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# Notes and References

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## 1 Contending Images of World Politics: An Introduction

1. This was less the case in the English School of International Relations where a more speculative and philosophically inclined approach kept alive a broader focus of International Relations theory (see Wight, 1991). Hedley Bull even argued that 'world politics' was the more appropriate name for the subject (Bull, 1972). Some American liberal scholars did try in the 1970s to make the case for a more complex pluralist world (Keohane and Nye, 1977) and used the term 'world politics' to depict this broader notion, but by the 1980s had retreated to a state-centric liberal institutionalism.
2. We are grateful to Spike Peterson for drawing our attention to this important distinction.
3. See, for example, Burton (1972, p. 77) and Mastanduno (1999, p. 19).
4. The fact that some contributors use a broader meaning (interchangeable with image) does not upset this purpose as long as the reader is aware that there is something special about images that employ the familiar to describe the unfamiliar. In fact, we had initially employed this broader usage of 'metaphor' ourselves. The workshop in which we first discussed these ideas was called 'Metaphors for our Time'.
5. Within the formal study of International Relations it is only John Burton and Kenneth Boulding (1956) to our knowledge that have attempted to think about the power of images. A former head of the Foreign Ministry in Australia turned international relations theorist, Burton (1972, p. 77-8) asserted that images (which he also called 'models') can be powerful in international policy. Consistent with this belief, he produced the image of a 'cobweb' to depict a pluralistic world society and to counter the influence of state-centric images. Kenneth Waltz's more famous use of images in *Man, The State and War* (1959) does not reflect upon the power of images. Waltz uses the term to refer to emphases in the theoretical understandings of the causes of war: one image emphasizing human behaviour; the second focusing on the internal structure of states, and the third emphasizing the international structure.
6. For the steps in adapting Said theoretically as an approach to theorising international relations in a policy setting see Fry (1997).

## 2 The 'End of History'?

1. The author would like to thank the members of the workshop on *Metaphors for our Time: Contending Images of World Politics*, held at the Australian National University in Canberra, April 1999, Ursula Vollerthun, and the editors, Greg Fry and Jacinta O'Hagan, for their comments.
2. Fukuyama may be credited with a certain prescience, in that the article was published before the fall of the Berlin Wall in November 1989.
3. The 'democratic deficit' in the European Union is often taken to refer to the weakness of the elected parliament in relation to the executive (the Council of Ministers and the Commission), but the term also refers to a more fundamental problem – namely, the perception, reflected in the low interest in elections to the European Parliament, that the European institutions, including the Parliament, are remote and virtually beyond popular control.
4. To mark the article's tenth anniversary, *The National Interest* published Fukuyama's 'second thoughts', together with several responses. In this article, Fukuyama maintained that none of the subsequent events or critiques had caused him to question his view that 'liberal democracy and a market-oriented economic order are the only viable options for modern societies' (1999a, p. 16). On the other hand, he now maintained that history would not come to an end so long as modern science has no end: indeed, new developments in science would abolish 'mankind as such' (p. 17).
5. Military dictatorships in Africa and Latin America proved unable to maintain their legitimacy in the face of the economic crises of the 1980s; the collapse of President Suharto's rule in Indonesia in 1998 provides a more recent example. It cannot be assumed that the ensuing democratic regimes will prove stable, but it also appears unlikely that any other regime can achieve durable support. For a general discussion of these issues, see Huntington (1991).
6. This, of course, is not the only function of elections. They determine who shall form the government; policy issues are often played down. However, when there are major well-defined policy differences the outcome of elections is accepted as decisive.
7. The first of these attracted sporadic attention in the Australian media; the author was informed of the second during a visit to Berlin in June 1999.
8. The author was shown the shelving devoted to new books during the previous two years, no more than about 20 per cent of that in the earlier 1990s.

## 3 'Back to the Future'?

1. There are a number of ways of illustrating that this is a perspective with a very flimsy grasp of (its own) historico-political reality. Indeed, even in its own (empiricist) terms its historical facts (for example, in regard to multi/bipolar systems) do not stand up to even rudimentary critical challenge (see Vasquez, 1998, chapter 12). In regard to the indisputable fact that we did not have nuclear war during the bipolar Cold War period and the view that, therefore, deterrence and nuclear threat theory worked, see a range of counter-propositional perspectives in the strategic and IR literature (for example, Booth (ed.), 1998; Lynn-Jones, 1991; Lebow and Stein, 1994, 1998; Vasquez, 1998; and McGwire, 1985/6).

