavias: The Dual Challenge of State-Building and Legitimation Among the Yugoslavs, 1918–2004. Researcher Albert Simkus continued his analysis of 2003 survey data from across the Balkans, collected in the South-East European Social Survey (SEESS). This project focuses on the impact on civil war on political culture, comparing the strength of democratic culture in the Balkans with other postcommunist countries. Initial findings are planned for release in 2005. Members of the working group regularly convene in the VIP Group (see highlight on p. III). A report entitled 'Perceptions of the Enemy: Stereotypes Among Ordinary People in the Israel–Palestine Conflict' was produced by MA student Ragnhild Nordås, and the portfolio of case studies under way as master's degree theses continued to grow: on India's Gudjarat province (Turid Beitland), Belgium (Rachel Haug), Northern Ireland (Christine F. Johannesen) and the Basque Country (Anna V. Lorentzen).

Working Group on Environmental Factors in Civil War



Leader: Nils Petter Gleditsch, PRIO

This working group defines environment in the broad

sense of physical factors that condition human affairs, such as physical distance between the parties in conflict, mountainous terrain, caves, forest cover, rivers and the availability of natural resources. Resource scarcity plays an important role in neomalthusian theories, while the 'resource curse' argument focuses on negative effects of resource abundance. In 2004, the working group moved forward on three fronts: First, demographic factors are central to neomalthusian theories. A symposium in the Oslo area in late 2003 sponsored by the International Union for the

Scientific Study of Population and the CSCW has generated two major publications, which have largely been completed in 2004 and will be published in 2005. Second, several new datasets have been generated on lootable natural resources, and two articles on our diamonds dataset have been accepted for publication. Several of these datasets contain information on the geographical location of the resource, and this has spun off a major new activity on studies of conflict disaggregated to the subnational level. Third, work has continued on the role of water scarcity in conflict, based on a new dataset on shared river basins. Three doctoral dissertations are well under way within the working group.

Working Group on International **Dimensions of Civil Wars**



The group's work focused this year on the guestion of

between civil war and interstate war, as well as other forms of organized violence. The aim was not to arrive at one binding definition but to translate in-depth research of various international dimensions and case studies into sharper conceptual distinctions. The workshop 'Exploring the Boundaries of Civil Wars', held in August, saw active participation from other CSCW working groups. Papers addressed the history of ideas on the phenomenon of civil war, the instrumentalization of definitions for challenging dataset development, the interplay and dynamics of various post-Soviet conflicts, and the causal links between domestic instability and international terrorism in Southeast Asia. The round-table discussions dealt with broader issues related to the impact of the new types of civil wars on the world system and the relation between shifting forms of governance and state failure. Working group seminars throughout the year focused on such on topics as the interpenetration of terrorism and civil war internal and external dimensions of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and failures of external intervention to address core problems fuelling violence in Haiti.

Working Group on Conflict and **Economic Performance**



Leader: Karl Ove Moene, UiO

This group's research agenda is built on an implicit criticism of technocratic mainstream

economics for its lack of a coherent treatment of conflicts and its neglect of social mechanisms. In contrast, we emphasize analysis that combines social and economic factors while acknowledging their interdependence. The theme of the June and December workinggroup meetings was 'Societies Between War and Peace'. Paper topics included violence entrepreneurs and their state counterparts in settlements, recruitment and demobilization of child soldiers, corruption, and institutional mechanisms in societies and economies with high potential for rentier behaviour (Colombia, Sao Tome and Principe). Researchers in this group are also well integrated with the Polarization and Conflict (PAC) network (see highlight on p. II), a project supported by an EU 6th Framework Programme grant.

The Working Groups

• International Dimensions of **Civil War**

Leader: Pavel Baev, Senior Researcher, PRIO

- Microfoundations of Civil War Leader: Jon Elster, Professor, Columbia University
- **Environmental Factors in Civil War** Leader: Nils Petter Gleditsch, Research Professor, PRIO
- **Governance and Peace** Leader: Kaare Strøm, Professor, UCSD
- **Conflict and Economic** Performance Leader: Karl Ove Moene, Professor, University of Oslo
- **Values and Violence** Leader: Ola Listhaug, Professor, NTNU
- **Civil Peace** Leader: Scott Gates, PRIO

Working Group on Microfoundations of Civil War



Leader: Jon Elster, Columbia University

The year's highlight was the workshop 'Techniques of

Violence in Civil War', the first of five planned through 2007. The workshop was organized by working-group member Stathis Kalyvas (Yale University) and held in August 2004 at PRIO. Presenters focused on why insurgent movements and governments use or abstain from using various 'techniques' and means of violence available in their repertoire (e.g. suicide attacks, torture, rape, kidnapping, hostage-taking, military strikes or sieges). They also looked for patterns and variation in the choice of victims. An important aim of the workshop was to determine the extent and type of empirical data collected to date, and how these shape our understanding of violent internal conflict. The findings crystallized around four main issues: (1) means-ends rationality and other motivational or belief structures; (2) organizational features of the conflict parties, and their effects on technique. including constraints; (3) learning processes within and between rivals and among the public; and (4) the relationship between technique, strategy and goals. Questions in need of future analysis are whether there is complementarity or substitutability of violent techniques, and what the boundaries are between insurgency and crime.

Working Group on Governance and Peace



Leader: Kaare Strøm, University of California, San Diego

This group explores the mechanisms through which

democratic institutions engender peace either by preventing conflict in the first place or by facilitating its resolution. The group's members draw on an extensive body of research from the analysis of rebellion and revolt to studies of democratization and political stability - and employ a variety of methods, including case studies, game theory and quantitative statistical analysis. In 2004, working-group leader Kaare Strøm and Magnus Öberg co-directed a workshop at the Joint Sessions of Workshops of the European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR) in Uppsala, Sweden, 13–18 April. The workshop was attended by about twenty conflict researchers from Europe and the USA. A select set of papers presented at this workshop are currently under review for publication as an edited volume, entitled Resources, Governance Structures and Civil Conflict. In June, several working-group members participated in an international conference on governance and civil conflict in Bellagio, Italy, funded by the Rockefeller Foundation and organized by Kaare Strøm, Scott Gates and Andrew Mack of the University of British Columbia.

Working Group on Civil Peace



The Civil Peace working group held its first workshop in May 2004, which focused on

successful negotiations as the antecedent condition for a long and stable peace. Papers dealt with the robustness and instability of different peace settlements; bargaining over non-divisible stakes; the concept of 'ripeness for resolution' and the timing of negotiations; the nature and role of bargaining power; the role of third-party mediators, including back-channel negotiations; the role of 'spoilers' (factions that wreck a peace agreement); international intervention and peace settlements; and international peacekeeping missions. The group is multidisciplinary, consisting of economists, historians, political scientists, psychologists and sociologists. In 2004, special attention was given to the initial phases of peacemaking - what it takes to get the belligerents to the bargaining table. Workshops in 2005 feature the transition phase, focusing on issues of transitional governance and transitional justice. Subsequent workshops will focus on long-term peacebuilding attaining a civil peace.



The CSCW office staff ensured that the Centre ran smoothly and efficiently. Clockwise from the left: Glenn Martin, Marit Moe, Andrew John Feltham, Martha Snodgrass, Dorthe Bakke.

Doctoral Projects

Completed in 2004

The Limits of the Liberal Peace

Håvard Hegre Dissertation Adviser: Jon Hovi (UiO)

'Liberal peace' theories argue that when the large majority of individuals in a society have control over decisions in both political and economic matters, there is a strong tendency for domestic and international peace to follow. The argument assumes that people have a self-interest in peace since they can obtain material and non-material well-being only during peace. Hence, peace may be secured if narrow groups and would-be elites can be restrained through effective political institutions.

