

Theory of International Relations

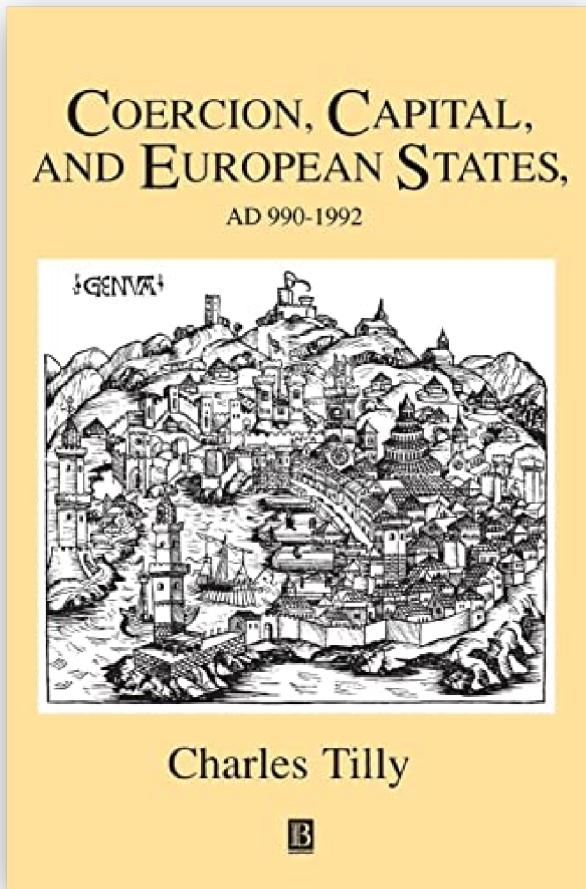
Theory of International Relations

1. Historical origins of the state and international society
2. Liberalism vs. Realism
3. Methodological criticisms and the Neo-Neo Debate
4. Constructivism and the new paradigms
5. Contemporary problems and questions

1. Historical origins of the state and international society

- 1.1. Charles Tilly's theory of the origin of the State
- 1.2. The formation of the International System

1.1. Charles Tilly's Theory of the Origin of the State



Overview

- The role of warfare and military competition
- The relationship between extraction and protection
 - Coercion and capital as mechanisms for state formation
- State formation as a historical process

Warfare and Military Competition

Key Points

- Constant warfare in Europe drove state-building
- Centralized political organizations emerged from the need to:
 - Mobilize resources for war
 - Develop effective military strategies
 - Maintain control over territories
- The modern state evolved from these centralized organizations
 - Ratcheted effect.

Changes in warfare – new technologies

- Dispersion of military power during the Middle Ages
 - Military power depended on the availability of soldiers (feudal relationships between vassal and lord).
- **Changes in warfare**
 - **Gunpowder and Firearms:** weapons such as cannons and muskets required significant resources to manufacture, maintain, and use effectively.
 - **Artillery:** The development of artillery, such as cannons and mortars, provided states with the ability to project force over distance and siege fortified positions.
 - **Fortifications:** The development of advanced fortifications, in response to the increasing power of artillery, required substantial investments in engineering, construction, and maintenance.

Changes in warfare – Personnel and infrastructure

- **Professional Standing Armies:** The transition from feudal levies and mercenary forces to professional standing armies marked a significant shift in the concentration of military power.
- **Logistics and Supply:** The increasing scale and complexity of warfare necessitated the development of sophisticated logistical systems for supplying, equipping, and maintaining armies in the field. States that could manage these logistical challenges were better positioned to concentrate military power and wage successful campaigns.
- **PS: Nation State (France and the Napoleonic Success):**
 - Universal enlistment - every citizen is a soldier
 - Advancement through merit

Extraction, Protection, Coercion, and Capital

Extraction and Protection

- States collected taxes and resources to fund wars (extraction)
- In return, states provided protection to their subjects against external threats
- This reciprocal relationship helped consolidate state authority

Coercion and Capital

- **Coercion:** use of force to maintain control over territories, populations, and resources
- **Capital:** accumulation of resources, wealth, and infrastructure to support military and administrative functions
- Balance between coercion and capital determined the type of states that emerged

Competing Theories on State Formation

- **Voluntary theories:** States formed through voluntary cooperation and social contract
- **Marxist theories:** States emerged from class struggle and the need to protect property relations
- **Geopolitical theories:** Geographic factors (e.g. mountains, rivers) played a key role in state formation
- **Cultural theories:** Shared culture, language, and identity contributed to state formation
- **Key Differences:**
 - Tilly's focus on warfare and military competition
 - Emphasis on the balance between coercion and capital
 - View of state formation as a context-specific historical process

1.2. The formation of the International System

- Westphalian System
- Adam Watson on the evolution of International society

Westphalian System

The Peace of Westphalia (1648)

- Series of treaties that ended the Thirty Years' War
 - Key treaties:
 - *Treaty of Münster*
 - *Treaty of Osnabrück*
- Marked a turning point in European history
 - Established the modern state system

What was the Thirty Years' War

- **Thirty Years' War (1618-1648)**
 - Series of conflicts throughout Central Europe, involving several major European powers. (Holy Roman Empire, France, England, Austria, Sweden)
 - Rooted in:
 - Religious tensions (Catholic vs. Protestant)
 - Political rivalries (Habsburg dynasty vs. others)

Causes of the Thirty Years' War

- **Religious Tensions:** Rise of Protestant Reformation (16th century), and the Catholic Church's Counter-Reformation efforts.
- **Political Rivalries**
 - Habsburg dynasty's dominance in the Holy Roman Empire and Europe
 - Spain vs. Denmark
 - Richelieu's France makes alliances with protestant forces
- **Other Factors**
 - Economic competition between emerging states
 - Local and regional disputes (mercantilism)

Impact of the Thirty Years' War

- **Human Cost**

- Massive loss of life and suffering
- Population decline due to warfare, famine, and disease

- **Economic Impact**

- Destruction of cities, towns, and countryside
- Long-term economic consequences for affected regions

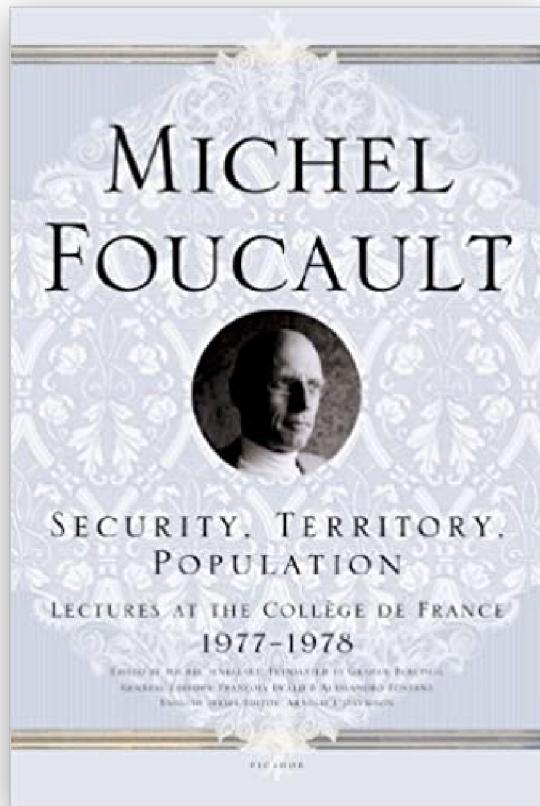
Key Provisions of the Peace of Westphalia

- **Sovereignty and Non-Intervention**
 - Recognized the sovereign rights of states
 - Prohibited interference in internal affairs of other states
- **Territorial Changes**
 - Adjustments to borders of European states
 - Example: Sweden gained parts of Pomerania
- **Religious Freedom**
 - Acknowledged the rights of both Catholics and Protestants
 - Established the principle of *cuius regio, eius religio*

Legacy of the Peace of Westphalia.

