



TRENDS IN EUROPEAN IR THEORY

SERIES EDITORS: KNUD ERIK JØRGENSEN · AUDREY ALEJANDRO
ALEXANDER REICHWEIN · FELIX RÖSCH · HELEN TURTON

palgrave▶pivot

The Liberal International Theory Tradition in Europe

Edited by
Knud Erik Jørgensen

palgrave
macmillan

Trends in European IR Theory

Series Editors

Knud Erik Jørgensen
Aarhus University
Aarhus, Denmark

Audrey Alejandro
London School of Economics
and Political Science
London, UK

Alexander Reichwein
Justus-Liebig-University Giessen
Giessen, Germany

Felix Rösch
Coventry University
Coventry, UK

Helen Turton
University of Sheffield
Sheffield, UK

A series of nine select Palgrave Pivots that together will provide concise accounts of IR theoretical traditions in Europe and the historical and theoretical roots that European IR currently is missing. The series will provide a theoretical backbone for the IR discipline and define and strengthen the identity of European IR theory.

Each Pivot in the series will constitute and reconstruct IR theoretical traditions in Europe (Liberalism, Realism, English School, International Political Economy, International Political Theory, Feminism, and the post-positivist tradition including constructivism, post-structuralism, post-colonialism and critical theory), and a concluding volume will look back and summarise the advances (and missed opportunities) of the discipline in the 20th century, all following an initial framework volume setting the scene and providing the rationale. As a theoretical tradition is nothing without theorists to produce, reproduce and transform it, the individual volumes will necessarily focus on the contributions of individual theorists, a feature that will provide the series with a unique edge, and covering the main characteristics of each tradition that is sorely missing.

But more than just providing roots, the series will have a critical integrative function. In order to achieve this aim, the projects will take a transnational perspective, going beyond the sociology of knowledge studies that so far have been predominantly national in its orientation. Each Pivot will be kept as close as possible to a common length and shared structure; the volumes will be developed individually yet with a very clear common thread and thus appear as an exclusive collection. Individual volumes will have a largely identical structure which the editorial committee will define and enforce.

More information about this series at
<http://www.palgrave.com/gp/series/15636>

Knud Erik Jørgensen
Editor

The Liberal International Theory Tradition in Europe

palgrave
macmillan

Editor

Knud Erik Jørgensen
Department of Political Science
Aarhus University
Aarhus, Denmark

Trends in European IR Theory

ISBN 978-3-030-52642-9

ISBN 978-3-030-52643-6 (eBook)

<https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-52643-6>

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s), under exclusive licence to Springer Nature Switzerland AG 2021

This work is subject to copyright. All rights are solely and exclusively licensed by the Publisher, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically the rights of translation, reprinting, reuse of illustrations, recitation, broadcasting, reproduction on microfilms or in any other physical way, and transmission or information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed.

The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use. The publisher, the authors and the editors are safe to assume that the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication. Neither the publisher nor the authors or the editors give a warranty, expressed or implied, with respect to the material contained herein or for any errors or omissions that may have been made. The publisher remains neutral with regard to jurisdictional claims in published maps and institutional affiliations.

Cover illustration: Détail de la Tour Eiffel © nemesis2207/Fotolia.co.uk

This Palgrave Pivot imprint is published by the registered company Springer Nature Switzerland AG.

The registered company address is: Gewerbestrasse 11, 6330 Cham, Switzerland

PREFACE

Reappraising European IR Theoretical Traditions, published in 2017, argued that the IR community in Europe needs to improve its knowledge about the origins and historical development of the scientific discipline of International Relations, including its theoretical dimensions. In order to function as a framework volume for other contributions to the book series Trends in European IR Theory, the authors explicated and reconsidered key terms such as discipline, tradition, hegemony and diversity.

The present volume focuses on the liberal theory tradition in Europe, that is, focuses on one of the main if not *the* main branch of the IR theory tree. It covers an unusually long period, specifically the 100 years after 1919, thus contributing to the IR centenary debate, arguing that the discipline took off with strong liberal characteristics. When we launched the project of which this book is the outcome, we noticed with astonishment that the liberal theory tradition, while often critiqued, has only occasionally received the attention a main theoretical tradition deserves. Moreover, a pronounced selection bias seems to play an important role, resulting in only scarce attention to liberal theorists on the European continent. IR scholars seem to reproduce patterns known from research on liberalism rather than delve into this rich history themselves. In this context, it is telling that the publication of *In Search of European Liberalisms. Concepts, Languages, Ideologies* (Freeden et al. 2019) came more than 90 years after the publication of Guido de Ruggiero's *The History of European Liberalism* (1927). The two books do not focus on IR liberal theory but they have the comprehensive European scope that also, despite its brevity,

characterizes the present volume. We hope the book will inspire scholars to further explore how theorists of a liberal orientation in multiple European settings have theorized global affairs and how their theories have distinct cultural, temporal and spatial characteristics.