This dissertation theoretically and empirically examines the evidence for the liberal peace for both domestic and interstate conflicts. For interstate conflicts, the investigation supports the liberal peace hypotheses, but it points out that there are limits to the liberal peace: the evidence for it is clearly strongest in relations between developed countries, and trade reduces conflict mainly in symmetrical dyads.

Analogous results are found for internal conflicts. Overall, democracies widely defined are no less prone to civil war than nondemocracies. However, political systems that are consistently democratic along several dimensions – such as the degree of participation, the extent of constraints on the executive and the extent to which the executive is popularly elected – experience fewer civil wars than systems that mix democratic and non-democratic traits. Likewise, consolidated democracies are more peaceful than newly established democracies.

This 'domestic' democratic peace is also contingent on economic development. Democracies are normally more consistent and more stable in middle- and high-income countries than in low-income countries. This implies that developed democracies are more effective in maintaining domestic peace, since consistent and stable political systems are found to have a lower risk of civil war. The importance of development for the liberal peace is due to several factors. The dissertation highlights two of these: First, education and the absence of poverty strengthen the ability of citizens to constrain rulers who might benefit from war. Second, the increased mobility of assets associated with economic development does not favour forces that seek to gain control over them through the use of physical force. This both favours democratization and reduces the incentives for using military force to conquer territory.

Ongoing Doctoral Projects

A Liberal Theory of Third-Party Intervention in Ongoing Wars, 1945–99

Aysegul Aydin

Dissertation Advisers: Patrick Regan & David Clark (Binghamton University); David Rueda (Cambridge University)

This project draws on theoretical work on the harmful effects of interstate and intrastate wars on trade that argues that trading partners of states in conflict have an incentive to help settle their partners' conflicts. The proposed theoretical and empirical analysis of the state–society dimension of economic interdependence emphasizes the role of domestic interest groups in foreign policymaking. This will fill important gaps in economic liberalism research by clarifying the causal linkage between trade and state behaviour, exploring the dark side of war economics and applying the framework to external involvement in ongoing wars.

The Geography of Armed Civil Conflict

Halvard Buhaug Dissertation Adviser: Nils Petter Gleditsch (CSCW & NTNU)

This project seeks to uncover the extent to which geographic factors like size, topography and natural resource distribution affect the risk and duration of internal conflict, and whether these factors also explain the relative location of conflict zones. A central ambition has been to generate quantitative, geo-referenced data on the location of all armed conflicts since 1946. These data are then used in both conventional and GISbased analyses, which jointly offer a nuanced understanding of the geography of civil war.

Prospects for the Future: Towards Civilizational Clashes? Tanja Ellingsen

Dissertation Advisers: Nils Petter Gleditsch (PRIO) & Øyvind Østerud (UiO)

Huntington's 'clash of civilizations' thesis suggests post-Cold War conflicts are shaped by cultural dissimilarities. The nation-state is being replaced by religion as a source of identity. Testing the validity of these claims, this dissertation investigates the extent to which people identify themselves in terms of civilizations, and whether alliances can be explained by cultural similarities. It also explores the relationship between civilizational belonging and conflict, both inter- and intrastate. Data are drawn from the World Value Survey, the Penn World Tables, the UNGA (voting data) and the Correlates of War and PRIO/Uppsala conflict datasets.

Natural Resources and Armed Civil Conflict

Päivi Lujala

Dissertation Advisers: Ragnar Torvik (NTNU) & Scott Gates (PRIO)

This project aims to identify natural resource types relevant to violent conflict. It collects spatial data on resource distribution and analyses how different resource types affect the risk, duration, type and location of conflict. In particular, it examines how rebels' access to natural resources shapes the characteristics of armed civil conflict. The project will produce new datasets on the worldwide location of diamond and gemstone deposits, petroleum reserves and drug cultivation.

How Can Geography Contribute to Our Understanding of Civil Wars?

Clionadh Raleigh

Dissertation Advisers: John O'Loughlin (University of Colorado) & Håvard Hegre (PRIO)

This project is primarily an exploration of the geography of civil wars. Two different theories regarding (1) the impact of human and physical geography in civil wars and (2) the concept of state capacity and state strength are tested, using specific event and battle-location data for selected warring states. The aim is to intertwine traditional statistical methods with geostatistical methods, which have not been used widely in conflict research.

Extending the Democratic Peace: The Role of Governmental Institutions for International Conflict

Anita Schjølset

Dissertation Advisers: Hayward R. Alker (University of Southern California) & Nils Petter Gleditsch (PRIO)

The primary goal of this project is to investigate the relationships between governmental institutions and the likelihood that states engaged in conflict internationally during the period 1816–2002. Additionally, the project identifies temporal and spatial variations of these relationships. The analysis considers three institutional dimensions along which power is distributed: (1) type of electoral system; (2) whether the state is organized by a presidential or a parliamentary system; and (3) whether power is distributed through a federal or a centralized system.

Ethnic Prejudice in Contemporary European Societies

Zan Strabac

Dissertation Advisers: Kristen Ringdal & Ola Listhaug (both NTNU)

The main focus of this project is the relationships between ethnic identities, ethnic prejudice and violence. The dissertation will consist of a set of empirical articles, using quantitative analyses and survey data, in particular from countries of former Yugoslavia and Eastern and Western Europe. Special attention is devoted to two factors: (1) the impact of religiosity on ethnic prejudice and ethnic identities; and (2) the impact of previous experiences of war-related violence on ethnic intolerance.

Political Regimes and Civil War Revisited

Håvard Strand Dissertation Adviser: Håvard Hegre (PRIO)

The relationship between political regime type and civil war is not an unfamiliar topic of study. However, recent scholarship has failed to converge on a conclusion. This project aims to bridge that gap. It will contribute new data on both political regimes and armed conflicts, facilitating in turn more precise methods, such as duration analysis and multi-process models. Both the analyses and the data-gathering will be based on democracy theory, which will offer more valid operationalizations than those currently available in the literature.

Demography and Domestic Armed Conflict

Henrik Urdal Dissertation Advisers: Nils Petter Gleditsch (PRIO) & Øystein Kravdal (UiO)

This project analyzes demographic characteristics as potential causes of domestic political violence, such as armed conflict, riots and terrorism. The project empirically addresses the security implications of population growth and density, 'youth bulges' and unequal growth rates between ethnic groups. It employs time-series cross-national studies as well as surveys of regional patterns of political violence for particular countries.



Graffiti, East Timor Photo: Sven Gunnar Simonsen, PRIC

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- World Bank
- Research Council of Norway
- United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP)
- International Human Dimensions Programme on Global Environmental Change (IHDP)
- Norwegian Ministry of Defence
- Nordic Academy for Advanced Study (NorFA/NordForsk)
- National Science Foundation (NSF)
- EU's 6th Framework Programme
- MacArthur Foundation
- Rockefeller Foundation

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- Binghamton University
- University of Oslo
- US–Norway Fulbright Foundation for Educational Exchange
- Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU)
- International Institute for Sustainable
 Development (Canada)

Photo: Are Hovdenak, PRIO

CSCW 2004 Selected Publications

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In addition, 35 papers – not included in the above list – were prepared by CSCW staff in 2004.

PRIO

PRIO was founded in 1959. It was one of the first centres of peace research in the world, and it is Norway's only peace research institute. PRIO is independent and international in staff and perspective. Research at PRIO concentrates on the driving forces behind violent conflict and on ways in which peace can be built, maintained and spread. In addition to theoretical and empirical research, PRIO also conducts policy-oriented activities and engages in the search for solutions in cases of actual or potential violent conflict.

Centre of Excellence

Centre of Excillence (CoE) status is a distinction accorded the CSCW by the Research Council of Norway. The CoE scheme was introduced in Norway to support and reward the most outstanding researchers and research groups, and to raise their international profiles. In 2002, after an extensive and competitive selection process led by international experts, the Research Council awarded CoE status to 13 of 129 applicants. PRIO's proposal was judged to be of 'exceptionally high scientific quality'. The CSCW is to date the only designated Centre of Excellence within the social sciences.



