



The Palgrave Handbook of International Political Theory, Volume I

Edited by

Howard Williams · David Boucher
Peter Sutch · David Reidy
Alexandros Koutsoukis

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International Political Theory

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David Reidy · Alexandros Koutsoukis
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of International
Political Theory

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PREFACE

The last few years have been particularly eventful in world politics. The occurrence of a global pandemic beginning in late 2019 and early 2020 changed things remarkably, bringing a threat to light which affected not only states domestically but also all states almost at the same time. For once the major threat to security in world politics was not that brought about by other states but by a natural phenomenon, the spread of a contagious deadly disease. The whole world was tightly focused on the search for a cure or at least successful measures to prevent the disease from spreading further. COVID-19 was not of course the first pandemic of recent times. There had been warnings with Aids in the 1990s, the first Sars outbreak of 2002–2004, and the Ebola epidemic in 2014–2016, however they did not sufficiently affect the majority in the advanced West to shake things up in the manner of COVID-19. Simultaneously with the arrival of the pandemic nature also asserted itself more forcibly in the shape of the continued acute environmental crisis with global warming, and the disasters it brought in its wake: fires, terrifying storms and flooding. The climate crisis reached emergency levels in many parts of the world. Internal politics became dominated for a while by global problems in an unprecedented way. This collection captures some of this change. It brings out that global politics is just as much about forms of cooperation as it is about forms of conflict. Long may this new emphasis last, despite the long shadow cast by the final event which has made current times exceptional. The War in Ukraine threatens to bring back past agendas of global armed conflict but it is too soon to tell whether that will dominate, to everyone's detriment.

Several excellent collections on international political theory are already available. However, the field is not so crowded that a new volume on the topic will not be welcome. As priorities in the study of international relations continually change, it makes sense to reflect that change in publications. The Handbook is a contribution to that process. It also seeks to be diverse, not only by first examining the history of the understanding of global social order

but also by focusing in the subsequent chapters on the issues which in the editors' view dominate world politics today. Although in the line-up of editors we were defeated in our aim to seek gender balance in the contributors we nonetheless partially make up for this in having a better than average 1/3 of contributors being female. Like international political theory itself, gender balance in the academy is a work in progress. Contributors are also geographically diverse with all the inhabited continents represented. Although North American and British contributors predominate, there are also authors from Central Europe, Latin America, Asia and Australasia.

The authors were given considerable scope in handling their material. Each of the contributors was invited to present their chapters to provide an argument which not only summarised and highlighted the chosen topic, but also brought to the fore their own research interests. Many of the authors took full advantage of this to put forward a thesis they held to be new. Others surveyed the chosen field more conventionally but always from the standpoint of their own research interests. The balance between survey and judgement is, therefore, different in each chapter. This we think adds, rather than detracts, from the Handbook's value.

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We thank the large number of colleagues and collaborators worldwide who evaluated and commented on the chapters as they came through. Unavoidably this occurred with very little advance notice and with no financial reward. We are glad of the forbearance and patience they uniformly showed. Thanks must go to David Sullivan for his supporting work and considerable help in writing the introduction as also to our fellow editor, Alexandros Koutsoukis, whose role expanded unexpectedly and considerably as the volume took shape. Alexander Mack kindly provided the cover image for the first volume and the volume that is to follow, which nicely symbolises both the unity and diversity of the project. Special mentions are due also to Ambra Finotello and Naveen Dass at the press. Ambra was not only an inspiring editor but was able also to correspond with Howard Williams in Welsh when the occasion arose. Diolch yn fawr.

PRAISE FOR *The Palgrave Handbook of
International Political Theory*

“This handbook of thought-provoking new articles on international political theory is diverse in subject and outlook and refreshingly timely. Spanning two rich volumes, early contributions examine the historical roots and development of theorizing in this realm and challenge our often Eurocentric perspective on it. Later discussions range over a host of topical issues—from migration and global distributive justice to drone warfare, disaster relief, and climate change—and engage pressing current debates from varied perspectives—cultural, geographic, racial, and gender-based. The handbook promises lecturers and their students (undergraduate or graduate) solid disciplinary foundations and a sense of the exciting range and contemporary significance of the subject.”