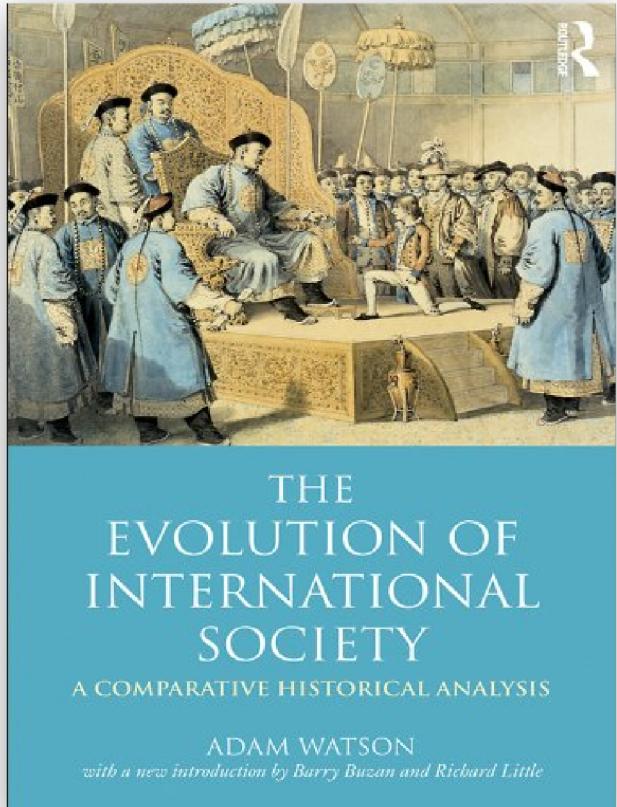
- **Foundation of International Law**
 - Principles of state sovereignty and non-intervention
 - Influenced the development of international law
- **Westphalian Sovereignty**
 - The concept of sovereignty based on the Peace of Westphalia
 - Still influential in contemporary international relations
- **Diplomatic Practices**
 - Established diplomacy as a means to resolve disputes
 - Encouraged the practice of negotiation and compromise

Foucault on the meaning of the Westphalian System



- The State system "opens" a new historical perspective
- Tilly emphasizes how states concentrated power, Foucault views the State system as a challenge to the idea of Empire.
- The Westphalian System brings a new view of History
 - Philosophical importance of the concept of Raison D'État.

Watson on International Society



- Adam Watson – **The Evolution of International Society: A Comparative Historical Analysis**
- Analyzes the development of the international system, with a focus on three main concepts:
 - International society
 - Balance of power

International Society

- **Definition:**
 - A group of states bound by shared rules, norms, and institutions
- **Key Elements:**
 - Diplomacy
 - International law
 - Balance of power
- **Watson's Analysis:**
 - Examines the emergence and transformation of international societies
 - Identifies patterns and similarities across history

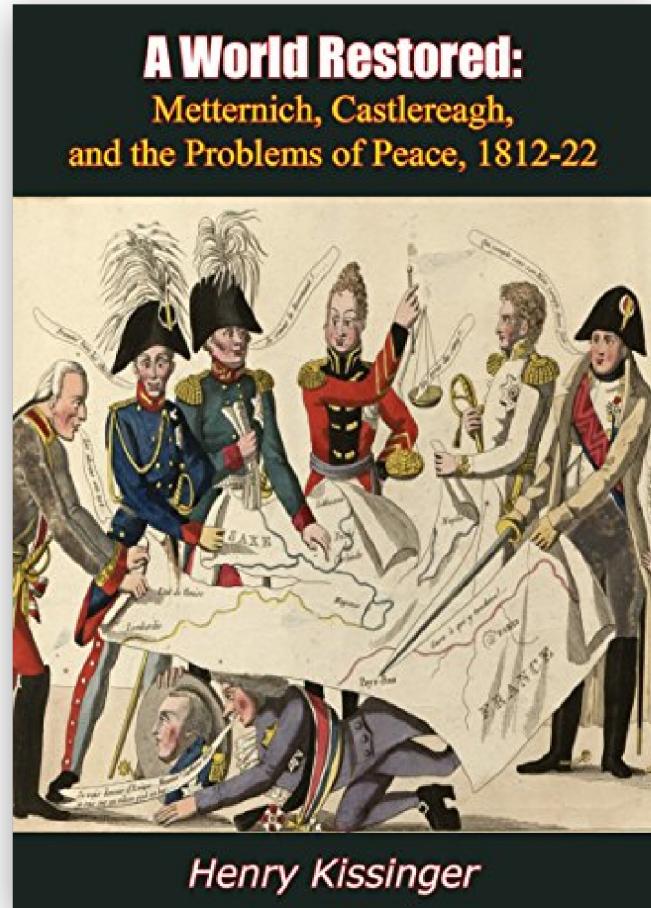
Balance of Power

- **Definition:**
 - A situation where the power of states or alliances is relatively equal
 - Prevents any single state from dominating the system
- **Mechanisms:**
 - Alliances
 - Diplomacy
 - Military build-up
- **Watson's Insights:**
 - Balance of power is a recurring feature of international societies
 - Contributes to the maintenance of order and stability

A pattern of unsuccessful challenges to the balance-of-power system in Europe

- **Habsburg's challenge: 16th and 17th centuries**
 - Resulted in the Thirty Years War (1618-1648) and the Peace of Westphalia
- **Louis XIV's (Boubon) challenge: 18th century**
 - Resulted in the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1715) and the Peace of Utrecht.
- **Napoleonic challenge: 19th century**
 - Resulted in the Napoleonic Wars (1803-1815) and the Congress of Vienna (1815)

Kissinger on the Congress of Vienna



- A World Restored: Metternich, Castlereagh and the Problems of Peace, 1812-1822
- Birth of the *Concert of Europe*
 - An informal arrangement among European powers to address common challenges
 - Based on principles of diplomacy, negotiation, and consultation

Congress of Vienna – Overview

- **Purpose:**
 - Reestablish order and stability in Europe after the Napoleonic Wars
- **Key Participants:**
 - Austria: Klemens von Metternich
 - Britain: Viscount Castlereagh
 - Russia: Tsar Alexander I
 - Prussia: King Frederick William III
 - France: Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord

Congress of Vienna – Key Provisions and Principles

- Compensation for the victors.
- Restoration of legitimate monarchs to their thrones.
- Mechanisms to establish and maintain a balance of power.

Kissinger: triumph of statesmanship

- Decision not to crush France.
- Decision not to attempt to go back to the *Ancien Régime* or punish revolutionaries.
- Decision to deal with the realities of political power, not with national claims.
- Kissinger on the Concert of Europe
 - Enabled cooperation and coordination among major European powers
 - Played a significant role in maintaining peace throughout the 19th century

Kissinger: the important roles of Metternich and Castlereagh

- *Klemens von Metternich (Austria):*
 - Aimed to restore the status quo in Europe, advocating for conservatism, balance of power, and diplomacy.
 - Sought to strengthen Austria's position in the region.
- *Viscount Castlereagh (Britain):*
 - Pursued British interests while working to maintain European stability
 - Encouraged collaboration among major powers and emphasized the importance of diplomacy and negotiation.
- *Kissinger's Analysis:* The roles of Metternich and Castlereagh provide valuable insights into statecraft and diplomacy.