PRIO Information

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Information is regarded as a part of the basic research activities at PRIO. We aim to disseminate our expertise and findings to a variety of different audiences. The Information Department aids and assists in the dissemination of the institute's research. Through our website, seminar activities and visibility in various other public arenas, PRIO endeavours to function as a central meeting point and resource centre for peace research, both internationally and nationally.

Publications

The main channel for dissemination of PRIO research is publications. PRIO researchers aim to publish their results in peer-reviewed and edited publications. This will most often mean articles in international journals, including PRIO's own Journal of Peace Research and Security Dialogue. PRIO researchers also publish monographs with recognized academic publishers. Furthermore, PRIO maintains the PRIO Report series, which reflects the outcome of major projects, especially when the results are of particular interest beyond academic circles. Most PRIO reports are published online on our website, and some are also made available as printed reports. In 2004, three reports were published as part of the PRIO Report series.

PRIO has introduced incentive systems both for popular articles and for academic publishing. In addition, the Information Department organized training for young researchers through an 'Academic Writers

Workshop' in 2004. Our in-house language editor ensures the quality of writing within PRIO publications.

Seminars and Conferences

Seminars organized or co-organized by PRIO are important meeting places for Oslo-based scholars, students, diplomats, journalists, civil servants, NGO staff and other interested people. In 2004, 12 seminars were organized by PRIO, most of these held at the institute's offices in Oslo. In addition, PRIO organized or co-organized three international conferences. Internal seminars are organized bi-weekly by the research programmes. The Information Department also organizes irregular lunch seminars for all staff. (See the seminar list for details)

Film Seminars

Building on the successes of the three previous years, in 2004 PRIO was again involved in organizing film seminars as part of the annual Films from the South Festival in Oslo, as well as a civil war film seminar focusing on the subject of suicide bombers during National Science week. (See the seminar list for details)

Media and Debate

PRIO researchers are encouraged to take part in public debate and to make their expertise available to the general public. In one example from 2004, CSCW researchers engaged in a lively debate on the relationship between the environment and war/peace following the award of the Nobel Peace Prize to Kenyan environmentalist Wangari Maathai.

In 2004, PRIO staff published a number of op-eds and commentaries in the national and international media. Notably, 2004 was a year with an unusually high number of elections on a worldwide basis, and PRIO researchers commented on these in relation to their regional and national expertise.

PRIO staff members are very much sought after by the media. In 2004, the level of visibility of PRIO researchers within the Norwegian media was both steady and high.

PRIO Website

Alongside traditional academic publishing, the transmission of information via the Internet has become a very important channel for the dissemination of knowledge and research. Traditional academic publishing is adapting to the electronic reality not only through online access to texts but also through the online provision of additional and relate d material. At PRIO, for example, Journal of Peace Research offers replication datasets for its articles via the PRIO web.

The PRIO website is updated daily and covers all PRIO activities. In addition, we seek to provide information and useful links on topics of relevance both to researchers and to the general public. In 2004, the number of visitors to the PRIO website continued to increase.

PRIO Events 2004

Films from the South Festival

19 April Screening of the film *Osama*, followed by a panel debate.

12 October **'Women and Terrorism'** Film seminar and screening of the film *The Terrorist.*

14 October **'From Childhood to Suicide Bombing'** Film seminar and screening of the film Death in Gaza.

Forskningsdagene (National Science Week)

17 September **'Civil War and Suicide Bombers'** CSCW film seminar, with screening of the film *The Terrorist*.

21 September **'Civil War Since 1945:What Can Be Done?'** Seminar with James Fearon.

Seminars

24 March **'Will George W. Bush Be Re-elected in 2004?'** Paul A Beck (in collaboration with the Institute for Social Research).

26 April

'Peacemaking Is A Risky Business' Launch of Hilde Henriksen Waage's report on the Oslo Peace Process.

18 June

'The New Government in Delhi: Towards a Progressive Role for India?' Seminar with Praful Bidwar, former editor of the *Times of India.*

25 June

'Why Is There No Peace Between Israel and the Palestinians? Israeli Perspectives on Oslo'

Seminar with Uri Bialer of the Hebrew University.

12 October

'Irredentism and Post-Socialist China's Role in International Affairs' Seminar with Marwyn Samuels.

3 November

'Current Challenges to the Liberal Peace Theory' Seminar with John R. Oneal.

8 November **'The (Other) Liberal Peace'** Seminar with Erik Gartzke.

Conferences and Workshops

4 June

Seminar on 'Developing a Research Agenda on the EU Code of Conduct on Arms Exports.

11–12 June

Workshop on 'Rights of Intervention', part of PRIO's participation in an EU-funded research and training network on 'Applied Global Justice'.

25 August

'Making a Difference: Practical and Ethical Approaches to Poverty and Conflict'

Held at the University of Oslo, in collaboration with the Centre for Development and the Environment (SUM) and the Ethics Programme of the University of Oslo.



The PRIO Library

Head librarian: Odvar Leine Librarian (Part-Time): Olga Baeva Trainee: Kari Kalland

The PRIO library has three main functions: an internal function, as the supporting library for all projects and researchers at PRIO; a *public* function, as a permanent collection and documentation centre for peace research and conflict resolution (as such, it is open to outside visitors); and a *network* function, as a library cooperating and sharing resources with other libraries, both in Norway and abroad.

In 2004, inter-library loans into PRIO decreased by 2%. Inter-library loans out of PRIO, however, saw a 27% increase in loans to libraries within Norway, but a 54% decrease in loans to libraries outside Norway. There was a 13% decrease in the number of loans within PRIO, but an increase of 73% in the number of loans to external visitors to the library. This increase is mainly due to the postgraduate degree programme in international relations that PRIO is conducting in cooperation with the Australian National University and Bjørknes College.

Books

A high priority for the library is the acquisition of books that are basic for work in peace and conflict research. A strong reference collection of the most relevant handbooks, encyclopaedias, dictionaries, yearbooks and statistical sources is essential. We have also accepted a special responsibility for the vast production of PRIO's founding father, Johan Galtung. Many new acquisitions in the library are review copies sent by publishers hoping for a book note in one of PRIO's journals. At the end of 2004, the library held approximately 21,000 titles (21,300 volumes), an increase of 4% over the previous year. The library's database is searchable on PRIO's intranet.

Periodicals

Also of crucial importance is our stock of relevant periodicals. PRIO's library holds approximately 290 periodicals (including exchange agreements). By the end of 2004, 173 of these titles could be accessed online from computers within PRIO's local network – an increase of 14% from the previous year. PRIO is connected to JSTOR, the electronic archive of back issues of periodicals.

In total, the library holds approximately 600 periodical titles – both current and discontinued. The library's IT system for periodical holdings can send out automatic e-mail notification of the arrival of a new issue of a particular periodical to any individual institute member. These e-mail alerts include links to tables of contents.

Databases

The library subscribes to the ISI Web of Science, JSTOR, Lancaster Index to Defence and International Security Literature, Encyclopaedia Britannica and Keesing's Online.



International Summer School

For the last 30 years, PRIO has been responsible both for the academic syllabus and for teaching and other practical matters related to the Peace Research course of the University of Oslo's International Summer School. The Peace Research course forms an integral part of the annual Summer School, providing a general introduction to the interdisciplinary field of peace studies, combined with more focused study of selected areas and themes.

The Peace Research course aims to increase understanding of conflict in order to help resolve it. By the end of the course, students should be aware of the major conceptual and methodological issues within the field of peace studies. Sessions include group work with presentations and discussions, lectures by practitioners and scholars conducting research on international issues, and a two-day workshop on conflict resolution and peacebuilding.