—Sarah Holtman, *University of Minnesota, USA*

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Oliver Pierce has held teaching positions at both Cardiff University and the University of Bristol in the course of completing his Ph.D. The broad thrust of his research concerns the difficult normative questions that contemporary international politics draws attention to with unfortunate regularity. To that end, the chapter offered here alongside Peter Sutch represents the first step on an academic journey that seeks to sketch out what is required when the tough questions of global justice come calling.

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Introduction

*David Boucher, Alexandros Koutsoukis, David Reidy,
David Sullivan, Peter Sutch, and Howard Williams*

International political theory (IPT) is a multidisciplinary field, eclectic in its intellectual approaches and in the questions that have captured the imagination of scholars across centuries and continents. This two-volume handbook is testimony to this, showcasing the work of political theorists, social scientists and historians, all of whom make IPT the vibrant and fascinating field

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that it is. The moral, political, religious and legal concerns that we take as our subject matter reflect the long history of scholarship in the broad field. In this collection, we bring together scholars with an extraordinarily diverse and rich expertise in an attempt to tell the complex story of what has become IPT.

In Volume 1, we explore some of the formative contributions to debates that have shaped the field we now know as IPT. Our contributors take us from the ancient world to the formation of the modern state system as we lay the groundwork for a critical understanding of changes in, and challenges to, core ideas such as sovereignty, international law and territorial integrity. The Western tradition of political philosophy has dominated conceptions of how the international system has evolved, and what the relations between states ought to be. Our current considerations predominately compel us to conceive of the past in terms of them, and given the discipline of international relations, and the sub-field of international political theory, are relatively new, dating from the end of the nineteenth century; it is not surprising that the Western belief in its own superiority in comparison with other civilisations was reflected in the Eurocentric conception of the world. Even Hegel and Marx, giants of nineteenth century thought, when they theorised Africa, for example, did so solely in terms of its relation to Europe. For both philosophers, African history did not begin until its encounter with European civilisation, and the history of the Americas began in 1492 with the discovery and conquest of the continent.

These ideas found material expression in the Europeanisation of the world. Europe became released from considerations of geography and its standards were forcibly imposed on other cultures; their languages denigrated and ridiculed, to be suppressed and replaced by the three European languages, and by implication the carriers of European culture, French, English and Portuguese. It has been a long journey from the end of World War II, when the allies and the axis powers exhausted their resources and resolve to continue forcibly to hold on to their empires, to the present where the continuing legacies of colonialism, and neo-colonialism, have precipitated movements to decolonise the mind and the curriculum. White settler communities, that almost completely eradicated indigenous peoples, still practise a form of internal colonialism where European peoples constitute the dominant culture, but with a growing sensitivity to its injustices.

The discipline of international relations has, since its inception, almost completely conceptualised the world in terms of states, and perpetuated the myth of the Peace of Westphalia as the emblematic moment when state sovereignty, and the notional equality of states within the modern state

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system was born. Historical correctives have not been in short supply, but the emblematic myth persists. Prior to European dominance the history of the world is one of civilisations. Hegel's *Lectures on the Philosophy of History* is a philosophical characterisation of the succession of civilisations. European states themselves acquired empires, and it is difficult to conceive of them simply as states interacting with each other in a European context. Great Britain alone in the early part of the twentieth century ruled over 25% of the earth's landmass, and 20% of its population. It was such a dominant force in Europe because of this largely non-European Empire. When Hitler attempted, by force, to unify vast areas of Europe into an empire he sought to define non-Germanic Europeans, such as the Slavs, as products of inferior civilisations.

This handbook consciously reflects this European domination of the discipline, in order to provide insights into how it came to conceive the world in its own image. At the same time, we have provided correctives to this European perspective that dominates the discipline, by recalibrating and refocusing on non-Western perspectives, and reactions to European hegemony.