Congress System

- Aix-la-Chapelle (1818), Troppau (1820), Laybach (1821), Verona (1822)
 - Alliances to contain nationalist movements in Europe (revolutionary waves)
 - Eventually failed: Springtime of Nations (1848), Italian and German unifications.
- **Relative success:** 100 years without open war between Vienna powers in Europe.
 - Exception: Crimean War (1853-1856)
- **Emerging tensions leading to WWI:**
 - New national powers: Italy (1861) and Germany (1871)
 - Nationalisms and rivalries
 - Imperialism and dispute for power outside Europe
 - Industrial Revolution, Congress of Berlim (1878)
 - The Sick Giant of Europe (Ottoman Empire): power vaccum in the Balkans.

Emergence of International Relations as an Academic Discipline

- *First International Relations Program:*
 - Established at the University of Wales, Aberystwyth (1919)
 - "Woodrow Wilson Chair"
 - Aimed to study the causes of wars and the conditions for peace
- *Historical Context:*
 - Aftermath of World War I (1914-1918)
 - The desire to prevent future global conflicts
- *Interdisciplinary Nature:*
 - Draws on insights from various fields: Political science, Economics, History, Law, Sociology

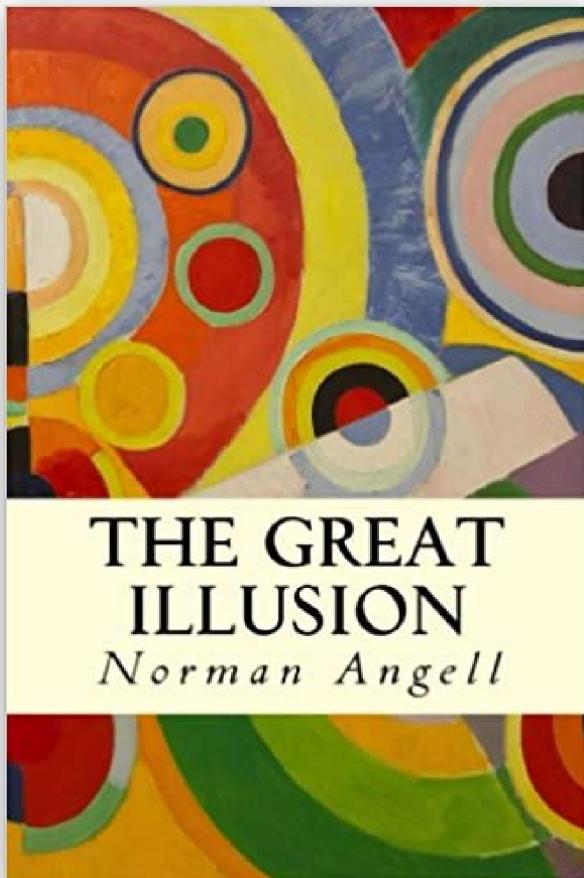
2. Liberalism vs. Realism

- 2.1. Liberalism
- 2.2. Realism

The First Debate in International Relations

- **Liberalism:**
 - Highlights the role of international institutions and cooperation
 - Stresses the importance of economic exchange, public opinion (democratic values), and the value of peace
- **Realism:**
 - Focuses on power and national interests, security and power dynamics
 - Emphasizes the anarchic nature of international system

Norman Angel – The Great Illusion (1919)



- Argues that the economic interdependence among nations makes war futile and counterproductive
 - Challenges the prevailing belief in the benefits of military conquest
- Key Concepts:
 - Economic interdependence
 - Futility of war
 - Peaceful cooperation

Norman Angel – The Great Illusion (1919)

- *Economic Interdependence:*
 - The global economy is interconnected and mutually beneficial
 - Conquest and territorial expansion would harm both aggressor and victim
- *Futility of War:*
 - War is no longer a rational means to achieve national objectives
 - The costs of war outweigh any potential gains
- *Call for Peaceful Cooperation:*
 - Promotes international cooperation and diplomacy
 - Advocates for the establishment of international institutions





Kant on Perpetual Peace (1795)

Immanuel
Kant

Perpetual Peace
and
Other Essays

Translated by
Ted Humphrey

- Outlines the conditions necessary for achieving lasting peace among nations
 - Provides a philosophical framework for international relations
- Key Concepts:
 - Republicanism
 - Cosmopolitanism
 - International law

Kant's conditions for perpetual peace.

- *Preliminary Articles:*
 - Measures to prevent war and promote peace:
 - No secret treaties
 - No excessive national debt for military purposes
 - No standing armies
 - No interference in the internal affairs of other states
- *Definitive Articles:*
 - Conditions necessary for perpetual peace:
 - Republican form of government
 - Federation of free states
 - Cosmopolitan rights and respect for universal hospitality

Influence of Kant's "Perpetual Peace" on International Relations

- *International Institutions:*
 - Kant's vision of a federation of free states inspired the development of international organizations
 - Examples: League of Nations, United Nations
- *Cosmopolitanism:*
 - Kant's ideas contributed to the growth of cosmopolitan thought
 - Encourages global citizenship, human rights, and global governance
- *Democratic Peace Theory:*
 - Kant's ideas laid the groundwork for the democratic peace theory
 - Influenced Michael Doyle's and other scholars' work

Michael Doyle's Theory of Democratic Peace

- Two papers: "Kant, Liberal Legacies, and Foreign Affairs" (1983), "Liberalism and World Politics" (1986)
- Main Idea:
 - Expands on Immanuel Kant's ideas of perpetual peace
 - Democracies are less likely to go to war with each other
- Key Concepts:
 - Democratic peace theory
 - Liberal institutionalism
 - Kantian triangle

Theoretical Explanation

- *Democratic Norms and Culture:*
 - Democracies share common values and norms
 - Respect for rule of law, individual rights, and peaceful conflict resolution
- *Political Accountability:*
 - Democratic leaders are accountable to the public
 - Citizens generally prefer peace, reducing the likelihood of war
- *Transparency and Trust:*
 - Democratic decision-making processes are transparent
 - Encourages trust and cooperation between democracies

Kant's Triangle: Pilars of Liberal Institutionalism

- Democratic peace theory is part of a larger framework:
 - Democratic institutions
 - Economic interdependence
 - International organizations

Debate and Critiques:

- Democracy and War:
 - Aggressive foreign policies and military interventions
 - Democracies may still engage in wars against non-democracies
- Methodological Concerns:
 - Selection bias in empirical studies
 - Varying criteria for what constitutes a democracy
 - *Underlying Model*: Disagreement over the underlying reasons for the democratic peace phenomenon
 - *Spurious Correlations*: Factors other than democracy may be driving the observed peace: economic interdependence, alliances, or shared culture

Woodrow Wilson's view of International Relations

- **Key Concepts:**
 - Collective security
 - Self-determination
 - International law and organizations
 - Open diplomacy
 - Critique of Balance of Power:
 - Argued it led to instability and frequent wars in Europe
 - Called for a new approach to maintain global peace
- **Influence:**
 - Wilson's ideas shaped the post-World War I international order
 - Key role in the creation of the League of Nations (that later would lead to the UN)