The specific content of the course varies from year to year. In 2004, the theme of the course was 'Dynamics of Conflict and Ways to Peace', which placed particular emphasis on ethical and/or normative perspectives on conflict resolution and peacebuilding. The course focused on such issues as the role of religion in conflict resolution; ethical considerations related to the principles of just war; identity and human rights; peacebuilding processes (for example, in Sri Lanka, Afghanistan and the Middle East); and humanitarian intervention. In 2004, the course was attended by 30 students from 29 countries around the world. The students were selected through a highly competitive process, with all successful applicants showing a particular interest in peace and conflict issues. All held the minimum equivalent of a bachelor's degree, and most were currently also working on master's or doctoral degrees.



Peace and Conflict Studies

In Autumn 2004, PRIO, the Australian National University (ANU) in Canberra and Bjørknes College in Oslo launched a new postgraduate degree programme in international relations, specializing in peace and conflict studies. This innovative programme brings together academics at the forefront of research on international relations, peace and conflict from two sides of the globe.

Students in the programme are enrolled in one of four degrees awarded by the ANU. Students spend one semester in Oslo in courses specially developed and taught by PRIO staff. All other courses are taken at the ANU in Canberra and are principally taught by the academic staff of the Department of International Relations at the Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies.

The three courses taught as part of the Oslo semester are 'Conflict Resolution and Peacebuilding', 'Gender and Conflict' and 'The Ethics of War and Peace'. The class has an international profile, and the language of instruction is English. 'The Ethics of War and Peace' is taught by PRIO Senior Researchers Henrik Syse and Greg Reichberg. The two other courses are coordinated by PRIO Senior Researcher Sven Gunnar Simonsen and taught by PRIO specialists and a selection of visiting speakers, including prominent politicians, diplomats and scholars. This joint postgraduate degree programme has been named a 'Prestige Programme' by the Australian National University. In 2004, PRIO's Australian partner was ranked by the *Times Higher Education Supplement* as 16th in a comparison of the world's top 200 universities.





PRIO Journals

Journal of Peace Research

Journal of Peace Research (JPR) is an interdisciplinary and international bimonthly of scholarly work in peace research that strives for a global perspective on peacemaking.

JPR is fully peer-reviewed, and most articles are submitted unsolicited. One issue per year is a guest-edited special issue, subject to the same strict review process as regular issues. Topics covered by such issues have most recently included Civil War in Developing Countries (S. Mansoob Murshed, ed., 2002), Peace History (Peter van den Dungen & Lawrence S. Wittner, eds, 2003), and Duration and Termination of Civil War (Håvard Hegre, ed., 2004). Forthcoming special issues: Demography of Conflict and Violence (Helge Brunborg & Henrik Urdal, eds, 2005), Military Alliances (Christopher Sprecher & Volker Krause, eds, 2006), and Protecting Human Rights (James Ron & Emilie Hafner-Burton, eds, 2007).

Authors with quantitative data are obliged to post their data on the Internet. JPR's data replication page (http://www.prio.no/jpr/

Security Dialogue

Security Dialogue is an international quarterly peer-reviewed journal that seeks to combine contemporary theoretical analysis with challenges to public policy across the wideranging field of security studies. Security Dialogue seeks to revisit and recast the concept of security through new approaches and methodologies. The journal encourages ground-breaking reflection on new and traditional security issues - such as globalization, nationalism, ethnic conflict and civil war, information technology, biological and chemical warfare, resource conflicts, pandemics, global terrorism, non-state actors. and environmental and human security. It aims at providing an outlet for analysis of the normative dimensions of security, theoretical and practical aspects of identity and identitybased conflict, gender aspects of security, and critical security studies.

In 2004, Security Dialogue published, in 512 pages, 21 peer-reviewed articles and review essays, 3 rejoinders, 1 reference review, 6 viewpoints, 6 dialogues and 20 short special entries (in issue 35[3], which included a special section on human security). Issue 35(4) was a special issue on gender and security. datasets) contains links to such datasets from 1998 onwards. As of March 2005, 149 datasets are listed on the replication page.

JPR is edited at PRIO and published by Sage Publications in London. Since its establishment in 1964, JPR has published the work of authors from over 50 countries. In 2004, JPR published, in 768 pages, a total of 39 articles and 122 Book Notes.

Editorial Staff

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Master's Degree Theses Christiansen, Lene Siljeholm.

'Democracy and Intervention', Department of Sociology & Political Science, NTNU. Supervisors: Nils Petter Gleditsch, NTNU & PRIO. Langvandslien, Martin. 'Promising Restraint: The Carter Administration's Arms Transfers Policy', Department of History, University of Oslo. Supervisors: Olav Njølstad, UiO; Stein Tønnesson, PRIO.

Nordås, Ragnhild. 'State Religiosity and Civil War: How Religious Heterogeneity and the Degree of Separation Between Religion and State Influence the Risk of Intrastate Armed Conflict', Department of Sociology and Political Science, NTNU. Supervisors: Tanja Ellingsen, NTNU; Nils Petter Gleditsch, PRIO.

Roberts, Rebecca. 'The Impact of Assistance on the Coping Mechanisms of Long-Term Refugees: The Case of the Palestinian Refugees in Camps in Lebanon', Post-War Reconstruction and Development Unit, University of York.

Stensrud, Ellen. 'Mixed Courts: The Cambodian Case – The UN Involvement and the Prospects for a Fair Trial in Cambodia', Department of Political Science, University of Oslo. Supervisors: Bernt Hagtvet, UiO; Stein Tønnesson, PRIO.

Tellnes, Jostein F. 'Fair Divisions to the Issue of Oil in Sudan', Department of Political Science, University of Oslo. Supervisors: Bernt Hagtvet & Endre Stiansen, UiO; Scott Gates, PRIO/CSCV.

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Burgess, J. Peter. 'Theory of European Identity: Project Results', Centro Militare di Studi Strategici, Rome, March.

Burgess, J. Peter. 'Spenningsfeltet mellom kulturell og økonomisk verdi i forvaltning av kulturarv i EU' [The Tension Between Cultural and Economic Value in the Management of Cultural Heritage in the EU], contribution to parliamentary white paper on culture and commerce, Ministry of Culture and Church Affairs, Oslo, November:

Carling, Jørgen. 'Policy Options for Increasing the Benefits of Remittances', COMPAS Working Paper 04-08, Centre on Migration, Policy and Society, University of Oxford, November.

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Harpviken, Kristian Berg & Jan Isaksen. Reclaiming the Fields of War: Mainstreaming Mine Action in Development. Oslo: PRIO/New York: United Nations Development Programme.

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Hauge, Wenche. 'Norwegian Peacebuilding Policies: Lessons Learnt and Challenges Ahead', Evaluation Report 2. Oslo: Royal Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Owen, Taylor & Owen Slaymaker. 'Using Geographic Information Systems To Measure Human Security in Cambodia', *Ambio Report.* Stockholm: Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences.

Skjelsbæk, Inger; Elise Fredrikke Barth & Karen Hostens. 'Gender Aspects of Conflict Interventions: Intended and Unintended Consequences', report for the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Oslo.

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Urdal, Henrik. 'The Devil in the Demographics: The Effect of Youth Bulges on Domestic Armed Conflict, 1950–2000', Social Development Papers No. 14. New York: Conflict Prevention and Reconstruction Unit, World Bank.

Waage, Hilde Henriksen. Peacemaking Is a Risky Business: Norway's Role in the Peace Process in the Middle East, 1993–96, PRIO Report 1/2004. Oslo: PRIO.

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Burgess, J. Peter. 'Che cos'è un intervento militare europeo? Il caso del Kosovo' [What Is a European Military Intervention? The Case of Kosovo], presented at 'Guerra et consenso: Il dibattito sull'uso delle armi nel mondo moderno e contemporaneo', University of Pavia, 22 March.

Burgess, J. Peter. 'The New Nomos of Europe', presented at the Fifth Pan-European International Relations Conference, The Hague, 9–11 September.