Bringing this book together has been no small task. I am most grateful for the trust the book series editors showed me after receiving the book proposal. Their individual publications during the last few years have been great sources of inspiration. Moreover, I very much appreciate the exquisite patience the contributors demonstrated during the lengthy preparation process it turned out to be. Finally, I offer my thanks to Sarah Roughley at Palgrave for her professional interest in the project right from the beginning and during all its phases as well as for her timely deadline reminders.

Aarhus, Denmark
February 2021

Knud Erik Jørgensen

CONTENTS

1	Introduction: The Liberal International Theory Tradition in Context	1
	Knud Erik Jørgensen	
2	Liberal IR Theorizing During the Early Twentieth Century: 1900–1939	31
	Lacın İdil Öztığ	
3	Liberalism and Domestic Politics Approaches in IR	45
	Aukje van Loon	
4	Republicanism and Liberal International Theory	59
	Kevin Blachford	
5	Liberal European Peace Theories and Their Critics	73
	Lothar Brock and Hendrik Simon	
6	Liberal Security Theories	91
	Kamil Zwolski	

7	When Liberalism Meets the English School	105
	F. Asli Ergul Jorgensen	
8	Classical Liberalism and IR Theory	119
	Edwin van de Haar	
9	Conclusion and Perspectives	133
	Knud Erik Jørgensen	
	Index	139

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Kevin Blachford is a lecturer of International Relations at the Baltic Defence College and the Estonian School of Diplomacy. He completed his PhD in 2017 and his thesis was entitled ‘A Republican Approach to International Relations: Imperial Republics and the Balance of Power’. His research interests include the history of international political thought, security studies and foreign policy analysis.

Lothar Brock is Senior Professor of Political Science at Goethe University Frankfurt and Senior Fellow of the Peace Research Institute Frankfurt. His work presently focuses on the role of international law in international relations and the theory and practice of cooperation in conflict. He has published extensively on the politics of international cooperation between North and South, on the relationship between environmental degradation and conflict and on peace theory. His English book publications include *Civilizing World Politics. Society and Community Beyond the State*, Rowman and Littlefield 2000 (co-editor with Mathias Albert und Klaus-Dieter Wolf), *Democratic Wars. Looking at the Dark Side of Democratic Peace*, Palgrave 2006 (co-editor with Anna Geis and Harald Müller), *Fragile States. Violence and the Failure of Intervention*, Polity 2012 (co-author with Georg Sørensen, Michael Stohl and Hans Hendrik Holm), *The Justification of War and International Order*, Oxford University Press, forthcoming (co-editor with Hendrik Simon).

F. Asli Ergul Jorgensen is an assistant professor at Ege University, Turkey. She teaches International Relations theory, the Middle East and identity. She was a visiting researcher at Aarhus University, Denmark; at

IBEI, Spain; at the University of Sussex, the UK. She has several publications in edited volumes and peer-reviewed journals, including *Middle Eastern Studies*, *Insight Turkey* and *Global Affairs*. She is involved in the COST ENTER Network as a working group leader for “New Realities”. Currently she is preparing an article on English School perspectives on the African Union.

Knud Erik Jørgensen is a professor at Aarhus University. He teaches International Relations theory and European foreign policy. He is a member of the advisory board of IBEI, Barcelona, and co-editor of the Palgrave Studies in International Relations, the European Union in International Affairs and Global Affairs. Publications include *The Sage Handbook on European Foreign Policy* (co-ed 2015); *International Relations Theory: A New Introduction* (Palgrave 2017); co-edited with Oriol Costa, *The Influence of International Institutions on the European Union: When Multilateralism hits Brussels* (Palgrave 2012); co-edited with Katie Laatikainen, *Handbook on the European Union and International Institutions: Performance, Policy, Power* (Routledge 2013). Articles have appeared in the *European Journal of International Relations*, *Journal of European Integration*, *Journal of European Public Policy*, *Cooperation and Conflict*. He is involved in the COST ENTER Network, the EUNPD Network and EURDIPLO, a research project on the EEAS. Currently he is preparing *What Is International Relations?*

Lacin Idil Öztığ is an associate professor at Yıldız Technical University, Istanbul. She teaches Middle East politics and international organizations. She does research on secularism, Middle East politics, democratization, human rights, and populism. Her work has appeared in various journals including *Third World Quarterly*, *Middle East Policy*, *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, *Journal of Borderlands Studies*. She has been the editor of *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political* since 2016. She has a forthcoming article in *Government and Opposition*.