2. As Maynes (1995, p. 38) points out, Huntington's thesis in particular 'has shaped [US] foreign policy debates for the last few years'.
3. I do not seek here to put a full stop to memory, by providing an alternative real history to counteract the false one of Mearsheimer *et al.* Given that human history always involves interpretation there can be no ultimate Archemedian point from which to make such arbitrary judgement. This begs the question of why the critical historical perspective presented here should be regarded as any more credible than that it disputes. The answer, at least in the context of this chapter, is simple enough, because it takes into account a whole range of evidence, drawn from a range of sources and methodologies, all of which are ignored in 'back to the future' perspectives even while it claims universal insight for its perspective. In this sense my aim is to provide at least an adequate, if not ultimate body of knowledge on the issues at hand. And while the criteria of adequacy is itself a contestable category, I seek here to engage the 'back to the future' stance in relation to its own criteria of adequacy, truth, fact, relevance and credibility.
4. In the ex-Soviet context, as in the Balkans, the complexities are such that seizing the moment is always a risky business, but here surely the West must help the citizens of the old Soviet Union overcome the worst excesses of rapid Westernization in order that its more positive institutional and cultural features might take hold. It matters not whether one prescribes such activity as self-interested, what matters is that the violent images of the 'new pessimists' do not become self-fulfilling prophecies.
5. The condition of radical indeterminacy, in this context, is characterized by the acknowledgment that power relations are multifaceted and multilayered, contingent and fungible and therefore amenable to amelioration, communication and change. In regard to globalization it recognizes that for all the precision modelling of the corporate managers and their military-technocratic allies, the sheer scale and impact of the revolutions in technology, economics and productive forces will provoke various kinds of 'dysfunctional consequences'. In regard to democracy it recognizes that beyond the Schumpeterian obsession with elections and formal (US) models of elite-shuffling representative government, the key-stone of democracy is that space where power is an absence rather than a predictable presence. Or, less obtusely, that space where power is not 'owned' (for example, by any individual, group, party system, sect, or religion) but where power is an indeterminate category within which genuine political debate and struggle can take place. On this, see Lefort (1988).

#### 4 A 'Balance of Power'?

1. It seems very likely, however, that Guicciardini drew the idea from a manuscript written by Bernardo Rucellai in the last decade of the fifteenth century (Nelson, 1943, p. 129).
2. I have discussed these two approaches to the balance of power in terms of adversarial and associative conceptions of balance. Here I have also attempted to link the terms to the idea of automatic and manual balances of power. This distinction is made by Claude (1962) and Jervis (1997).
3. One of the most interesting attempts to develop the normative dimension of the balance of power relates the balance of power to Rawls' theory of justice (1971). See Midlarsky (1983).

## 5 An 'International Society'?

1. The author wishes to thank Chris Reus-Smit for his helpful and penetrating comments on an earlier draft.
2. Oakeshott's distinction is between 'enterprise' association and 'civil' association.
3. This is a play on the title of Bull's 1980 article 'The Great Irresponsibles? The United States, The Soviet Union and World Order'.
4. This was a task Bull began to address in his Hagey Lectures delivered shortly before his death in 1985 (Bull, 1984b).

## 7 The 'End of Sovereignty'?

1. Walker comments:

The Theme of modernity as an era not only of rapid sociopolitical, economic and technological transformations but also of a new consciousness of temporality and the contingency of specifically modern experience, has been especially familiar since the late nineteenth century. In fact, much of the recent literatures on dynamics of late or postmodernity, as on late capitalism, may be read as a recovery and extension of ideas once associated with, say, Baudelaire, Bergson and Nietzsche as well as Marx. (Walker, 1995b, p. 314; Bergson, 1984, pp. 248-9, 307, 314, 342-3; see also Deleuze, 1988, p. 91 – Walker cites this work).

2. These are Bergson's expressions (see Bergson, 1984, pp. 208-11; Deleuze and Guattari, 1988, pp. 236-9, 386, 483-4, 573; see also Walker, 1993, p. 14).
3. Walker's choice of phrase echoes Bergson (see 1984, p. 197).
4. For a rich depiction of Newton and his work see Fauvel *et al.* (1988). Robert Wokler notes that the expression Enlightenment Project is a very recent invention (see 1998, p. 302). Philipp Frank, writing from Czechoslovakia in 1938 and concerned that mystical 'presentations of modern physics' could 'serve intellectual, and hence social, reaction and supply it with arms', explained that philosophical misinterpretations of modern science stemmed from confusing conceptual with linguistic identity:

The metaphysician ... looks upon the history of science as a struggle for or against his particular metaphysical theses. But this struggle has nothing to do with the development of science itself; it is merely a fight as to how human beings can express their private or collective wishes in such terms as also occur in the sentences of contemporary science. In this struggle the words may be combined into sentences according to rules incompatible with those of real scientific syntax. (1938, pp. 57-8)

5. See also Joseph Camilleri and Jim Falk who argue that the 'theory of a world partitioned into territorial domains ... is increasingly confronted by another equally long-standing perspective of a living planet as an integrated whole' (1992, p. 195).