Burgess, J. Peter. 'The Insecurity of the Community of Values', presented at the COST conference 'Espace européene', Brussels, 20–21 September.

Burgess, J. Peter. 'The National Thing: Zizek's Contribution to the Nationalism Debate', presented at 'Democracy and Psychoanalysis', Columbia University, NY, 14–16 October: **Burgess, J. Peter.** 'The Question of Justice in Moral, Political and Legal Community', presented at 'Social Justice: Conference of the Network on Applied Global Justice', University of Zurich, 22 October.

Carling, Jørgen. 'Mellom to hjemland' [Between Two Homelands], presented at the Norwegian Directorate of Immigration's Spring Conference, Radisson SAS Oslo Plaza, 19 April.

Carling, Jørgen. 'Unauthorized Entry at Europe's Southern Borders: Routes, Dynamics and Fatalities', presented at the European Association for Population Studies Conference on 'International Migration in Europe: New Trends, New Methods of Analysis', Rome, 25–27 November.

Carling, Jørgen & Heidi Østbø Haugen. 'How an African Outpost Is Filled with Chinese Shops', presented at the Fifth Conference of the International Society for the Study of Chinese Overseas, Helsingør,

Denmark, 10–14 May.

Frydenlund, Iselin. 'The Sangha and Its Relation to the Peace Process in Sri Lanka', presented at the conference on 'Religion, Power and Politics in Asia and Africa', Center for Asia Studies, Oslo Gothenburg School of Asia and African Studies, Gøteborg, 27–28 May.

Gates, Scott; Mark Jones & Håvard Strand. 'The Escalation Process from Political Instability to War', presented at the 45th Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, Montreal, 17–20 March.

Gates, Scott & David Lektzian. 'Drugs, Governance and Civil Conflict', presented at the workshop on 'Resources, Governance Structures, and Civil War', Joint Sessions of Workshops, European Consortium for Political Research, Uppsala, 13–18 April.

Gates, Scott & Håvard Strand. 'The Duration of Civil War', presented at the workshop on 'Resources, Governance Structures, and Civil War', Joint Sessions of Workshops, European Consortium for Political Research, Uppsala, 13–18 April.

Gleditsch, Nils Petter & Halvard

Buhaug. 'The Death of Distance? The Globalization of Armed Conflict', presented at the conference on 'Globalization, Territoriality, and Conflict', University of California, San Diego, 16–18 January.

Gleditsch, Nils Petter; Lene Siljeholm Christiansen & Håvard Hegre.

'Democratic Jihad? Military Intervention and Democracy', presented at the 45th Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, Montreal, 17–20 March.

Gleditsch, Nils Petter; Lene Siljeholm Christiansen & Håvard Hegre.

'Democratic Jihad? Military Intervention and Democracy', presented at the workshop on 'Resources, Governance Structures, and Civil War', Joint Sessions of Workshops, European Consortium for Political Research, Uppsala, 13–18 April.

Gleditsch, Nils Petter; Taylor Owen, Kathryn Furlong & Bethany Ann

Lacina. 'Conflicts over Shared Rivers: Resource Wars or Fuzzy Boundaries?', presented at the 45th Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, Montreal, 17–20 March.

Hegre, Håvard & Ibrahim Elbadawi.

'Globalization, Economic Shocks, and Armed Conflict', presented at the conference on 'Globalization, Territoriality and Conflict', University of California, San Diego, 16–18 January.

Hegre, Håvard & Nicholas Sambanis.

'Sensitivity Analysis of the Empirical Literature on Civil War Onset', presented at a meeting of the Polarization and Conflict network, Voksenåsen, Oslo, 2–4 July.

Hegre, Håvard & Håvard Strand.

'Simulating the Evolution of Global Democracy Levels', presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, 1–4 September:

Lacina, Bethany Ann. Why Civil Wars Come in Different Sizes', presented at the workshop on 'Resources, Governance Structures, and Civil War', Joint Sessions of Workshops, European Consortium for Political Research, Uppsala, 13–18 April.

Lektzian, David. 'Taming the Leviathan: Examining the Impact of External Threat on State Strength', presented at the 45th Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, Montreal, 17–20 March.

Østby, Gudrun. 'Do Horizontal Inequalities Matter for Civil Conflict?', presented at Polarization and Conflict (PAC) Winter Meeting, Barcelona, 10–11 December:

Simonsen, Sven Gunnar. 'On the Assumption of Intransigence: Addressing Ethnic Divisions in Post-Conflict Institution-Building', presented at the special convention of the Association for the Study of Nationalities, Warsaw, 18–21 July.

Strøm, Kaare & Håvard Hegre.

'Conceptions of Democracy in the Study of Civil Conflict', presented at the 45th Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, Montreal, 17–20 March.

Syse, Henrik. 'Ethics and Natural Law in Eric Voegelin's *Anamnesis*', presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, 2–5 September:

Tønnesson, Stein. 'Distinguishing Civil from International War – and Terrorism – in the Southeast Asian State System', presented at the workshop on 'Exploring the Boundaries of Civil Wars: Identifying ''Grey Areas'' and Testing Definitions', International Dimensions of Civil War Working Group of the Centre for the Study of Civil War, PRIO, Oslo, 18–19 August.

Tønnesson, Stein. 'Energy in a Peace Perspective', presented at the 32nd Conference of Peripheral Maritime Regions of Europe (CPMR), Stavanger, 23 September.

Tunander, Ola. 'From Rudolf Kjellén to a Swedish "Dual State", presented at the 45th Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, Montreal, 17–20 March.

Tunander, Ola. 'War on Terror and Transformation of World Order', presented at the Ankara University conference on 'Change and Adaptation: Contemporary Security Challenges and NATO', Antalya, Turkey, 14–16 May.

Tunander, Ola. 'From Coalition to Collision: Neo-Conservatives and Trans-Atlantic Relations', presented at the Syracuse University workshop 'Transatlantic Relations: What Next?', Washington DC, 13–15 March.

Tunander, Ola. 'Securitization, Dual State and US–European Geopolitical Divide or The Use of Terrorism to Construct World Order', presented at the Fifth Pan-European Conference of the ECPR Standing Group on International Relations ('Constructing World Orders'), The Hague, 9–11 September:

Urdal, Henrik. 'Demographic Change, Resource Scarcity and Violent Conflict:The Case of India', presented at the 45th Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, Montreal, 17–20 March.

Director's Office in 2004



Stein Tønnesson, Eystein Emberland, Damian Laws

Prio Administration



Lorna Quadrillo Sandberg, Shirley Haugen, Kai R. Braaten, Lene K. Borg, Svein Normann

PRIO Board



Financial Statement 2004

Since its foundation in 1959, the International Peace Research Institute, Oslo (PRIO) has played a central role in establishing peace research as an important academic discipline. The institute conducts research on, in particular, why wars break out, why they last as long as they do, and how lasting peace can be established in the wake of armed conflict. In 2004, Stein Tønnesson was reappointed as Institute Director for the term 2005–09.

The number of civil wars in the world continues to decline. Since 1991, the number of civil wars that have been resolved has been greater than the number of new ones starting up. Researchers at PRIO's Centre of Excellence, the Centre for the Study of Civil War (CSCW), have improved both data collection and calculation methods related to the number of deaths caused directly or indirectly by war. New and more reliable data show that, in all forms of war, the numbers of casualties in armed conflicts have decreased notably since 1946. In 2004, these findings were explored in a special issue of *Journal of* Peace Research on the duration and termination of civil war.

In 2004, PRIO started up its new strategic institute programme on 'The Missing Peace: Conflict Resolution and Peacebuilding in the Middle East', with funding from the Research Council of Norway. This project has attracted new Middle East expertise to the institute, and PRIO researchers linked to the project were also able to undertake a project assignment for Statoil on 'Regime Stability in the Middle East', as well as an evaluation project in Ramallah, entitled 'Studying the Other', on behalf of the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (Norad).