Hendrik Simon is a research associate at the Peace Research Institute Frankfurt and a lecturer at Goethe University Frankfurt. His interdisciplinary research covers international political and legal history and theory, with a particular focus on the justification and critique of war in the nineteenth, twentieth and twenty-first century. Publications include ‘The Myth of *Liberum Ius ad Bellum*. Justifying War in 19th-Century Legal Theory and Political Practice’ (*European Journal of International*

Law, 1/2018); co-edited with Lothar Brock, *The Justification of War and International Order. From Past to Present* (forthcoming with Oxford University Press). Hendrik was Visiting Fellow at the Centre for Advanced International Theory/University of Sussex (2017), at the University of Vienna (2016 and 2018), at the Max Planck Institute for European Legal History Frankfurt (2015–16) and at the Cluster of Excellence ‘Normative Orders’ (2010–12). Currently, he is preparing a book on *The Myth of Liberum Ius ad Bellum*.

Edwin van de Haar is an independent scholar who specializes in the liberal tradition in international political theory. He has been a lecturer at Brown University, Leiden University and Ateneo de Manila University. Van de Haar is the author of *Classical Liberalism and International Relations Theory. Hume, Smith, Mises and Hayek* (2009), *Beloved yet Unknown. The Political Philosophy of Liberalism* (2011, in Dutch) and *Degrees of Freedom. Liberal Political Philosophy and Ideology* (2015). He contributed to *The Oxford Handbook of Adam Smith* (2013) and his articles on liberal ideas and liberal thinkers appeared among others in the *Review of International Studies*, *International Relations* and *International Politics*.

Aukje van Loon is Postdoctoral Research Associate at the Chair of International Politics, Ruhr University Bochum (RUB), Germany; Dr. rer. soc. (political science, RUB); MA European Culture and Economy (RUB); BA Communication and Modern Languages (Robert Gordon University, Aberdeen). Her research/teaching concentrates on global and European economic and financial governance, with specific foci on EU trade policy and EMU reform. She is the author of *Domestic Politics in European Trade Policy: Ideas, Interests and Variation in Governmental Trade Positions* (Routledge, forthcoming); co-editor of *Global Power Europe Vol. 1–2* (Springer, 2013). Book chapters are published in *The Future of Global Governance* (2020); *The European Union and the BRICS* (2015); *Global Power Europe – Vol. 1* (2013). Articles appear in *Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft* (forthcoming); *Politics and Governance* (2020); *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* (2018); *European Politics and Society* (2018). She is *Global Young Faculty VI* member (2019–2021, Mercator) and was visiting scholar at ACTORE (University of Antwerp, 2019).

Kamil Zwolski is Associate Professor in International Politics, University of Southampton, and Jean Monnet Chair of European Security Governance. He is also a senior fellow of the Higher Education Academy. Dr. Zwolski's latest book, *European Security in Integration Theory* (2018), shows how international integration theories developed after World War I (federalism and functionalism) should be revisited today, particularly in the context of the troubled European-Russian relations and the conflict in Ukraine. Dr. Zwolski also regularly publishes in peer-reviewed journals. For example, he published on David Mitrany and contemporary European security order (*JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*); power relations in the so-called communities of practice in international relations (*Journal of European Integration*); or how the study of the sociology of bureaucracy and bureaucratic behaviour in international relations can help to explain the EU's international security policy (*JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*).



Introduction: The Liberal International Theory Tradition in Context

Knud Erik Jørgensen

Abstract The chapter outlines the rationale of the book and contextualizes the liberal theoretical tradition within the discipline of International Relations as well as in relation to broader currents of political thought, with a view to building bridges between disciplinary, theoretical and intellectual history. Moreover, the chapter introduces the agenda for the volume, provides a conceptual framework and an overview of the origins and trajectories through the twentieth century, including the various ways in which the liberal tradition branches out in distinct currents of thinking. Despite the tradition being a major, perhaps the main International Relations (IR) tradition, a comprehensive presentation of the tradition hardly exists and this general feature is in Europe amplified by the priority given, in the existing literature, to national settings.