6. I have taken this expression from Rorty. 'Their strategy [historicist thinkers] has been to insist that socialization ... goes all the way down' (1989, p. xiii).
7. Kuehls (1996, p. 30) writes that 'thinking society beyond sovereign territorial boundaries does not necessitate creating some kind of international governing body to encompass this global human population, but might suggest a smooth or rhizomatic social space... Thinking society beyond both sovereign territorial boundaries and species boundaries means taking into serious consideration the ambiguity, contingency, and diversity of life'.
8. These images and ideas are drawn from James (1971, p. 274-6, 283). See also James (1907, p. 79).
9. On Spengler's influence, see Liebert (1933, p. 34).
10. The notion of hyphenated loyalties comes from Laski (1916, p. 425).
11. I have borrowed this last expression from James (1897, p. 177).
12. This is Hans Kelsen's term (see 1961, p. 386).
13. For a discussion of this and historical examples, see Heyking (1928) and Bentwich (1934).
14. On the relation of sovereignty to natural law, see McIlwain (1933, p. 98). See also Vattel (1863, pp. 154-9) and Westlake (1910, I, pp. 319-20).
15. On this point, see Laski: 'We have to take the world of sense as we meet it, its losses and gains, its struggles and victories, and assume that ... it is a real world in space and time. We have to treat evil as genuine and not merely an appearance capable, otherwise, of being harmonized into good' (1925, p. 260; see also James, 1897, p. 61).

## 8 A 'New Medievalism'?

1. I read Thucydides, in contrast to realists and neorealists, as presenting Athenian decline as mainly an extreme example of imperial overstretch, but also as resulting from a decline in public morality that is severely aggravated by the deforming effects of demagogic manipulations of the Athenian democratic process. Such a tension in 'reading' most vividly surfaces in relation to whether the Melian Dialogue is understood as imparting the unconditional primacy of power in international relations or is taken as an expression of the corrupting impact of moral decline on the exercise of power. See Walzer (1977) for an influential instance of the mainstream reading.
2. Both the nuclear stalemate and the failures of interventionary diplomacy have produced such frustrations in the course of the last half-century. For an argument along these lines, see Falk (1997).
3. For consideration of this challenge, see Falk (1999a); for a more direct engagement with the allegedly anachronistic imagery of Westphalia, see Falk (1998).
4. Bull is also very definite that the medieval world was based on its Western Christian character, while the possibility of a new medievalism is conceived to be 'a modern and secular counterpart' that can be called medieval because it exhibits 'its central characteristic: a system of overlapping authority and multiple loyalty' (1977, p. 254).
5. It is true that terms such as 'neoclassical' or 'neoromantic' persist, but more to suggest their dependence on a preceding era than to identify their distinctiveness. No one has suggested that the emergent world order is in any way deriv-

- ative from the medieval period; the usage is purely analogical, providing a historical analogy that discloses some important features of similarity.
6. Bull discusses, aside from new medievalism, a structure of authority that is of global scope that is 'a system but not a society', the disintegration of the societal dimensions of inter-state relations so that what exists is 'states but not a system', and world government (Bull, 1977, pp. 257-96). He emphasizes that he is engaging only in a thought experiment that is encouraged by the combination of integrative trends in Europe and certain aspirational goals of Europeanists, and thus introduces his inquiry with the carefully chosen words, 'We might imagine...' such a new medievalism in this regional setting (p. 255). In fact, Bull is not enthusiastic about the prospect of a new medievalism as a secular reincarnation, and appears to doubt its superiority, pointing out that 'if it were anything like the precedent of Western Christendom, it would contain more ubiquitous and continuous violence and insecurity than does the modern states system' (p. 255).
  7. Civil society advocates are also drawn to their 'construction' of medieval reality as sustaining transnational civic culture. For instance, Lipschutz (1992); for a more anarchistic reading by Lipschutz of global civil society, see Lipschutz (2000).
  8. The prospect of satisfying cravings of 'nations' for 'self-determination' without necessitating the stressful shattering of existing 'states' is the main theme of Gottlieb (1993).
  9. For a stress on the centrality of complexity as the empirical basis for the analogy, and its contrast with the simplicity of the modern statist reality, see Hirst and Thompson, (1995).
  10. For comprehensive interpretations of the transforming impact of IT, see Castels (1995, 1996, 1997); a more one-sided, popularizing, yet still useful presentation is that of Negroponce (1995).
  11. This has been the endeavour of the World Order Models Project for more than three decades. For its most recent effort to articulate normative potential in relation to humane governance, see Falk (1995a).
  12. David Held has done seminal work, often in collaboration with Daniele Archibugi (see Held, 1995; see also Archibugi and Held (eds), 1995; Archibugi, Held and Köhler (eds), 1998).
  13. Kung regards the idea of a Christian Europe as emphasizing exclusionary religious orientations and as working against inter-civilizational reconciliation that he regards as indispensable to any hope for a global ethic.