In cooperation with Bjørknes College in Oslo and the Australian National University (ANU) in Canberra, PRIO launched in 2004 a new postgraduate degree programme in international relations focusing on conflict and peace and studies. Students participating in this programme spend one semester in Oslo, taking courses developed and taught by researchers at PRIO.The rest of the course is taken at the ANU in Canberra.

Through its Conflict Resolution and Peacebuilding programme, PRIO is engaged in the project 'Human Rights and Peace in Turkey and

Oslo, 1 April 2005

Øyvind Østerud Chairman

Pavel Baev Board Member

Cathrine Løchstøer Board Member the Eastern Mediterranean'. In connection with this project, a field office with a residential representative and locally employed staff has been established in Nicosia, Cyprus. With this exception, all the institute's activities are carried out at PRIO's offices in Oslo.

In 2004, PRIO had a turnover of NOK 34.7 million. This represents a decrease of NOK 12.9 million (27%) in comparison with the turnover in 2003. To a large degree, this decrease resulted from the phasing out of PRIO's engagement in the Balkan Dialogue project during 2003. The Balkan Dialogue project alone had a turnover of NOK 15 million in 2003. The institute receives a core grant and strategic institute programme funding from the Research Council of Norway. These monies constitute PRIO's core funds (basisbevilgning). The core funds ensure the maintenance and development of the institute's key competences, and it is our opinion that such funds should constitute at least one-third of the institute's total income. In 2004, the core grant and strategic institute programme funding represented 17% and 9% of the institute's total income, respectively. Thus, together, core funds represented 26% of the institute's total income in 2004. Correspondingly, the Research Council of Norway's contribution to the Centre of Excellence represented 25% of the total turnover. Additionally, income was generated through research projects for several other funders, such as the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (21%), the Norwegian Ministry of Defence and the United Nations.

PRIO's property at Fuglehauggata 11 was sold in 2004, and an agreement has been signed with the Norwegian Red Cross to rent office space at Hausmannsgate 7.The net book value of the gain from the sale of the property at Fuglehauggata 11 amounts to NOK 6.3 million. The 2004 accounts show a surplus of NOK 4.6 million. The 2004 surplus will be added to other net assets, which will then amount to NOK 18 million, equivalent to 53% of net assets and liabilities. The cash-flow analysis also shows a net increase in the institute's cash position from 31 December 2003 to 31 December 2004. PRIO's cash-flow situation has improved: current assets (NOK 33.8 million) exceed current liabilities (NOK 16.1 million). The corresponding figures for 2003 were NOK 18.9 million and NOK 13.2 million, respectively.

On average 63 people were employed at PRIO during 2004, working an equivalent of 47.3 person-years. The average number of people employed at PRIO during the year has decreased by 3 from 2003 to 2004, and the number of person-years has decreased by 1.7. Despite this, as many as 115 persons were engaged by PRIO during 2004, many engaged by the CSCW on a part-time basis. Of these 115, 17 had professorial competence and a further 16 held doctoral degrees. Twenty-six researchers were employed full-time by PRIO in 2004. Five of these had professorial competence (forsker 1) and a further six had doctoral degrees. Eight doctoral candidates and seven master's degree students benefited from scholarships and/or workspace at PRIO in 2004.

PRIO promotes gender equality for its employees. In 2004, work carried out by research staff at PRIO amounted to 35.7 person-years. Among junior researchers, women were responsible for 56% of the person-years worked. For senior researchers, the corresponding figure was 24%. In addition, 11.6 person-years were performed by administrative and support staff at PRIO; women were responsible for 35% of these.

PRIO enjoys a good internal working environment, and routines for health, environmental awareness and security have been established. The institute also takes care not to pollute the external environment. In 2004, PRIO entered into an agreement with the National Insurance Service in connection with the establishment of a more inclusive workplace. PRIO employees participate in decisionmaking at the institute through membership of or representation on the Institute Council and through representation on the PRIO Board. Sick leave in 2004 was 3.8 % (3.5% in 2003).

For 2005, the Research Council of Norway has approved a grant of NOK 7,060,000, an increase of 2.5% over 2004. An increase in the institute's total income, as well as an operating surplus, has been budgeted for 2005. At the start of the year, 75% of the budgeted income for 2005 was considered certain. It is the board's opinion that the condition of continuous operation is met.

Stein Tønnesson Director

Grete Brochmann Board Member

Martha Snodgrass Board Member Mette Halskov Hansen Board Member

Raimo Väyrynen Board Member

Income Statement (All figures in NOK thousands)

2004	2003	
30 808	45 549	
2 044	1 110	
1 884	957	
34 736	47 616	Note 1, 3
20 388	20 414	Note 9
2 573	2 152	Note 11
1 488	1 488	
7 105	3 447	Note 6
1 137	12 732	
3 576	3 775	
532	812	Note 5
36 745	44 820	
-2 009	2 796	
405	1 152	
122	912	
283	240	
6 286		Note 6
6 286		
4 560	3 036	
4 560	3 036	
	30 808 2 044 1 884 34 736 20 388 2 573 1 488 7 105 1 137 3 576 532 36 745 -2 009 405 122 283 6 286 6 286 6 286 4 560	30 808 45 549 2 044 1 110 1 884 957 34 736 47 616 20 388 20 414 2 573 2 152 1 488 1 488 7 105 3 447 1 137 12 732 3 576 3 775 532 812 36 745 4405 1 152 1 4005 1 152 1 122 912 283 240 6 286 6 286 6 286 3 036

Cash-Flow Statement (All figures in NOK thousands)

4 560	3 036
	3 036
522	
532	813
11	25
-7 020	
2 542	1 659
- 922	- 361
-2 950	2 687
945	- 264
- 124	- 321
-100	644
-2 526	7 918
- 205	- 723
23 081	13
22 876	- 710
- 9 287	- 502
- 9 287	- 502
11 063	6 706
15 523	8 817
26 586	15 523
	-7 020 2 542 - 922 -2 950 945 - 124 -100 -2 526 - 23 081 22 876 - 9 287 - 9 287 - 9 287 11 063 15 523

Balance Sheet (All figures in NOK thousands)

	2004	2003	
ASSETS			
Fixed assets			
Building		13 680	Note 5, 6
Real estate (Fuglehauggata 11)		2 300	Note 6
Machines and furniture	443	862	Note 4
Total fixed assets	443	16 842	
Current assets			
Debtors	3 018	1 038	Note 3
Other receivables	4 191	2 299	Note 6
Bank and cash in hand	26 586	15 523	Note 2
Total current assets	33 795	18 860	
Total assets	34 238	35 702	
NET ASSETS AND LIABILITIES			
Net assets			
Basic capital	6 197	6 197	
Other equity capital	11 823	7 263	Notes 13
Total net assets 31 December	18 020	13 460	
Allocation for liabilities			
Pension liabilities	166	291	Notes 8
Total allocation for liabilities	166	291	
Long-term liabilities			
Mortgage		8 875	
Total long-term liabilities		8 785	
Current liabilities			
Short-term part of mortgage		502	Note 6
Withholding tax, social security, holiday pay, unpaid VAT, etc.	1 796	3 749	
Project advances from funders	9 568	7 026	Note 3
Accounts payable	913	573	
Other liabilities	3 775	1 316	
Total current liabilities	16 052	13 166	
Total net assets and liabilities	34 238	35 702	

Oslo, 1 April 2005

Øyvind Østerud Chairman

Pavel Baev Board Member

Cathrine Løchstøer Board Member

Stein Tønnesson Director

Grete Brochmann Board Member

Martha Snodgrass Board Member

Mette Halskov Hansen Board Member

Raimo Väyrynen Board Member

Notes to the Accounts at 31 December 2004

Note 1:Accounting Principles

The annual accounts are produced in accordance with the Accounting Act of 1998 and sound accounting practice.