K. E. Jørgensen (✉)

Department of Political Science, Aarhus University, Aarhus, Denmark

e-mail: kej@ps.au.dk

© The Author(s) 2021

K. E. Jørgensen (ed.), *The Liberal International Theory Tradition in Europe*, Trends in European IR Theory,

https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-52643-6_1

Keywords Liberalism • Liberal • Theory • International • Discipline • Europe

The recession of the liberal democratic tide in the last decade has given a new urgency to the study of the history of political thought. For those at least who value the basic elements of the liberal and democratic philosophies, it is more important now than at any time during the last hundred years to investigate the conditions for their effective maintenance. (Macpherson 1941: 564)

Welcome to the museum of modern International Relations (IR) theorizing. Today's guided tour will focus on the wing the museum devotes to liberal IR theorizing, specifically theorizing in Europe during the twentieth century. It is an important contribution, especially because it makes it possible to connect what is often kept separate: the liberal, the international and the theoretical. Concerning liberalism, the nineteenth century, often called 'the liberal century', continued into the twentieth century, and both liberal thought and practice had a deep impact on international affairs, although it is also true that political and ideological liberalism declined significantly during the interwar years. Paradoxically, liberal international theory emerged during the time political liberalism declined. Moreover, during the late liberal nineteenth century, 'the international' emerged as an ever more important *problématique*, concerning both intra-imperial relations in Europe—that is, nation-state-empire relations—and colonial relations beyond Europe. Likewise, the industrial revolution boosted a new level of interaction among states and societies in terms of trade and communication, not to neglect international migration. Finally, we should not forget that the founders of the once new academic discipline, International Relations, created it in a liberal 'advocacy' image, for which reason the discipline was one of the main interfaces between academic reflections and political practices.

Some might be reluctant to enter the museum, believing it will celebrate the past, thus forgetting the dark sides, or downplay the glorious present or ignore desirable or possible futures. Nothing could be more wrong. The museum you are about to enter is inspired by Hans Magnus Enzenberger's *Museum der Modernen Poesie* (1960) and will thus not cherish the custodian but the kind of curator who organizes exhibitions in a fashion that is intended to be relevant for contemporary visitors. The

museum is not just a collection of *oeuvres* and historical artefacts but an invitation to engage in a reflexive process through which contemporary theorists can study and possibly learn from past experiences. Others might be reluctant to enter because the liberal wing of the museum is bound to challenge numerous intellectual path dependencies and other kinds of inertia, thus intervening in well-established comfort zones and scholarly orthodoxies. In this case, warnings are in order not least because a project on the liberal IR theory tradition in Europe is bound to challenge a string of well-established wisdoms.

The book focuses on one of if not the main theoretical tradition within the discipline of International Relations. It is thus difficult to overestimate its significance (Griffiths 2011). Indeed, in some fields of study, liberal theorists enjoy full yet largely unacknowledged hegemony (but see Mearsheimer et al. 2005). Given this prominent status, it is almost obligatory for students of International Relations to know its trajectories whether they subscribe to it or feel at home in other traditions. The rationale of the book is also explained by the dispersed yet concerted development of liberal theory in Europe, dispersed in the sense that most branches co-exist, yet in a mode characterized by a strange mutual neglect and concerted in the sense that liberal theorists actually share important features, not least compared to competing theoretical traditions. The book is designed to connect the dispersed and to acknowledge the existence of shared features. Finally, the timing of the book is perfect. Similar to other volumes in the Trends in European IR Theory Series, the book mainly focuses on the twentieth century and, thus, on the ups and downs of a long tradition. In disciplinary terms, 2019 marked the symbolic centenary of the discipline of International Relations, originally created in a liberal image. Moreover, both liberal theory and political practice are currently under attack at close range, indeed the last 20 years are characterized by an avalanche of critique of both liberal theory and ideology (Mearsheimer 1994; Richardson 2001; Jahn 2009, 2013; Reus-Smit 2001; Long 1995; Friedman et al. 2013).

Considering the significance of the tradition and all the critiques of the liberal theory tradition, soon a century-long constant, one would intuitively think that preparing this book would be a straightforward and often repeated exercise. Would not the target of critique be well known? Would there not be numerous museums with “shows of force” (Luke 1992) to tap into, align with or put distance to? Not so. Decades ago, Mark Zacher and Richard Matthew pointed to a surprising fact: “a systematic