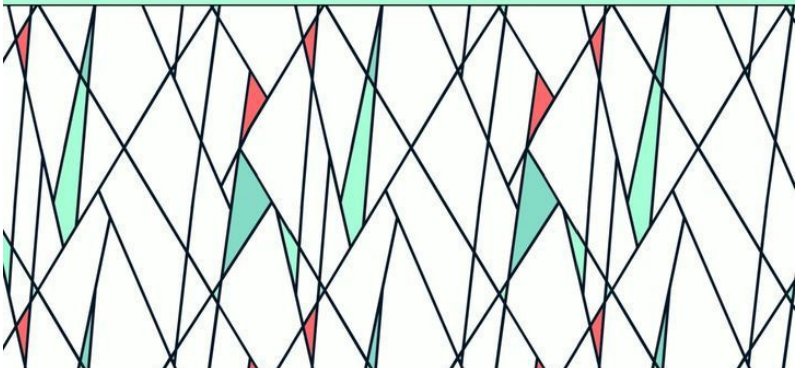
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Galina Kupriyeva

Fourteen essential books in the history of International Relations

Classics in IR



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Аннотация

Short reviews, which are integral part of the book, set in timeline order, starting from the earliest.I dedicated this book for those readers who has never been engaged in politics or IR, who has no expert view, but who would rather know opinions about the history of IR from scholars and experts. It is my contribution to help to understand IR and Global Politics as a whole.Thanks to KIMEP University for organization and support of MIR Program, without which the book could not exist.

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This book is a contemplation of thoughts. It was written to put together many threads and pieces thoughtfully collected after all readings and with due understanding of historical events and political processes.

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Short reviews, which are integral part of the book, set in timeline order, starting from the earliest. My book will be of interest for those who seek to understand how international events at different places of the globe, in different time, echoed, and why some events may repeat. I dedicated this book for those readers who has never been engaged in politics or IR, who has no expert view on global events, but who would rather know some glimpse at the history of IR from authors, scholars and experts.

This book neither teach nor blame anything or anyone, it is rather my contribution to help to understand International relations and Global Politics as a whole.

Thanks to KIMEP University (Almaty, Kazakhstan) for our uniting, organization and support of MIR Program, without which the book could not exist.



INTRODUCTION

History of international relations begins with wars of ancient Greece, notably, with wars of Greeks allied with Athens against Persia. Peloponnesian war is the landmark from which evolution

of international relations starts.

Relations between states address to diplomatic, political, economic and military aspects. Science of international politics covers all aspects that address to relations between states and other actors at international level. There are, mainly, two schools of thought that study international relations – realism and liberalism that successively divided into different perspectives and paradigms.

Theories of international politics allow understand mistakes and experiences of the past correctly in order to avoid drawbacks or apply successes in future. Theories of international relations explain behavior of different actors and help understand causes of war as well as peace.

Importance of international relations lies in virtue to study and analyze myriad of links and interactions between states and other international actors as a single whole with the purpose to explain how the world works.

Some earlier political scientists such as E.H.Carr and Hans Morgenthau emphasize importance of sovereignty and nation-state, and study, mainly, domestic structures of states and behavior of internal actors with the purpose to analyze how those influence foreign policy objectives and attitudes to other countries.

Other later realists such as John H. Herz and Thomas Schelling pay attention to influence of military innovations on politics and how the nature of international politics changed since

the advent of nuclear weapon.

Later publications of Kenneth Waltz, Keohane and Nye in addition to analysis of interactions at domestic level study system of states as a whole – whether it is anarchy or hierarchy. They study politics as the interactions of structures and systems rather than simply interactions between states or their government.



CLASSICS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

THUCYDIDES «History of the Peloponnesian war».

Since Thucydides, realists argue that force and power lead the way in politics. Rejecting existence and intervention of supernatural, Thucydides considered history in the sense of human affairs, as consequences of political actions rather than the providence of God or any other supernatural forces. The main stated argument of Thucydides is «What made war inevitable was the growth of Athenian power and the fear which this caused in Sparta.» (Thucydides, 1972, p.49)

Melian dialogue is the passage from the book «Peloponnesian War» that demonstrates how conflict is caused by imbalance in power. Refusal of the Melians – the colony of Sparta – to join the Athenian empire like others, led to a siege of Melos. In a case of joining, they were promised by Athenians to be in safety and alive. By doing opposite, Melians must have been killed or have been taken as slaves. The Melians declined the offer and were captured by the Athenians, «…who put to death all the men of military age whom they took, and sold the women and children as slaves.» (Thucydides, 1972, p.408)

Significance of the Peloponnesian War in the world history is in its continuation and in unprecedented suffering of human beings. «Never before had so many cities been captured and then

devastated, whether by foreign armies or by the Hellenic powers themselves (some of these cities, after capture, were resettled with new inhabitants);never had there been so many exiles; never such loss of life – both in the actual warfare and in internal revolutions.» (Thucydides, 1972, p.48).