Valuation and Classification of Assets and Liabilities

Long-lived assets aimed at permanent utilization or ownership are classified as fixed assets. Other assets are classified as current assets. Items falling due within one year are classified as current assets and liabilities.

Fixed assets are stated at historical cost net of accumulated depreciation or at estimated fair value if less than book value and the decline in book value is not perceived as temporary. Depreciation is provided on a straight-line basis at rates calculated to amortize each asset over its expected economic lifetime. Current assets are valued at the lower of cost or net realizable value. Assets and liabilities in foreign currency are valued at year-end exchange rates.

Principles for the Entering of Royalty Income

Revenue on royalty is recognized in the year the money is received.

Pensions

The basis for recording pension liabilities is estimated salary level upon retirement and years of service. Deviations from estimates and effects of changes in assumptions are amortized over expected remaining years of service if exceeding 10% of the greater of pension liabilities and pension funds. Changes in the pension plan are dispersed over the remaining years of service. The figures include payroll tax. The pension means are assessed at real value.

Note 2: Separate Bank Account for Withholding Taxes

The balance in the separate bank account for withholding taxes at 31 December 2004 was NOK 811,566. The corresponding figure at 31 December 2003 was NOK 928,947.

Note 3: Project Accounts

The method of accounting for the projects is the percentage-of-completion method (Norwegian Accounting Standard 2, Construction Contracts). Project revenues are accounted for according to progress and reflect earned income. Project expenses are accounted for according to the accrual principle of accounting. The project balance and any outstanding income are regarded as sufficient to cover future expenses needed for the completion of the project. Earned non-invoiced revenues are specified in a separate line in the balance sheet. Account payments and project advances from funders are presented as current liabilities on the balance sheet.

Projects at 31 December	2004	2003
Earned non-invoiced revenues on ongoing projects	3 018 347	1 037 631
Pre-invoiced production	9 567 710	7 025 504

Note 4: Machines and Furniture

	2004	2003
Cost price 1 January	2 864 213	2 469 005
New investments	204 566	723 239
Decline/sales during the year	91 762	38 275
Accumulated previous depreciations	2 001 857	1 630 986
This year's depreciation	532 022	660 627
Net book value at 31 December	443 139	862 356

Depreciation of machines and furniture is calculated using the linear method over three years.

Note 5: Building

	2004	2003
Cost price 1 January 1994	15 200 000	15 200 000
Decline/sales during the year	13 680 000	0
Accumulated previous depreciations	1 520 000	1 368 000
This year's depreciation	0	152 000
Net book value at 31 December	0	13 680 000
The appual depreciation of the value of the building is 1% of the pr	rice for which it was purchased	

The annual depreciation of the value of the building is 1% of the price for which it was purchased.

Note 6: Sale of Property

In 2004, PRIO's property at Fuglehauggata 11 was sold. As part of the sale, a rent-back agreement was signed with the new owner for the period 1 January 2004 to 31 December 2005. The property was sold for NOK 23 million, with a deduction of NOK 7 million for the rent-back agreement. In connection with the sale, the mortgage with DnB NOR Bank was redeemed. The starting point for the mortgage was 5 March 1997. The original Ioan was for NOK 12,550,000.

Note 7: Leasing

PRIO has the following contracts for leasing of fixed assets:

 In 2002, PRIO signed a five-year contract for the leasing of two copy machines. The agreement was made for the period 1 August 2002 to 31 July 2007. The annual rent is NOK 56,792, including VAT.

Note 8: Pension Expenses, Pension Assets and Pension Liabilities

PRIO's employees are members of the Norwegian Public Service Pension Fund. The pension plan comprises retirement pensions, disability pensions and contingent life pensions (contingent life pensions include joint life pensions and children's pensions). The pension plan is regulated by the Norwegian Public Service Pension Fund Act. The plan also comprises contractual pensions from 62 years. The pension plan is coordinated with pensions from the National Insurance Scheme. All employees can be members of the pension fund if they work 14 hours or more per week. At 31 December 2004, 42 employees were included in the fund. Calculation of pension contributions and pension liabilities are based on actuarial principles. The pension scheme is not based on funds; payment of pensions is guaranteed by the Norwegian state (Retirement Pension Act §1). The Norwegian Public Service Pension assets in government bonds (fictitious funds).

	2004	2003
Present value of earned pensions	1 494 500	1 037 200
Interest expense on pension liabilities	701 100	472 900
Return on pension expense (before payroll tax)	(499 100)	(385 900)
Administration cost	22 800	24 400
Net pension expense (before payroll tax)	1 719 300	1 148 600
Effect of estimate deviation	147 400	26 700
Net pension expense (before payroll tax)	1 866 700	1 175 300
Periodized payroll tax	263 205	165 717
Pension expense (after payroll tax)	2 129 905	1 341 017

	31 December 2004	31 December 2003
	Assets < liabilities	Assets < liabilities
Earned pension liabilities	12 357 600	8 326 800
Pension plan assets (at market value)	9 127 000	7 011 000
Estimate deviations not recognized	(3 084 700)	(1 060 800)
Net pension liability before payroll tax	(145 900)	(255 000)
Periodized payroll tax	(20 572)	(35 955)
Net pension liability after payroll tax	(166 472)	(290 955)

Economic Assumptions

	2004	2003
Discount interest	6.00%	6.00%
Expected salaries regulation/pension regulation	3.30%	3.30%
Expected G regulation	2.90%	2.90%
Expected return on funds	6.50%	6.50%

The regular presuppositions in the insurance industry are used as actuarial assumptions for demographic factors and retirement.

Note 9: Specification of Salaries and Social Costs

Total salaries and social costs consist of the following items:

	2004	2003
Salaries	16 411 018	17 171 873
Payroll tax	2 520 959	2 500 747
Employer contribution pension scheme	1 456 015	741 280
Total	20 387 992	20 413 900

Note 10: Number of Employees During the Financial Year

The average number of employees at PRIO during 2004 was 63 (the corresponding figure for 2003 was 66). Additionally, the institute had on average 5 graduate students with scholarships and/or office space at PRIO during the year (the corresponding figure for 2003 was 5). The average number of conscientious objectors was 1 (the corresponding figure for 2003 was 3).

Note 11: Auditors' Fee

In 2004, PRIO paid a fee of NOK 211,964 to Deloitte State Authorised Public Accountants Ltd for their audit of the accounts. Consultant fees for audit-related services amounted to NOK 11,350. Special attestations on projects amounted to NOK 8,880. These amounts include VAT.

Note 12: Remuneration of the Leadership

In 2004, PRIO's total costs for remuneration of the Institute Director and members of the PRIO Board were NOK 626,693 and NOK 156,500, respectively.

Note 13: Net Assets

	2004	2003
Basic capital	6 197 000	6 197 000
Other equity capital, 1 January	7 236 365	4 227 064
Net surplus	4 560 033	3 036 292
Other equity capital, 31 December	11 823 389	7 263 356
Total net assets, 31 December	18 020 389	13 460 356

Deloitte.

Deloitte Statsautoriserte Revisorer AS Karenslyst allé 20 Postboks 347 Skoyen 0213 Oslo Telefon: 23 27 90 00 Telefax: 23 27 90 01 www.deloitte.no

Translation from the original Norwegian version

To the Board of Directors of PRIO - International Peace Research Institute

AUDITOR'S REPORT FOR 2004

We have audited the annual financial statements of PRIO for the fiscal year 2004, showing a profit of NOK 4.560.033. We have also audited the information in the Board of Directors' report concerning the financial statements, the going concern assumption, and the proposal for the allocation of the profit. The financial statements comprise the balance sheet, the statements of income and cash flows and the accompanying notes. These financial statements are the responsibility of the Institute's Board of Directors. Our responsibility is to express an opinion on these financial statements and on the other information according to the requirements of the Norwegian Act on Auditing and Auditors.