Woodrow Wilson's Criticism of Balance of Power Politics

- *Competitive Nature:*
 - Fostered rivalries and arms races among major powers
 - Encouraged alliances that increased tensions and the risk of war
- *Secret Diplomacy:*
 - Reliance on secret treaties and agreements
 - Lack of transparency led to misunderstandings and mistrust
 - Idealistic view of public opinion (at first)
- *Short-term Stability:*
 - Provided temporary stability at the cost of long-term peace
 - Periodic wars and territorial adjustments to maintain the balance

Woodrow Wilson's 14 Points (Versailles Conference, 1918)

- The 14 Points:
 - Point 1. Open diplomacy: No secret treaties
 - Point 2. Freedom of the seas
 - Point 3. Removal of economic barriers and trade equality
 - Point 4. Arms reduction
 - Point 5. Fair resolution of colonial claims
 - Points 6-13. Specific territorial adjustments for self-determination
 - Point 14. Establishment of a League of Nations to maintain peace

The realist perspective

- **Main Idea:**
 - States are the primary actors in international politics
 - States prioritize their own security, power, and national interests
- **Key Concepts:**
 - Anarchy
 - Self-help
 - Security dilemma
- **Major Scholars:**
 - *Philosophical Background:* Thucydides, Niccolò Machiavelli, Thomas Hobbes
 - E.H. Carr
 - Hans Morgenthau

Thucydides, The Peloponnesian War

- The Melian Dialogue (Book 5, Chapter 17)

Athenians. For ourselves, we shall not trouble you with specious pretences - either of how we have a right to our empire because we overthrew the Mede, or are now attacking you because of wrong that you have done us - and make a long speech which would not be believed; and in return we hope that you, instead of thinking to influence us by saying that you did not join the Lacedaemonians, although their colonists, or that you have done us no wrong, will aim at what is feasible, holding in view the real sentiments of us both; since you know as well as we do that right, as the world goes, is only in question between equals in power, while the strong do what they can and the weak suffer what they must.

Thucydides, The Peloponnesian War

- The Melian Dialogue (Book 5, Chapter 17)

Athenians. We will now proceed to show you that we are come here in the interest of our empire, and that we shall say what we are now going to say, for the preservation of your country; as we would fain exercise that empire over you without trouble, and see you preserved for the good of us both.

Melians. And how, pray, could it turn out as good for us to serve as for you to rule?

Athenians. Because you would have the advantage of submitting before suffering the worst, and we should gain by not destroying you.

Thucydides, The Peloponnesian War

- The Melian Dialogue (Book 5, Chapter 17)

Melians. You may be sure that we are as well aware as you of the difficulty of contending against your power and fortune, unless the terms be equal. But we trust that the gods may grant us fortune as good as yours, since we are just men fighting against unjust, and that what we want in power will be made up by the alliance of the Lacedaemonians, who are bound, if only for very shame, to come to the aid of their kindred. Our confidence, therefore, after all is not so utterly irrational.

Athenians. (...) Of the gods we believe, and of men we know, that by a necessary law of their nature they rule wherever they can. And it is not as if we were the first to make this law, or to act upon it when made: we found it existing before us, and shall leave it to exist for ever after us; all we do is to make use of it, knowing that you and everybody else, having the same power as we have, would do the same as we do.

Thucydides, The Peloponnesian War

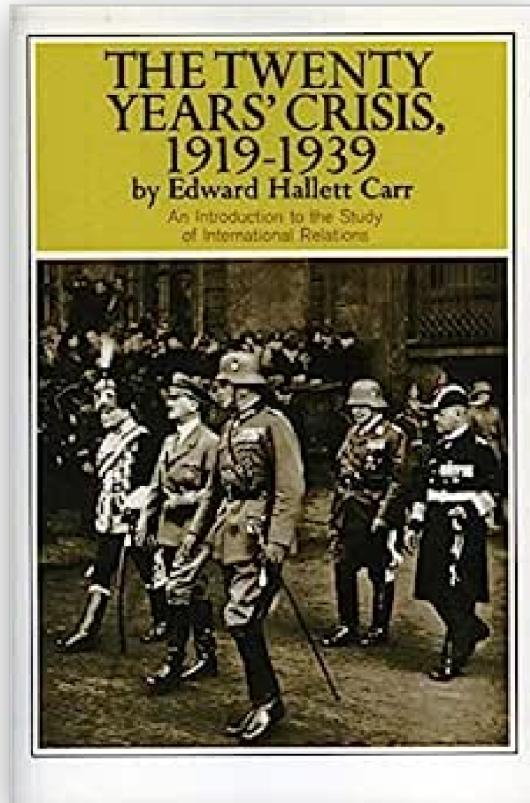
- The Melian Dialogue (Book 5, Chapter 17)

Athenians. (...) *Thus, as far as the gods are concerned, we have no fear and no reason to fear that we shall be at a disadvantage. But when we come to your notion about the Lacedaemonians, which leads you to believe that shame will make them help you, here we bless your simplicity but do not envy your folly.*

Core Assumptions and Implications of Realism

- **Anarchy:**
 - The international system is characterized by the absence of a central authority, so states must ensure their own survival and security
- **Self-help:**
 - States must rely on themselves to achieve their goals and ensure their security.
 - Cooperation is difficult and often driven by circumstance and self-interest.
- **Security Dilemma:**
 - Efforts to increase one's own security may inadvertently threaten other states.
 - This can lead to arms races and increased tensions.

Carr – 1919-1939: 20 years of crisis



A fundamental work in International Relations

Introduction to Edward Hallett Carr's "The Twenty Years' Crisis"

- Edward Carr's "The Twenty Years' Crisis" is a seminal work in the field of International Relations. Published in 1939, it provides a critical analysis of international politics leading up to World War II.

Carr's Background

Understanding the author's perspective

- Carr was a British historian, diplomat, journalist, and international relations theorist.
 - His views were significantly influenced by the socio-political events he experienced, particularly the events that led to WW2.
 - He argued that states **did** and **should** act primarily in their own interest.

Core Themes in "The Twenty Years' Crisis"

Carr's views on Utopianism and Realism

- Carr criticizes the "utopian" thinkers of his time who believed in international cooperation and collective security.
- He argues that realism, which considers power and security, offers a more pragmatic approach to international politics.
- He maintains that the balance of power is a crucial factor in maintaining international order.

Carr's Views on Utopianism

- Carr associated utopianism with idealistic and moralistic approaches to International Relations.
 - In his perspective, utopian thinkers were unrealistic, ignoring the power dynamics and self-interests that fundamentally drive international politics.
 - He critiqued the utopian belief in international cooperation and collective security, arguing these concepts were flawed as they overlooked the importance of power balances and national interests.
 - Peace is in the interest of the *status quo*
 - Germany was not satisfied with the system that emerged after WW1.
 - Collective action creates opportunistic .
 - Security is always relative.