PART I: THE ANCIENT WORLD

The shadow that classical Greece and Rome cast over the modern world is immeasurable. A considerable degree of the way we conceive politics owes a great deal to the ideas developed by the Greeks, and to the political and legal practices of the Romans. This heritage, of course, has been mediated through subsequent generations, each with their own preoccupations, who have adapted them to make intelligible the very different circumstances they faced. In attempting to understand the international political theories of the Greeks and Romans, we should keep in mind what Reinhart Koselleck conceptualised as 'the space of experience'. He meant by it the world with which different thinkers and political actors engaged, and of which they were capable of making sense. The space of experience places constraints on their horizons of expectation, that is, the capacity thinkers have to imagine a more desirable and possible future condition. Political thought and action is largely the attempt to overcome the distance between experience and expectation (Koselleck 2004, 255–275).

There are many reasons we engage in continuous dialogue with the past. For some it is for its own sake, immersing themselves in the worlds of different ages. For others, it is to be considered a transhistorical conversation, in which lessons are to be learnt. Both Thucydides and Machiavelli, for example, believed themselves to be providing timeless truths about human nature, which they believed would be of use to humanity. Thucydides, of course, wrote of the war between two empires, Sparta and Athens, while at the same time acknowledging the immense influence of the Persian Empire on the growth and character of Athenian daring. The three chapters that comprise this section, and others later in the volume, such as those on Augustine, Morgenthau, imperialism or the Crusader-Muslim relations attest to this.

It is appropriate that the first chapter of the book is devoted to a study of an ancient and highly sophisticated non-Western tradition of international political thought. In ‘The Chinese Contribution to Theorizing International Relations’, Rosita Dellios argues that the central core of Chinese political thought is very old—first emerging during the Warring States period—but is characterised by ‘the ability to renew itself through constant adaptation’. She provides a guide to key intellectual movements and central concepts in Chinese international political thought and their impact on thinking about strategy and diplomacy and demonstrates how they continue to be discussed philosophically. They also have a continuing, and profound, influence on modern Chinese politics—exemplified by the most significant intellectual movements, Confucianism, which was condemned by Mao but reinstated under Deng, and Legalism, which has become more dominant under Xi. A contemporary Chinese theory of international relations which takes serious account of urgent and problematic issues such as race and gender has to be founded on this long tradition of ‘civilizational values’, which ‘relies on understanding the nature of change as an eternal process’.

Two other questions, more long-standing, but not unrelated to the recent debates about Eurocentricity, are how we recover (if indeed we can) the original meaning of older writers and what influence these writers have had on later thinking about international politics. More recently, the discipline has taken an historical turn, reflecting similar trends in the history of political thought. David Armitage, for example, has emphasised the need to examine international thinkers in the context of conventions in which they wrote, in order to avoid the inherent bias towards anachronism in the less historically minded students of the history of international thought, among whom he identifies Martin Wight and Hedley Bull. Recovering the original meanings by reading the texts historically does not exclude examining ways in which their work has been received over time. As R. G. Collingwood reminds us, there is always a history of the historiography of texts and their meanings, and for different ages or generations they may take on a different significance. Hans-Georg Gadamer has understood this process as a fusion of horizons, in which interpretation takes place in the context of a tradition of interpretation. We encounter texts, not as *tabula rasa*, but carrying with us a forestructure of meanings, or prejudices, which help structure our understanding.

One such tradition of interpretation that has been structuring Western thought and giving history a more deterministic outlook has been that of tragedy. The rise and fall of empires, internecine conflicts, the monstrous killings within and across civilisations, the ability of humans to harm each other or even take pleasure from it, and the valorisation of warrior culture for ages have made this metanarrative a dominant popular and theoretical perspective. More recent readings of history and of Western thought, however, have been illuminating the limits of human choice in the development of history in ways that leave more room to appreciate historical ambiguity and human freedom. Thucydides, like Machiavelli, Hobbes and Clausewitz, is a key figure in this