E.H.Carr «Twenty Years Crisis»

The next author contributed to evolution of realism is Edward Hallet Carr (1892—1982) – British diplomat, journalist and historian of USSR. The main critique by Carr is of liberalism and Woodrow Wilson politics. Afterwards, «Great Depression» of 1929, to some extent, proved his critical considerations on liberalism and moved him to a searching of new base for economic order that would have been found in radical change, social reform and economic planning. Especially his frustration with liberalism was intensified with growing success of Soviet Economy after 1929 while capitalist system was being in crisis. However, he rejected a pure model of socialism trying to find a balance between two philosophical views – idealism and realism. That is why the primary title of «Twenty Years Crisis» (1939) was set out as «Utopia and Reality».

The book «Twenty Years Crisis» covers the period between two World Wars. It is based on author's observations and diaries as a contemporary of this period. The book shed light on an interwar period with deep analysis of the system being in crisis.

The aim of the book is to explore the interplay between those two views – idealism (utopia) and realism (reality).

Beginning of the twenty years period was characterized by «utopian» aspirations and beliefs with little account to reality. Europeans believed in continuous British Hegemony and in expansion of coherent «Western» civilization with common development and approach «What was good for one, was good for all» (Carr, 1939, p.207). Characteristic of the end of the period was «grim despair» of the reality. There were disillusionment with harmony of interests, economic crisis and emerging Nazi Germany as a challenger dissatisfied with its own status.

Hans Morgenthau «Politics among nations»

After World War II American thinking shifted from idealism and liberalism towards realism that emphasizes national interest and political power. The book «Politics among nations» of Hans Morgenthau represents Realist Theory of International Politics and sets out two purposes. The first is to determine political relations among nations, and the second is to understand the problem of international peace.

The main contribution of Hans Morgenthau as the founder of realism is the six main principles of political realism:

1. Politics, like society in general, is governed by objective laws that have their roots in human nature.

2.The main signpost of political realism is the concept of interest defined in terms of power.

3. Realism assumes that interest defined as power is an objective category which is universally valid but not with a meaning that is fixed once and for all. Power is the control of man over man.

4. Political realism is aware of the moral significance of political action. It is also aware of the tension between the moral command the requirements of successful political action.

5. Political realism refuses to identify the moral aspirations of a particular nation with the moral laws that govern the universe. It is the concept of interest defined in terms of power that saves us from moral excess and political folly.

6. Political realism differs from other schools of thought such as law, history, economy, and it is the most important one because it deals with the security and survival of the state.

Firstly, the author defines International politics as a struggle for power. In spite of different goals defined in terms of religious, philosophic, economic or social ideal, power is the immediate aim. However, not all acts that a nations perform toward each other are of political nature. Also, not all nations are equally involved in international politics.

The author defines power as «man's control over the minds and actions of other men», and political power as «a psychological relations between those who exercise it and those over whom it is exercised.» (Morgenthau, H, p.30) There

are four main distinctions: «between power and influence, between power and force, between usable and unusable power, between legitimate and illegitimate power.» (Morgenthau, H, p.31)

Secondly, the author gives three basic patterns of politics, either domestic or international – to keep power, to increase power or to demonstrate power. Hence, three types of international policies follow: policy of the Status Quo – to keep power, policy of Imperialism – to acquire more power and policy of Prestige – to demonstrate power.

Thirdly, the author claims that «nation» is an abstractive term and can not be empirically observed. Therefore, power and foreign policy of a nation is reflected by its representatives in international affairs – politicians or statesmen – «they wield the power and pursue the policies of their nation» (Morgenthau, Hans. p.116).

Kenneth Waltz «Man, the state and war»

Kenneth Waltz is the first political scientist who begins to develop systemic approach in IR and further was recognized as the founder of *«neo-realism»*. In the book «Man, the state and war» (1959) he makes a theoretical analysis on three images to International Conflict. Thus, the roots to conflict lie in Human Behavior, Structure of States and International Anarchy.

The main philosophers who devoted their works

to Behavioural approach are Saint Augustine, Spinoza, Neibuhr and Hans Morgenthau. Two tendencies arise from first image analysis. The first is that potential for conflict is found in human nature – men are born seekers of power. The second tendency – as far as human beings behave differently in different situations, they need restraints imposed by government – otherwise they may slaughter each other. Based on these two ideas the assumption on change in political and social structures of state and government proceeds. Social-political institutions are easier to change than nature of humankind.

The second image focuses on internal organization of states. In many ways, political and social relations within state reflect its foreign policy. Most often, war against an external enemy contributes to unity of state. People feel themselves united, and instead of fighting civil wars and of turning their attention to internal defects, they cast their aggression to a foe in the face of other state.

The second image is represented by liberal and socialist revisionists' view. Liberals believe that individual initiatives and liberty contribute to development of peaceful state (Adam Smith, John Stuart Mill). They argue that man living in public society has constantly been improved, and, consequently, all society has been improved. In addition, government should intervene less, giving way to «invisible hand» and free market. The role of government should be limited to the issues of external defense and internal justice. This liberal view is known as

«noninterventionist» liberalism. Contrary to the previous view, «interventionist» liberals believe that state should decide affairs of nations. They are more realistic about war and consider that «Wars undertaken on a narrow calculation of state interest are almost certain to be less damaging than wars inspired by a supposedly selfless idealism.»

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