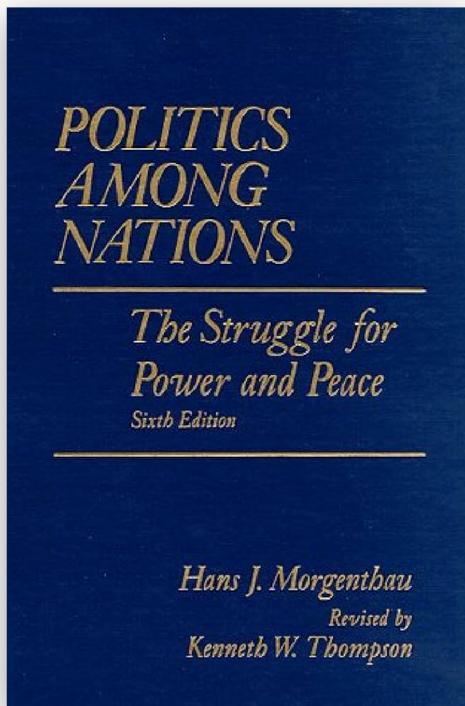
Relevance of Carr's Work

- In essence, Carr's critique of utopianism in "The Twenty Years' Crisis" served to highlight the importance of a more pragmatic and realistic approach to international politics.
 - This view was very influential in shaping the world order after WW2.
 - Carr's exploration of realism and utopianism still forms a part of modern discussions in the field.

Carr's continuing impact

- The book's themes and theories remain relevant in analyzing contemporary global issues.
 - Utopianism in current agendas (climate change, human rights, peace missions)

Morgenthau's "Politics Among Nations"



Introduction to Hans J. Morgenthau's "Politics Among Nations"

- While Carr's "The Twenty Years' Crisis" offers a critical perspective on historical events of the time, "Politics Among Nations" is a more theoretical work, that provides a model to understand the driving forces of international relations.

Morgenthau's Cornerstones of Realism

Six Principles

1. Politics is governed by objective laws based on human nature.
2. Interests are defined in terms of power.
3. Power or interest is a universal concept.
4. Universal moral principles cannot be applied to actions of states.
5. Nations are inherently self-interested.
6. The key to peace is balancing power, not suppressing it.

Morality and Ethics in International Relations, according to Morgenthau

- Morgenthau argues that universal moral principles cannot be applied to the actions of states in their abstract universal formulation.
- He does not reject the importance of morality but emphasizes its different application in international relations.
 - **Particularism:** ethics in international politics are determined by the unique context and circumstances of each state.

3. Methodological Criticisms and the Neo-Neo Debate

- 3.1. Methodological Criticisms – Traditionalists vs. Behaviorists
- 3.2 Neo-Neo Debate – Neoliberalism vs. Neorealism

3.1 Methodological Criticisms – Traditionalists vs. Behaviorists

- **Context:** Behaviorist Revolution (1950s)
- Debate concerns the appropriate method to analyze/study International Relations (or International Politics)
 - Debate occurred among realists, who had completely dominated internationalist discussions at that time – traditional realism and behavioral realism.

Methodological Criticisms – Traditionalists

- Traditionalists admit the use of imprecise (or not easily quantifiable) variables in their analyses
 - Theories based on historical behavior (valuation of history)
 - Despite being a positivist theory, traditionalist theories are complex and end up being less scientific as they may complicate analyses in concrete situations

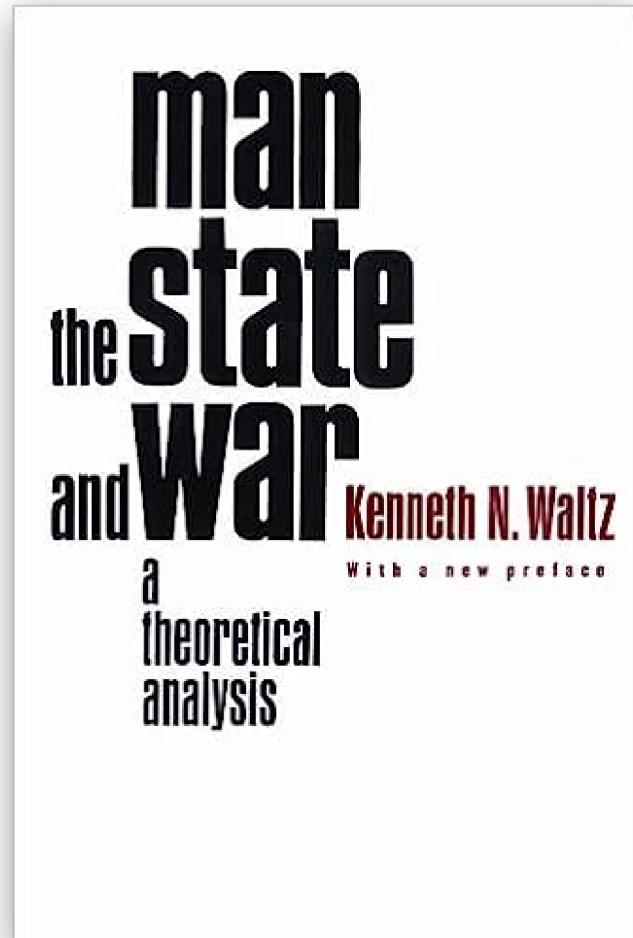
Traditionalists (cont'd)

- Morgenthau allows the use of various and complex dimensions for the analysis of power, including diplomacy, legitimacy, etc.
 - Morgenthau frequently employs historical arguments in his work, providing evidence that the behavior he describes for states can be verified through history

Methodological Criticisms – Behaviorists/Scientists

- Behaviorists/Scientists seek scientific patterns for internationalist theories
 - Emphasize quantification, the selection of measurable and controllable variables, and the use of statistics and scientific methods drawn from the social sciences
- The theoretical basis is the idea that the behavior of states can be scientifically studied
 - **Behavior** as the object of study (what is to be explained are the actions of states)
 - **Environment** provides the causes for the actions of states, meaning that the behavior of states can be explained by causal factors
 - **Input** (environmental causes) and **output** (behavior)

Kenneth Waltz – Man, the State, and War (1959)



Neorealism (Behaviorist influence)

- Proposes a strict methodological shift towards a systemic level of analysis for understanding international politics.
- Shaped the development of Neorealist theory, a major school of thought in international relations.

The Three Images in "Man, the State, and War"

Waltz's Analytical Framework

Waltz presents three "images" or levels of analysis as a methodological approach to international relations and an explanation of war:

1. The individual level (First Image)
2. The state level (Second Image)
3. The international system level (Third Image)

The First Image: Man

The Role of Human Nature

- **Man:** The First Image considers the characteristics of individuals.
 - As a cause of war:
 - Waltz reviews arguments attributing war to innate human aggression or mistakes by leaders, but suggests these explanations are incomplete.
 - As a methodological approach:
 - The individual level is far removed from international relations, as it requires understanding numerous specific factors that are not relevant to internationalist theory