tragic metanarrative in the history of international political thought. Nonetheless, as Alexandros Koutsoukis argues in Chapter 2, ‘Thucydides and Social Processes: Beyond Tragedy’, interpretations of his work have been changing considerably over time, partly as a reflection of broader debates in international relations theory and political philosophy, and partly because of an increasing recognition of the more open-ended historical thinking of Thucydides that he traces. As Koutsoukis also points out, discussions of Thucydides frequently illustrate a related danger that of using historical events in the writing and teaching of international political thought to treat them merely as exemplars of political theories, or as illustrations of particular conceptual problems. The Melian Dialogue in Thucydides’ *History of the Peloponnesian War*, is a familiar instance of this, often being treated as an illustration of realist thinking. The problem with such an approach is that decontextualising such events forces the reader to lose sight of the broader and deeper social processes of which they are part. Koutsoukis offers an alternative processual approach which takes account of these processes, and through a detailed analysis of Thucydides’ discussion of the Spartan general Brasidas’ campaign in the North of Greece shows how such a broader analysis can both deepen contemporary readers’ understanding of Thucydides’ writing and enrich modern approaches to the study of international politics.

Stoicism, which emerges in the Greek and Macedonian empires, has had a profound impact on the development of European political thought. Cicero, one of the great Roman orators and politicians, became immersed in Stoic thought and offered an enduring characterisation of a standard of state conduct that rises above the ordinary laws of the state or empire, emphasising that we have duties as citizens, as well as humans in a universal community. His is probably the most famous characterisation of natural law, a concept conceived differently by Aristotle and Sophocles, before him, but which nevertheless constitutes the belief that there are ideals to which we must aspire, even if we are condemned to fall short. In Chapter 3, ‘Stoicism, Cicero and Relations Among Nations’, David Boucher offers a detailed reconstruction of the thought of this highly influential, if somewhat unorthodox, Stoic writer on politics. As a politician and orator Cicero emphasised the importance of an active, as opposed to a merely contemplative life, changing ‘the earlier emphasis of the Stoics from the virtue of wisdom and the community of the wise, to the virtue of justice’. Central to his thought is the idea of a natural law which reflects a rationally ordered cosmos. Reason enables humans to participate in and be harmonious with this order, although this law is only fully realisable under ideal conditions where human beings are completely rational. The laws of particular states ought to be assessed in the light of this universal law, as should their actions. This idea implies a universal moral community; a concept that also underpins modern international law. From this idea of universal law follows the idea of the equality of all human beings, irrespective of differences such as race or gender, an idea which, like that of a universal moral community, has strongly influenced modern cosmopolitanism. There is

also a hierarchy of duties which stipulates that our primary obligation is to the specific political community of which we are a member. Obligations to people who do not belong to our own community are primarily that of not harming them—there is no duty that overrides the greater obligation to one's own community. Peace is much more preferable than war, though war may be honourably engaged in as a last resort. 'The purpose of war must be the achievement of peace, and to eliminate injustices between nations when victory is secured'.

PART II: EARLY AND EARLY MODERN CHRISTIANITY

The era of international thought this section encompasses is the period between the disintegration of the dominance of the Roman Empire around AD 400, emblematically immortalised in the sacking of Rome in 410, and the discovery of the 'New World' in 1492, along with the emergence of the modern European state around 1500.

Realists frequently argue that the central tenets of realism are 'timeless truths'—principles which hold true at all times and in all places. The portrayal of human nature is almost invariably pessimistic. In defence of this view, they often refer to the recurrence of these views in various writers throughout history, such as Thucydides and Machiavelli. Yet as the chapters in the previous section demonstrate, unless care is taken to locate thinkers in their historical context, serious misunderstandings of their meaning and of their application is almost certain to occur.

This section testifies to the importance of obligations to supranational political entities, including the Roman Empire and the Christian Church, and how Christendom became the primary focus of allegiance and identity in the West following the death of the apostles and the emergence of bishops who oversaw urban Christian populations. The period of persecution waned with the ascension of Constantine the Great, the first to convert to Christianity, in the fourth century AD and the birth of St. Augustine in Roman North Africa. Constantine lay the foundations of Christendom, building an imperial residence in Constantinople which subsequently became the capital of the Empire for more than a thousand years. The term Christendom largely refers to the medieval and renaissance idea of the ever-expanding Christian world which far outgrew its European boundaries as a political entity through aggressive territorial acquisition during the Crusades.