We conducted our audit in accordance with the Norwegian Act on Auditing and Auditors and generally accepted auditing standards in Norway. Generally accepted auditing standards require that we plan and perform the audit to obtain reasonable assurance about whether the financial statements are free of material misstatement. An audit includes examining, on a test basis, evidence supporting the amounts and disclosures in the financial statements. An audit also includes assessing the accounting principles used and significant estimates made by management, as well as evaluating the overall financial statement presentation. To the extent required by law and generally accepted auditing standards, an audit also comprises a review of the management of the Institute's financial affairs and its accounting and internal control systems. We believe that our audit provides a reasonable basis for our opinion.

In our opinion,

- the financial statements are prepared in accordance with the law and regulations and present the
 financial position of the Institute as of 31st December 2004, and the results of its operations and its
 cash flows for the year then ended, in accordance with generally accepted accounting principles in
 Norway
- the Institute's management has fulfilled its duty to maintain the Institute's accounting process in such a proper and well-arranged manner that the accounting process and the documentation is in accordance with the law and generally accepted accounting practices in Norway
- the information in the Board of Directors' report concerning the financial statements, the going
 concern assumption, and the proposal for the allocation of the profit is consistent with the financial
 statements and complies with the law and regulations.

Oslo, 1 April 2005 Deloitte

Margrete Guthus (signed) State Authorised Public Accountant (Norway)

Audit. Tax & Legal. Consulting. Financial Advisory.

Medlemmer av Den norske Revisorforening Org.nr.: 980 211 282 Member of Deloitte Touche Tohmatsu

PRIO Statutes

(amended by the PRIO Board, 13 September 2004)

§1:Aim and Purpose

The International Peace Research Institute, Oslo (PRIO), herein also referred to as 'the Institute', is an independent international research institute. Its purpose is to engage in research concerning the conditions for peaceful relations between nations, groups and individuals.

In addition to this main purpose, the Institute shall:

- stimulate research cooperation nationally and internationally;
- undertake training and teaching;
- hold conferences and seminars;
- disseminate information based on its own research as well as that of other institutions.

The Institute is free to choose its research projects.

The results of its research shall be available to the public.

The name of the Institute is, in Norwegian, 'Institutt for fredsforskning' and, in English, 'the International Peace Research Institute, Oslo', with 'PRIO' as the official abbreviation in both languages.

§2:The Foundation

The International Peace Research Institute, Oslo, is an autonomous foundation, independent of ideological, political or national interests.

The 'basis capital' (*grunnkapital*) of the Institute (as of 31 December 1996) stands at NOK 6.197 million.

§3: Governing Bodies

The Institute has the following governing bodies: • the Board:

- the Institute Director;
- the Institute Council.

§4:The Board

The Board shall consist of seven members with personal deputies. Board members are appointed for a three-year period, in such a way that 4 and 3 members, respectively, are to be appointed at a time.

Members are appointed by the following bodies:

- one member by the Institute for Social Research;
- two members by the Norwegian Research Council (NFR);
- one member by the University of Oslo;
- one member from the other Nordic countries, appointed by the Nordic
- International Studies Association;
- two members by the Institute Council (IC). These two members shall be chosen from among the PRIO staff. The Institute Director, the Deputy Director and the Administrative Director are not eligible.

The Institute Director, Deputy Director and the Administrative Director take part in the meetings of the Board, without voting rights. Consideration shall be given to achieving reasonable representation of both sexes.

The Board elects its own Chairperson and Deputy Chairperson.

If any Board member finds it necessary to leave the Board during his/her period of appointment, a new appointment should be made for the duration of the period. A quorum of the Board shall be constituted by the presence of at least five members; or by the presence of four, including the Chairperson. The Chair has a double vote in the case of a tie.

The Board shall be convened when demanded by the Chair or by two of its members.

The Board shall keep minutes of its meetings. Minutes are to be available to the members of the Institute staff.

§5 Board – Functions

The Board shall discuss and approve the work plan of the Institute, approve the budget and accounts, and evaluate the activities of the Institute in relation to the Institute's aim and purpose and its work plan.

The Board shall appoint the Institute Director (cf. §6), the Administrative Director, researchers employed in permanent positions and other researchers when these are engaged for a period of over one year. Notice of termination for these same personnel categories is likewise to be approved by the Board.

§6: Appointment of Institute Director and Deputy Director

The Institute Council and the Board jointly prepare the appointment of a new Institute Director. The Institute Council is to deliver an annotated recommendation to the Board. Before delivering its recommendation, the Council is to obtain statements from outside experts.

The Institute Director shall be appointed by the Board to serve for a period of four years, with the possibility of an extension of up to four years. If the Institute Council, within two weeks of the Board's announcement of the appointment, and by at least a 3/4 majority, disagrees with the decision of the Board, the Board must take the matter up for new deliberation and decision.

The Board shall appoint the Deputy Director for two years at a time, following nomination by the Director and the recommendation of the IC. The Deputy Director may be reappointed.

§7: Institute Director – Functions

The Institute Director is in charge of leading the activity of the Institute.

The Institute Director has overarching responsibility for the planning, running, coordinating and financing of the scholarly activities of the Institute, within the framework set by the work plan and the budget adopted by the Board. The Institute Director is to see to it that the staff are provided with possibilities to develop their competence.

The Institute Director has main responsibility for information about the Institute externally. He/ She shall also determine what is to be published in the name of the Institute.

The Deputy Director shall execute the daily functions of the Institute Director when the latter is prevented from performing them.

§8:The Institute Council

The Institute Council (IC) is composed of all employees in permanent positions, as well as all employees in non-permanent positions

employed for 50% or more of standard working hours for more than six months. All these have voting rights in the IC.

The conscientious objectors and the students elect one representative each with voting rights – with personal deputies. These are to be chosen at separate, annual elections. Further rules concerning these elections shall be determined by the IC.

A quorum of the Institute Council shall be constituted by the presence of at least 3/5 of its members with voting rights. Unless otherwise determined, matters are to be decided by simple majority vote. The Chair has a casting vote in the case of a tie.

The Institute Council shall be convened when requested by the Institute Director or three of its members.

The Institute Director takes part in the meetings of the IC, without the right to vote.

At the beginning of each meeting the IC is to decide who shall chair that session.

The Administrative Director normally acts as secretary to the IC. The IC shall keep minutes of its meetings.

§9: Institute Council – Functions

The Institute Council is a consultative body for the Board and the Director: All matters which, according to §5 above, are to be dealt with by the Board (including work plan, budget and accounts, appointment of the Administrative Director, researchers in permanent positions and other researchers when they are engaged for a period of over one year) are to be presented first to the IC for its recommendation. Unless special circumstances are an impediment, the Institute Director and the staff representatives to the Board shall also present to the IC all other matters which they intend to put before the Board.

Personnel matters are not to be dealt with by the Institute Council. The Institute Council itself determines whether a matter falls within its mandate.

The Institute Council elects two members of the PRIO staff to the Board. The IC can require these to take up specific matters before the Board.

§10: Freedom of Speech

All staff members have full freedom of expression, internally and externally.

§11: Statutes

These Statutes are available in both Norwegian and English. In the case of any discrepancies, the Norwegian text shall apply.

Amendment of the Statutes requires both a 2/3 majority of the Institute Council, and a 5/7 majority of the Board.

§12: Dissolution

Dissolution of the Institute requires a 2/3 majority of the Institute Council, and a 5/7 majority of the Board.

Should this take place, any funds shall go to the Institute for Social Research or be used for a research purpose designated by the latter Institute.

PRIO IS MOVING!



As of 1 August 2005, you will find PRIO and the CSCW at a new address:

Hausmannsgate 7 0186 OSLO

Telephone and fax numbers will not be changed.



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