## 9 A 'Coming Age of Regionalism'?

1. I wish to thank John Ravenhill, Jacinta O'Hagan and Gavin Mount for their comments on this chapter.
2. Formerly National Security Adviser under Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, and author of the influential 'the stages of economic growth' thesis, Rostow was Professor of Economics and History at the University of Texas at Austin at the time of writing.
3. By 'regionalism' Rostow means the institutional links between contiguous states as in the idea of 'Europe' or 'Southeast Asia' rather than the development of sub-national loyalties within states. This is also the sense in which regionalism is used throughout this chapter.

4. The term was coined by Wynne Russell of the Department of International Relations at the Australian National University (see Russell, 1998).
5. Since the 1960s, in particular, there have been appeals to pan-nationalistic cultural identity in relation to African regionalism; in the evolution of Southeast Asian regionalism and the promotion by state elites of 'the ASEAN way'; in the Gulf Council and other Arab regionalist attempts; and in the South Pacific where Pacific Islanders promoted the concept of 'the Pacific Way'.
6. There are, however, significant divisions within the economic profession between those sympathetic to regionalism, such as Bergsten (1994), and opponents such as Bhagwati (1994).

## 10 A 'Clash of Civilizations'?

1. I would like to thank Greg Fry and Sanjay Seth for their helpful comments on this chapter.
2. Russia suffered political instability with the demise of Gorbachev and the rise of Yeltsin, and pro-democratic, pro-nationalist and pro-communist forces battling for influence and support. Conflicts erupted in the former Soviet republics of Moldova, Tadjikistan, Georgia and Azerbaijan.
3. In his analysis, Huntington focused on interaction between eight major civilizations: Western, Islamic, Sinic, Japanese, Hindu, Slavic-Orthodox, Latin-American and 'possibly African'. He defined civilizations as 'the highest cultural groupings of people and the broadest level of cultural identity, short of distinction from other species' (Huntington, 1993a, p. 24).
4. This does not prevent Huntington from advising Western powers to seek to cooperate with and even seek to co-opt members of sympathetic civilizations, such as Latin America, and to continue promoting the institutions that reflect its interests. However, a key element in his recommendations is the containment of the potentially most hostile civilizations, such as those of Islam and Confucius.
5. Whilst there is some call for mutual comprehension in Huntington's work, it forms an extremely small part of his analysis. There are some five pages devoted to the topic in a 321-page book (Huntington, 1996).

## 11 A 'World of Tribes'?

1. I would like to thank Greg Fry, Cindy O'Hagan, Jim George and the participants at the *Contending Images* workshop for their comments on earlier drafts. In keeping with the general dedication of this book, I would also like to thank Professor Jim Richardson for his guidance over the years.
2. A common criticism of Huntington's model is that it is not very good at explaining why ethnic conflicts occur between peoples that share the same civilizational identity. The model also obscures the history of civilizational encounters with 'barbarian' entities.
3. For example, Gurr (1993, 1994) has comprehensively demonstrated that the incidence and severity of ethnic conflicts have been steadily increasing since at least

the 1960s. He argues that the process of decolonization and postcolonial nationalism has been a more important causal factor.

4. Contrast this with characterizations of national iconography of powerful and predatory animals such as the US 'eagle', the British 'bulldog' or the Russian 'bear'.
5. Wight identified four doctrines on barbarism: civilization has the right to expand itself; barbarians have no rights; barbarians may be exploited; and barbarians are not human (Wight, 1991, pp. 55-62).
6. Compare articles 1(2) and 2(7), *Charter of the United Nations*, 26 June 1945, San Francisco (see Franck 1992; Simpson, 1996).
7. *Agreement between the Republic of Indonesia and the Portuguese Republic on the Question of East Timor*, United Nations, New York, 5 May 1999.