As the official religion of the Empire from 310 Christianity's rise paralleled Rome's decline, Christianity at once had to justify and legitimise itself against charges that it has undermined the institutions of the Empire. Consistent with Sallust and Cicero, St Augustine contended that it was moral probity that upheld the Empire, and moral corruption that marked its decline. St Augustine attempts to overcome the deficiencies of Roman Stoicism and Christianity. Augustine is an exponent of natural sociability which allies him with St Paul and the Church Fathers. Like them he believes a Law of Nature

was emblazoned in men's hearts, incapable of being extinguished, but capable, nevertheless, of being corrupted by sin and depravity. The flickerings of God's law that continue to find a place in men's hearts enable them to grasp, albeit dimly, the ideal of justice required to animate our social and political institutions. Because of original sin perfection is beyond the attainment of humanity. This pessimistic view of human depravity was unacceptable to the Celtic monk Pelagius. In what came to be known as the Pelagian Heresy, he and his followers denied the doctrine of Original Sin and Christian Grace. They contended that individuals are capable of receiving or rejecting the Gospel, presupposing the ideal of the wise man, which was central to the ethical principles of the Stoics. For Augustine, society was held together by an agreement of wills (voluntarism) and having a common purpose, rather than by a shared conception of justice. St Thomas Aquinas emphasised that society coheres because of law and reason. He stands in the declaratory tradition of law. Natural law, with its derivative, the law of nations and the idea of justice, has to be discovered by right reason.

In answer to the question, 'Who am I?', the answer became 'I am a Christian', and in contrast to the infidel who posed a significant threat in the form of the Ottoman Empire. As Christendom expanded territorially to encompass large parts of the Middle East and North Africa, its geographical boundaries went far beyond Europe. Even though the Church constitutes a distinct challenge and claim on the universal obligations of the faithful, the idea of empire, even after Rome fell, remained a force to be reckoned with. The emperor in Constantinople, heir to the Roman Empire, but particularly Charlemagne, gave impetus to the revival of the empire in the West in 800. The primary loyalty, however, was to Christianity. The Moslem threat, which Suleiman Mourad nuances for us in Chapter 6, was from the seventh to the tenth century conceived in both spiritual and territorial terms. The crusades from the eleventh to the thirteenth century, defending the borders of Christendom, were severely shaken by the loss of Jerusalem, and parts of Europe, such as Spain and Sicily.

If there is a key issue identifiable in the late medieval period, it was the conflict over the jurisdiction of the Papacy and of the Emperor. During the period, when Aquinas lived (1225–1274) the idea of a universal Christian empire was becoming unfeasible, but was not yet seriously challenged by the idea of the sovereign state. The city-state, such as those quintessentially found in Italy, were the most common political entities, with their own legislative authority, but they were, however, understood in terms of the universal moral principles and ideals discoverable in the rational natural law, which was the hallmark of the Christian Church and its brotherhood of mankind.

As the Middle Ages waned, and the Crusades came to an end with expulsion of the Moors from their caliphate in southern Spain, Christianity found a new mission that went hand in hand with colonial expansionism. Alexander VI, in his papal donation, and as the heir to St. Peter, granted to Spain and Portugal temporal authority over the Americas, while reaffirming the mission and duty

of the Church to propagate the faith to infidels and heathens. The process of European adventurism and aggressive colonisation that follow was one of the most momentous meetings of cultures ever experienced, the consequences of which Camilla Boisen explores in Chapter 7.