The Second Image: State

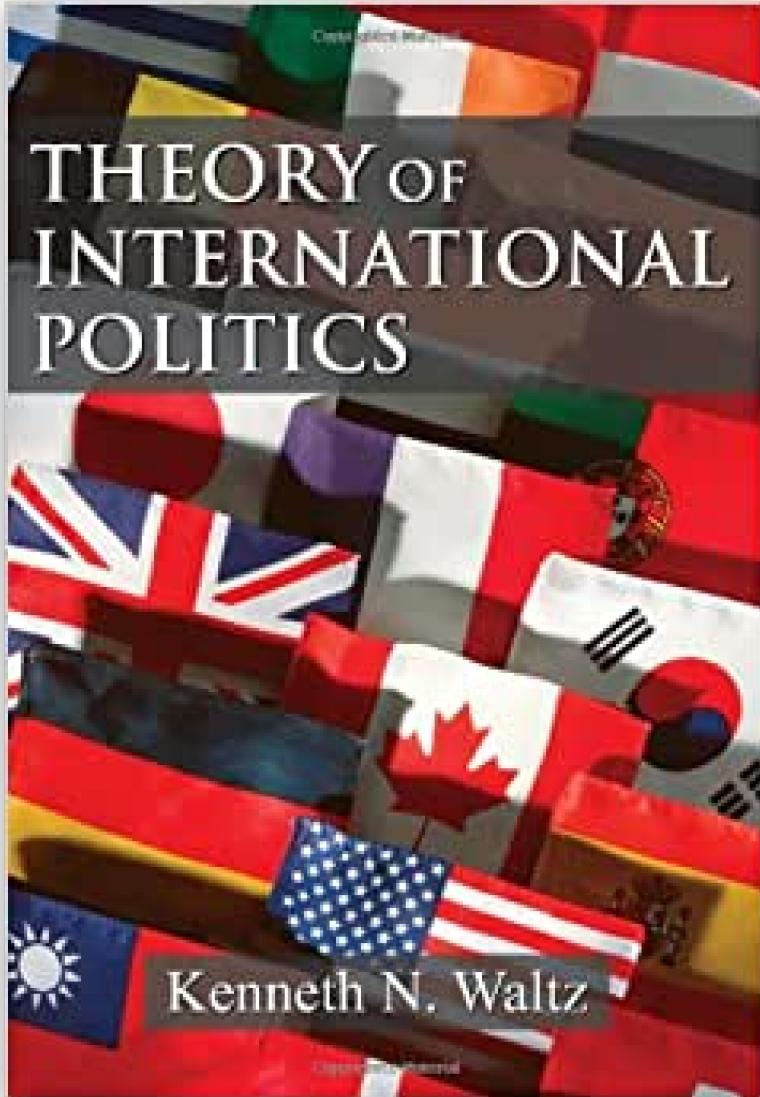
The Influence of Domestic Structures

- **State:** The Second Image examines the internal characteristics of states, such as political, economic, and social structures.
 - **As a cause of war:**
 - Waltz suggests that while the internal structure of states influences their behavior, it does not fully explain the occurrence of war.
 - **As a methodological approach:**
 - The national context of each state, although more related to the international scenario, cannot be used, as there is a great diversity of states with different

The Third Image: International System Level

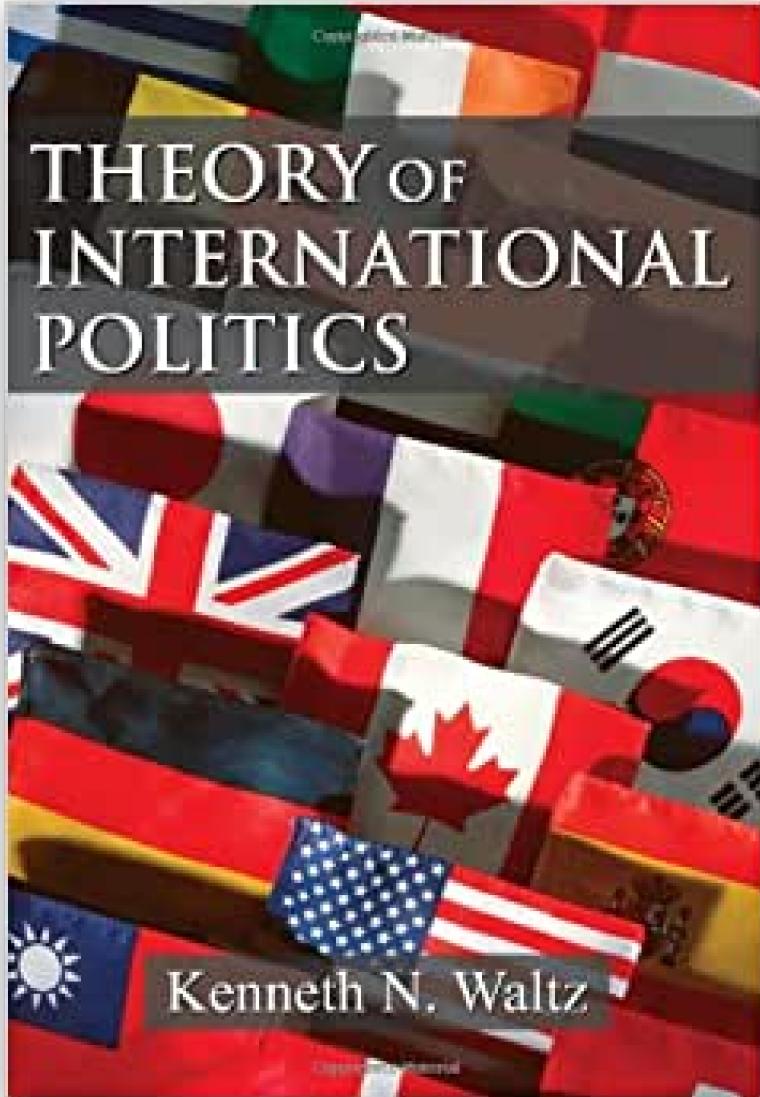
The Anarchic Structure of the International System

- **International System:** The Third Image attributes the cause of war to the anarchy in the international system, where no overarching authority exists.
 - **As a cause of war:**
 - Anarchy forces states to self-help for their security, which can lead to conflict and war.
 - While all three images contribute to the understanding of war, the Third Image is the most significant: even with peaceful individuals and benign states, the anarchic structure of the international system creates conditions for war.
 - **As a methodological approach:**
 - The broadest level of analysis that is most appropriate for describing relations between states.



Kenneth Waltz – Theory of International Politics (1979)

- Billiard table metaphor
- In a game of billiards, what matters is the *relationships between the balls*, each ball is seen as a *solid and impregnable structure*, nothing happens inside each ball.
- In the international system, what matters is the size of each state (in terms of power) and its position in the international system.



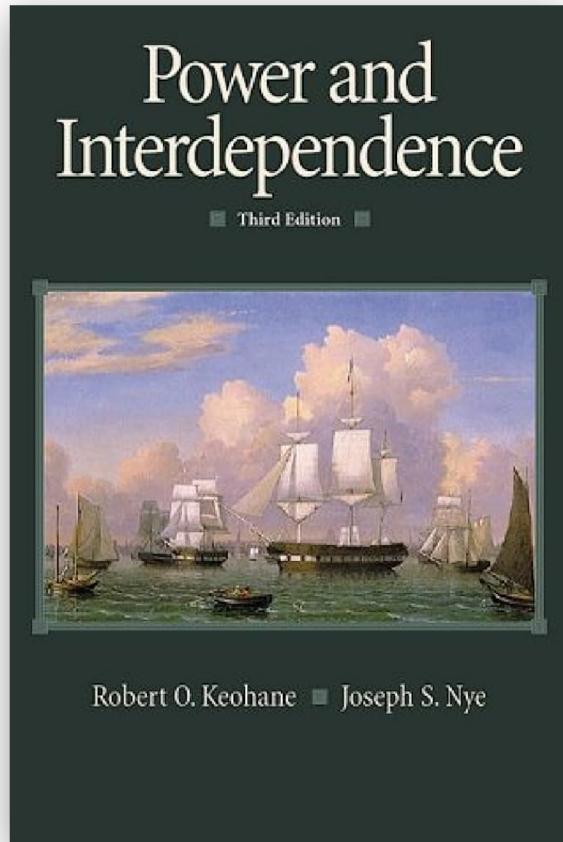
Kenneth Waltz – Theory of International Politics (1979)

- Billiard table metaphor
- This simplification provides clarity to international theory and the ability to generate predictions.
- Waltz' Theory of International Politics is the most cited work in the history of international relations.