## 12 'Islam and the West'?

1. This is a term which was used by the Jordanian Foreign Minister Abdel-Elah Khatib in a speech to the UN General Assembly in September 1999 (see *BBC News* 21 September 1999).
2. For a detailed discussion of the Soviet invasion, the Afghan Islamic resistance and US support, see Saikal and Maley (1991), Rubin (1995) and Roy (1986).
3. For details of the US-Israeli alliance and breakdown of grants and loans, see Mansour (1994).
4. On the significance of East Jerusalem for Muslims, see Tibawi (1969).
5. For a detailed discussion of this issue and America's operations in Pakistan and beyond, although containing some factual inaccuracies, see Cooley (1999, especially chapters 3, 5 and 9).
6. For good discussions of Pakistan's relations with the Taliban and America's role in it, see Rashid (1998) and Mackenzie (1998).
7. For a discussion of Islamic radicalism among the Palestinians, see Abu-Amr (1994).
8. This problem has continued to date to mar the US's approach to dealing with the Afghan conflict and the Taliban, as well as Taliban-related Islamic militancy in the region. For an analysis, see Khalilzad and Byman (2000).
9. To highlight this point, America's leading proponent of the 'clash of civilizations' thesis, Samuel Huntington, recently went so far as to describe the continuation of the conflict between the predominantly Muslim Chechnya and Christian Russia as 'one front among many in the contemporary global struggles between Muslim and non-Muslim peoples' (Huntington, 1999).

## 14 A 'Gendered Global Hierarchy'?

1. Masculinism refers to the *ideological* privileging of that which is associated with 'maleness'/masculinity (not limited to men) over that which is associated with 'femaleness'/femininity; masculinity-femininity is conventionally understood



as a dichotomy of mutually exclusive and exhaustive gender categories. Gender hierarchy describes a system of structural power that privileges men and masculinism over women. This privileging includes men's appropriation of women's productive and reproductive labour, men's control over women's bodies and regulation of their activities, and the promotion of masculinism to naturalize (depoliticize) this hierarchy.

2. See special issues of *International Studies Quarterly*(33, 3, 1989) and (34, 3 1990).
3. The follow-up to this special issue in 1988 (17, 3) was Grant and Newland, eds, (1991). Ten years later, another special issue was devoted to 'Gendering "The International"' (27, 4, 1998).
4. For a recent overview and analysis of feminist IR, see True (1996).
5. In addition to the enormous literature on women/gender and development, feminist-IR books addressing IPE and globalization include Marchand and Parpart (1995), Pettman (1996), Boris and Prugl (eds), (1996), Bakker (ed.) (1994), Chin (1998) and Marchand and Runyan (eds), (2000).
6. As argued here, this distinction has been productive for feminist scholarship, but carries its own dangers insofar as it tends to essentialize sex as a biological given rather than insisting on both terms as social constructions.

## 15 A 'Postcolonial World'?

1. With thanks for their comments to the participants in a workshop convened to discuss draft chapters of this book; and thanks also to R.B.J. Walker and Joe Camilleri for comments on an earlier draft of this essay.
2. The outlines of Said's argument, and the passages quoted here, are to be found in Said (1978a).
3. This intellectual move is by no means atypical, or confined to International Relations. Chris Brown provides a good characterization of this style of argument, of which Bull and Watson provide one version: 'The effect of Western imperialism was to reshape the political, economic and social structure of the world, either by direct intervention or by creating a situation which ensured that the only way to resist intervention was to adopt European ways ... the logic of the argument ... [is thus] that universal conclusions can be drawn from initially European premises' (Brown, 1998, p. 342). See also Rengger (1989).
4. One of the most important and powerful was that of M. K. Gandhi, who called for a struggle against colonialism which was not necessarily a struggle for nationhood and modernity (see Parekh, 1999).
5. The most eloquent statement of this view is Guha (1982). See also Seth (1999).
6. See, for instance, the interesting remarks by Ashley (1988, pp. 238-40), on which I draw in this paragraph.

## 16 The 'End of Modernity'?

1. This essay develops ideas I first explored in slightly different contexts, most notably in Bleiker (1998, 2000). I am grateful to Jim George for drawing my atten-

tion to the balance of power metaphor, and to Tim Dunne for critically engaging a draft of this essay, and for being tolerant enough to suffer through my 'post-modern' approach to Australian roundabouts.

2. The State Department officially defines terrorism as 'premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets by subnational groups or clandestine agents usually intended to influence an audience' (United States Department of State, 1996, p. vi).
3. Note that between 1985 to 1996, the US produced more than 10 million new land mines – adding to a stockpile of an estimated 12–18 million (see Landmine Library, 1999).

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