Huw Williams in Chapter 4, 'Augustine, Realism, and their Revealed Truth', situates the political thought of Augustine of Hippo, who is often included in the canon of realist thinkers, in the historical context of his confrontation with Pelagianism. It is only when we grasp the way in which Augustine's theory of human nature developed as a consequence of this debate, Williams argues, that it is possible to fully understand that the supposedly timeless truths emerged from a particular theological and political context and have their distinct meaning only within that context. Understanding this, and also realising that Augustine's political theology was only one of a number of competing interpretations of Christianity, one which triumphed not because it expressed timeless truths but because it suited the interests of the Roman Empire to impose this particular viewpoint enables a deeper appreciation of the distinctiveness of Augustine's political thought. In doing so, it also challenges the claims of modern realist writers to have uncovered supposedly universal, abstract and unchanging truths about the nature of international relations.

In Chapter 5, 'The Roman Empire and the Universal Church', Cary Nederman reflects on the complexity and political possibilities of international political order. He offers a reconciliation of the apparent contrast between the spiritual unity of the Church and the ideal of the single universal empire despite the political fragmentation of Europe in the later Middle Ages. Rather than anachronistic, this view of the discourses of empire helps acknowledge gradual developments in society, politics, religion, law and social imagination. He concludes that some forms of these universalising imperial discourses are still recognisable in contemporary models of global governance.

This is followed by Chapter 6, 'Crusader-Muslim Relations: The Power of Diplomacy in a Troubling Age', in which Suleiman Mourad, using a variety of classical Muslim sources, challenges simplistic dichotomies between Crusaders versus Muslims that perpetuate an exaggerated *realpolitik* view of the Middle Ages. Mourad de-centres war from our view of the Crusades presenting an inclusive way of studying them. He argues that the Crusades were an era characterised by both war and peace and by a complex environment in which diplomacy and rule-making shaped the relations between Crusader and Muslim states. To capture this more accurate view of international order, he suggests, we need to avoid presupposing opportunistic motivations. We ought instead, appreciate the development of both realistic and idealistic elements in the relations between Crusaders and Muslims.

In Chapter 7, 'The Conceptual Challenge: Europe and the New World', Camilla Boisen shows how the new adventurism following the expulsion of the Moors from Spain, focused upon the conquest of the Americas. With it came conceptual challenges as Europeans interacted with the 'unknown' other, the search for a new 'order' and the available vocabulary in which to

legitimise it was found wanting. At first, the new world is assimilated into the Christian worldview, immediately exposing the inadequacy of its Biblical cosmos. Because of the immense new horizons for acquisition an obsession with theories of property emerges in order to justify European expansionism and land confiscation, including enslavement. History has long been a testament to attempts made at constructing a series of ‘justifications’ that ensure the sustained survival of the newly created world order. This Chapter covers aspects of this history, from the end of the Christian Crusades in 1492, to the evolution of Grotian and Lockean theories of natural law in the seventeenth century. As such, this chapter maps the dialogue regarding possibilities and limitations of natural law in formulating arguments for interventionism. This is done through three important vectors of ‘infidel rights’, the ‘right to missionary wars’ and the ‘right to colonise’. With the introduction of the debate between Sépulveda and Las Casas regarding ‘by what right’ the Spaniards rule over the peoples of the Americas and confiscate their property, it becomes evident that the age characterised as the discovery of the new world, saw that the brutality with which the Indians were treated demonstrated acts of barbarism far greater than those of the Americans.

PART III: THE WESTPHALIAN MOMENT

It is commonplace in international relations to take the Peace of Westphalia as emblematic of the emergence of the modern state system. It is, however, a convenient fiction which serves to disguise the complexity of international relations at the time of the Thirty Years’ War, Europe’s first continental war. It was a war much more destructive than any that had preceded it, mainly because of major innovations in weaponry. It had significant economic and social consequences that brought the war to an end, not because of military defeat, but because of sheer exhaustion. In Germany, for example, estimates vary between one and two thirds in the decline of population.

The Thirty Years’ War began principally because of religious rivalries, but also out of fear that the Hapsburg Holy Roman Empire had hegemonic designs. The Peace of Westphalia was largely the product of French, Swedish and Dutch interests. The aim was to diminish the universal authority of the Papacy and the Holy Roman and Spanish empires of the Hapsburgs. As a consequence, they became juridically equal with established and newly emergent states. The treaty essentially acknowledges the political and theoretical developments at the time when the modern state began to emerge gradually claiming a monopoly over declarations of war and peace, diplomatic representation and the concluding of treaties with foreign powers.