3.2 Neo-Neo Debate – Neoliberalism vs. Neorealism

- In the post-World War II years, the realist tradition gains clear supremacy among internationalists and liberal thinking remains limited, lacking relevant general descriptions of the organization of the international system
- Liberalism regains some influence in the 1970s, particularly during the period of détente, a time of easing tensions in the Cold War, which allows for a more cooperative view of the international system to gain some credibility

Keohane & Nye – Power and Interdependence (1977)



Neoliberalism

- Joseph Nye and Robert Keohane publish the influential work "Power and Interdependence" (1977).
- This work marks the birth of neoliberalism as a theory of International Relations.

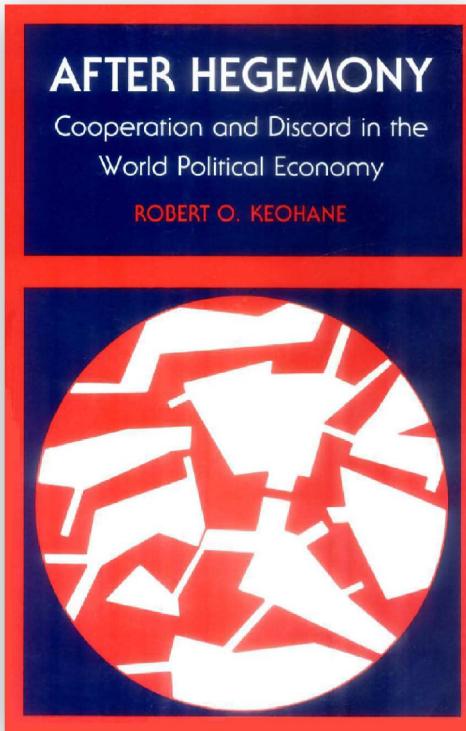
Power and Interdependence

- **Complex interdependence** - the key concept of Nye and Keohane's thinking is the idea of "complex interdependence"
 - According to this concept, there is a relationship of interdependence among states that is complex, meaning it is distributed across various agendas and distinct themes
 - As the world becomes more integrated, globalization advances, and international agendas become more complex and interconnected, the tendency is for states to have fewer reasons to engage in direct conflicts, as the risk of losses becomes increasingly significant

Neorealism re-emerges

- 1979 – Iranian Revolution, Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, start of the Second Cold War.
- Keohane and Nye's work loses credibility in a context of renewed Cold War tensions
- Waltz publishes his famous book: "Theory of International Politics"

Robert Keohane – After Hegemony (1984)



Influence of neorealism

- In 1984, a few years after absorbing neorealist thinking (particularly Waltz's work), Keohane publishes "After Hegemony" aimed at rethinking aspects of neoliberal thinking in light of realist arguments.

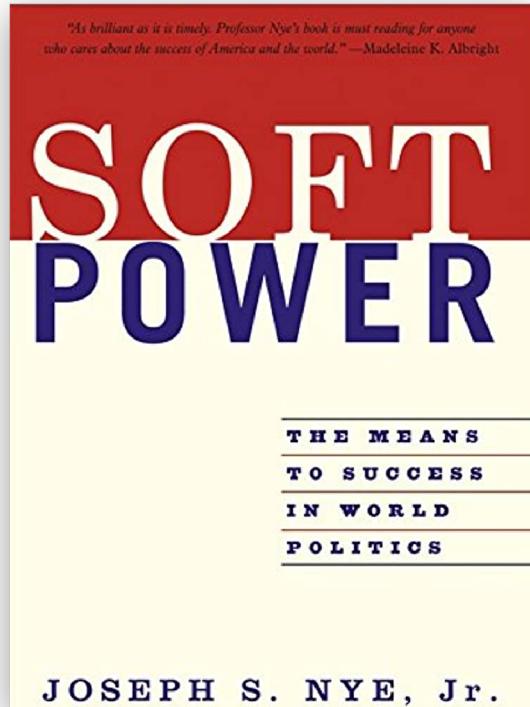
Keohane's Revision

- Neoliberalism concessions to neorealism:
 - States are the main actors
 - Actors act selfishly
 - The international system is fundamentally marked by anarchy
- Neoliberalism reservations regarding neorealism
 - States tend to cooperate
 - States seek absolute gains
 - International Organizations are important (spaces for exchanges and building credibility)
- **Game theory:** games in the international sphere are repeated, and the interaction is continuous (criticism to neorealist thinkers who typically made isolated, non-repeated game analyses)

Neo-Neo Synthesis

- After Keohane's work, which largely adopts the same premises as neorealists but arrives at slightly different conclusions, a movement of forming a consensus in the academic field of international relations begins
- The debate between neorealists and neoliberals brings the two currents very close together, making them very similar, differing only on a few points of contention (relative gains vs. absolute gains; greater or lesser importance of International Organizations, etc.).

Joseph Nye – Soft Power (2004)



Concept of Soft Power

- Nye began using the term in the 1980s. He popularised the term in his 1990 book, *Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power*. Finally, he devoted an entire work, in 2004, to this concept.
- *Types of power:*
 - **Hard Power:** use of force (military) and money (economic)
 - **Soft Power:** cultural influence, credibility, co-optive
- "*In the Information Age, credibility is the scarcest resource*"

4. New Paradigms:

- 4.1. Marxism
- 4.2. Critical Theory
- 4.3 Constructivism

Marxism

- The first significant rupture in the Neo-Neo Debate occurred with the publication of a Marxist theory of international relations
- "Production, Power, and World Order" by Robert Cox, published in 1987.
- In the past, Marxism had dealt with international political issues specifically on certain regional contexts and did not aim to describe the international order in broader terms (globalism, criticism of the international division of labor, dependency theory)
- Main ruptures:
- Critique of state centrism
- Introduction of social classes as a relevant category

Marxism

- Arguments:
 - National bourgeoisies play a key role in shaping the international order.
 - National bourgeoisies have essentially national interests (they have economic interests founded on creating national barriers that allow for the organization of production within the state and the systematization of trade relations through state instances)
- The bourgeoisies condition national policies, create conflicts to reinforce national territorial divisions, and use the working classes in their power struggles.
- The very existence and survival of the state are based on interests articulated by these national bourgeoisies.
- The working classes, however, do not necessarily have nationalist interests.

Critical Theory

- Robert Cox's work is also significantly influenced by the Frankfurt School, known as the Critical School.
- The theory of international relations is not neutral (authors who produce theories of international relations work in institutions financed and maintained with resources from the international bourgeoisie and the state and, therefore, are committed to valorizing the role of the state in international relations, as well as perpetuating ideas that serve the interests of these bourgeoisie and states)
- Example: "Washington Consensus"

Constructivism

- With the influence of Cox's Marxist theory, there is a broader movement of questioning the foundations of internationalist theories produced up to that point.
- "Epistemological opening": movement focused on a progressive opening of international relations to new forms of argumentation and new variables and analytical conditions
- Methodological transformation (shift from behaviorist positivism to post-positivism – post-colonialism, post-modernism, feminism).