At the same time, Westphalia sanctioned the principle of balance of power as the mechanism to prevent dangerous accumulations of power, and in doing so reduced dynastic disputes to a minimum. While a small number of wars of succession continued, such as the Spanish, they were fought, not to acquire new territory, but to prevent successions that might lead to excessively

powerful alliances. The Westphalian settlement was not designed to prevent war, but instead provided the criteria for when it may legitimately be pursued.

Of the twenty-two wars fought between 1648 and 1713, religious disputes hardly emerged because Westphalia had left the regulation of religious practices to states themselves and promoted religious toleration, conceding the right of parents to educate their children in their faith. The recognition of Calvinism and Lutheranism was not acceptable to the Papacy, nor was religious intolerance prevented within states. However, between states, the Peace did succeed to a large extent in alleviating religious friction between states.

The disciplinary myth of the peace of Westphalia and the Westphalian Moment in history is challenged in the following three chapters of this section. They also provide the backdrop for chapters in other sections that focus on issues of race, international law and nationalism. A common thread that characterises these chapters is the added-value of normative thinking to understand international politics or make policy recommendations. This section focuses on both cosmopolitan (Cavallar; Eberl) and realist (Rösch) discourses.

Cosmopolitanism offers a major alternative to Realism and liberalism in contemporary international relations theory, and there has been an increasing recognition of the need to recover its historical development. In Chapter 8, ‘Dynamic Cosmopolis: The “Westphalian World Order” and Beyond’, Georg Cavallar discusses the re-emergence of cosmopolitan thought during the period from 1500 to 1800. He identifies an important strand which replaced what he characterises as the Stoic view of a global community as something given and static with a belief in an emerging and dynamic global community. Drawing on the writings of important thinkers from Vitoria to Kant, he argues that the latter view underpins much modern cosmopolitan thought. The emphasis on change highlights the importance in much modern cosmopolitan thought of aspiration and creativity rather than, as was the case with Roman Stoics such as Cicero, of an initiation into a fixed hierarchical order, and offers an important critique of the nature and significance of the so-called Westphalian system and of the contemporary theory of a society of states.

Oliver Eberl’s Chapter 9, ‘The Cosmopolitan Challenge: Ideas of Cosmopolitanism in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries’, focuses particularly on cosmopolitanism in the ‘long’ nineteenth century, arguing that Kant’s cosmopolitanism laid the foundations of later nineteenth century critiques of colonialism and of slavery and the slave trade, though he also points to the way in which powerful European states misused cosmopolitanism ideas in seeking to justify ‘civilizational imperialism for humanitarian reasons’. Kant’s writings also provided much of the intellectual justification for the peace movements which became increasingly important in the nineteenth century and to the gradual development of international institutions which sought to promote cosmopolitan law as the basis of just relations between states. This process culminated in the creation of the League of Nations in the aftermath of the World War I. Although he points to ways in which imperialist powers were able to misuse ideas of cosmopolitan responsibility, such as the League

of Nations mandate system, Eberl concludes that the moral influence of these ideas is such that ‘colonialism, slavery, and war of aggression can no longer be morally, legally and politically legitimate after cosmopolitanism’.

The need to engage with how ideas about the good life or a decent society or civilisation develop and impact on the world of sovereign states is often juxtaposed to the perceived cynicism of realism. Yet, even within the paradigm of realism both traditional and scientific approaches have emerged, which are more or less compatible with the need to think normatively. From previous chapters that offer re-readings of Thucydides or Augustine to contemporary readings of Morgenthau that detract from the Waltzian or Mearsheimian straitjacket of the international system, realists of various colours have unearthed a well-spring of insights that challenge the textbook view of realism or of realist thinkers. In Chapter 10, ‘The Positivist Challenge, the Rise of Realism, and the Demise of Nationalism’, Felix Rösch, offers such a classical realist reading of the Westphalian world order that challenges positivist interpretations and centres on the contingency of life and the need for a normative agenda. Classical realists, such as Hans Morgenthau, he argues, privilege a spatio-temporal contextualisation of international politics and grasp the implications of the tragedy of the nation-state: the epicentre of popular loyalties that is, however, unable to address economic, political and military security problems that cross national borders. For this reason, Rösch continues, classical realists and especially Morgenthau advocated the development of new emotional attachments away from the nation-state, even though he was unable to find satisfactory solutions. Yet, Rösch concludes, classical realist thinking serves as a powerful voice to counter simplistic nationalist-populist visions of how to achieve a more secure or peaceful world.

PART IV: COLONIALISM, DECOLONISATION AND POST-COLONIALISM

Imperialism has become a central topic of debate in recent international political thought, much of it centring on the critical analysis of nineteenth and twentieth century Western imperialism and its continuing legacy in the twenty-first century. Imperialism is essentially racist. The imperial power in justification of the exercise of its rule, or influence, infantilise those peoples they dominate, arguing that different civilisations, some of which had regressed, and some having barely moved beyond savagery to barbarism, required the guidance of the higher European civilisation towards self-government. In whatever form it takes imperialism is the domination of one people by another which entails various strategies of dehumanisation, including the denigration of culture, language, religion, economic efficiency and moral character. The church and state were complicit in European adventurism from the start of early modern imperialism in 1492. Wherever colonialists went, missionaries were sure to follow, declaring they were fulfilling the central tenet of the Christian religion,

of whatever denomination, to propagate the faith and save the souls of the infidel.

When disaggregated, nineteenth and twentieth century imperialism is characterised by three categories. At the top of the hierarchy are white settler colonies that had become well-established, and for the most part where indigenous peoples had become minorities, in part due to the introduction of European diseases, natural disasters and conscious eradication. The exception was South Africa where the two white populations, the British and Afrikaans, brutally ruled the majority black population until 1994. In the traditional white settler communities, a form of internal colonialism persists with the languages of communication and governance remaining European—English, French, Spanish and Portuguese. Even in Africa these languages, with the exception of Spanish, remain the lingua franca and dominate education, publishing, literature and research. The next level down in the hierarchy are those colonies that were deemed once to have had sophisticated civilisations, such as India and South-East Asian countries such as Malaysia, Singapore, Vietnam, Indonesia and parts of the Middle East. In justifications of European imperialism, these countries had in a way degenerated, both morally and economically, and required to be inducted into European civilisation in order to resume the path to civilised life. At the bottom of the hierarchy was Africa which had long been denigrated by European philosophers and deemed by such thinkers as Hume, Kant, Hegel, Marx, and more recently Arendt, to have no interest or significance, indeed, no history, until the arrival of European civilisation.

In Chapter 11, Branwen Gruffydd Jones brings her long curated expertise in African anti-colonial political thought to bear on the question of how international political theory should conceive of the work of anti-colonial writers as a part of the general international political theory project. Focusing particularly on the work of Amílcar Cabral she shows how the now vibrant literature that explores issues of colonialism has positioned the genre. She shows how Cabral's Western education as an agronomist means his thought cannot be considered non-Western in an epistemological sense. Importantly however, this does not mean it is continuous with or derivative of modern Western or Enlightenment thought. Drawing on his reflections on race, colonialism and liberation both shows how Cabral's work speaks to the international and how it should be considered an autonomous form of international political thought.

In Chapter 12, 'Imperialism and Its Critics', Demin Duan and Howard Williams discuss a number of different approaches in the writings of five nineteenth century thinkers, who they divide into two broad groups. In the first, they discuss Kant, Hegel and Marx, who despite their very significant differences, each stress the importance of a philosophy of history. In the second, they place two liberal thinkers, Mill and Tocqueville who began with considerable areas of agreement, and mutual regard, but later came to disagree. Engaging with these five thinkers helps to show, they argue, how ideas of,