Constructivism

- The constructivist theory gained prominence through the works of two main authors: Nicholas Onuf and Alexander Wendt.
- **Key Works:**
 - In 1989, Nicholas Onuf published "**World of Our Making**",
 - In 1992, Alexander Wendt published the article "**Anarchy is What States Make of It**"
 - In 1999, Alexander Wendt would publish his main work, "**Social Theory of International Relations**", with an implicit reference to Waltz's work

Constructivism

- The main conceptual basis of constructivism is the idea that agent and structure cannot be separated (absence of "ontological primacy" between agent and structure)
 - Classical liberalism and realism: agents precede structure
 - Neoliberalism and neorealism: structure precedes the agent
 - Constructivism: co-constitution of agent and structure

Main constructivism ideas:

- Reality is socially constructed
 - "Anarchy is what States make of it" (it will depend on how states deal with international anarchy)
 - Hobbesian anarchy: conflictual anarchy
 - Lockean anarchy: contractual anarchy
 - Kantian anarchy: cooperative anarchy

Constructivism (Onuf vs. Wendt)

- Onuf is a postmodern constructivist who advocates a role for the international theorist in **deconstructing** the artificially constructed and naturalized reality as something fixed and immutable.
- Wendt is **more conservative** and advocates the need to maintain and protect this socially constructed reality.
- Constructivism is an autonomous theoretical current, but it is a current so flexible that we can consider it as a meta-theory.
 - One can be a constructivist with a **realist or a liberal bias**, as long as they conclude that this socially constructed reality closely resembles the description made by realists or liberals

5. Contemporary problems and questions

The end of the bipolar world

- In the immediate post-Cold War era, there was no possibility of the Soviet Union or any other state posing a convincing military threat to the United States
- As a result, the liberal discourse took on a triumphant character, and the concepts of liberal democracy and capitalism solidified as symbols of human progress

1990s: The "new world order"

- The memorable speech by then-President of the United States, George H. W. Bush, on September 11, 1990, addressed a "new world order"
- The speech was delivered shortly after the start of the Gulf War (intervention that had the authorization and support of the United Nations)
- The conflict was based on liberal principles, seeking the liberation of Kuwait, which was "occupied and oppressed by Saddam Hussein's Iraq" (it was believed that the United Nations' strength would maintain international security under a liberal peace)

Fukuyama's End of History

- Another example of the liberal triumphalist sentiment was the prominence given to the economist Francis Fukuyama, who published the work "The End of History and the Last Man" in 1992
- Once the liberal state emerged victorious from this confrontation, the "end of history" would occur, and humanity would no longer experience conflicts or wars.

*The end of the Cold War represented an ideological victory of liberalism as the most sophisticated form of organizing society and the world (in opposition to Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, who predicted the full realization of socialism as the culmination of human progress)

Triumph of liberal discourse

- The perspective regarding the end of conflicts due to the acclaim of liberalism traces back to the work of Emmanuel Kant (revised by Michael Doyle and Dean Babst)
 - Governments based on liberal logic, organized according to a representative republic, would not go to war
 - Citizens to whom the head of a representative government must answer would not be willing to bear the costs of war.
 - Triumph of the liberal democratic model as a form of government organization would represent the end of conflicts between states

Mary Kaldor: New & Old Wars: Organized Violence in a Global Era (2012)

- The international post-Cold War scenario was very different from what was expected of the "new world order"
 - New wars – Conflicts between states had effectively almost ended, it was not possible to achieve a scenario of world peace due to the persistence of violent conflicts, which Mary Kaldor referred to as "new wars".
 - "During the 1980s and 1990s, a new type of organized violence has developed, especially in Africa and Eastern Europe, which is one aspect of the current globalized era. I describe this type of violence as 'new wars'".

Problematic peace keeping missions in the 1990s.

- Additional international regimes were inadequate to successfully maintain international peace according to liberal principles
- Complications faced by the United Nations peacekeeping missions demonstrated this problem:
 - Yugoslavia - UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR)
 - PS: 1992. NATO intervention in the Bosnian War
 - Rwanda - UN Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR)
 - Somalia - UN Operation in Somalia II (UNOSOM II),
- 199

Interdependence: Security and Development

- The response found to deal with these new threats was development
- Underdevelopment came to be seen as a security issue, and international security was conceived as a result of the development of different states
- Poverty, political instability, economic disparities, and lack of access to basic resources in underdeveloped areas were acknowledged as factors that could lead to internal conflicts

Human Security

- UNDP – The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) introduced the concept of human security in 1994.
- "The concept of security has for too long been interpreted narrowly: as security of territory from external aggression, or as protection of national interests in foreign policy or as global security from the threat of a nuclear holocaust. It has been related more to nation-states than to people. (...) The idea of human security, though simple, is likely to revolutionize society in the 21st century. (...) Human security can be said to have two main aspects. It means, first, safety from such chronic threats as hunger, disease and repression. And second, it means protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life, whether in homes, in jobs or in communities. Such threats can exist at all levels of national income and development" (UNDP, 1994, p. 22-23)

Responsability to protect

- R2P – The concept of human security was a steppingstone for the establishment of the notion of the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) within the United Nations.
- R2P was accepted as a UN principle in 2005
- R2P delegates to the international community the responsibility to protect people around the world from violations of their rights and dignity through humanitarian interventions when a sovereign state is unable or unwilling to ensure the human security of its nationals

Copenhagen school on securitization

*After the unsuccessful humanitarian intervention in Libya in 2011, interventions under R2P have been increasingly viewed with suspicion

- The use of military measures to address issues arising from the broadening of the security concept is referred to as "securitization."
- The Copenhagen School has drawn attention to the increasing reliance on this strategy

Barry Buzan: securitization to bypass procedures

- Barry Buzan defines securitization as a way to justify the non-application of certain rules or procedures
- "The way to study securitization is to study discourse and political constellations: When does an argument with this particular rhetorical and semiotic structure achieve sufficient effect to make an audience tolerate violations of rules that would otherwise have to be obeyed? If by means of an argument about the priority and urgency of an existential threat the securitizing actor has managed to break free of procedures or rules he or she would otherwise be bound by, we are witnessing a case of securitization".

Low-level conflicts: is there a war?

- Mark Duffield (2010) interprets the promotion of development with the objective of consolidating international security as a form of an "unwinnable global civil war."
- Although the number of actual civil wars in states has reduced, there is currently a situation of indistinction between war and peace in various states

Diversification of agendas and paradigms

- International relations/politics have become more complex and multifaceted with the emergence of new themes such as:
- Environmental challenges: climate change, biodiversity, natural resource management, sustainable development
- Gender: gender equality, women's rights, women, peace, and security
- Cybersecurity and digital governance: cyberwarfare, data privacy, internet governance, artificial intelligence
- Global health: access to healthcare and vaccines, pandemic preparedness
Access to Healthcare
- Migration and refugees: forced displacement, migration policies, refugee protection
- Global governance and international institutions: reforming the United Nations, regional integration, role of non-state actors

Discussion 1: International Trade

- World Trade Organization (WTO) established in 1995 to facilitate global trade and promote economic cooperation
- WTO Appellate Body Crisis (2019): the Appellate Body requires a minimum of three judges to function, but due to the United States' blocking of new appointments, it currently has only one judge
- The absence of a functioning Appellate Body hinders the dispute settlement process and delays resolution of trade disputes (WTO members resort to arbitration and unilateral actions, potentially leading to increased trade tensions and instability)

Discussion 2: International Conflicts

- Conflict between Russia and Ukraine began in 2014, sparked by Russia's annexation of Crimea, leading to tensions in Eastern Ukraine
- Escalated into Russian invasion of Ukraine (2022)
- Humanitarian impacts (thousands killed, displacement of civilians, human rights violations and war crimes alleged against both sides)
- International response:
 - Economic sanctions against Russia by the EU, US and other countries
- Diplomatic efforts to find a peaceful resolution