

Oct 2-4 (week 5) Setting: IR and its paradoxical connection to national interests

Assigned Readings

Dunne text: Tim Dunne, “The English School,” (ch. 6)

Michael Lipson, Daniel Maliniak, Amy Oakes, Susan Peterson, and Michael J Tierney (2007) “Divided discipline? Comparing views of US and Canadian IR scholars,” *International Journal* 62(2) (http://www.wm.edu/offices/itpir/_documents/trip/divided_discipline_2007.pdf)

Daniel Maliniak et. al. (2011) “International Relations in the US Academy,” *International Studies Quarterly* (2011) 55, 437–464 (http://www.wm.edu/offices/itpir/_documents/trip/ir_in_us_academy_2011.pdf)



Purposes this week

- present two essentially national versions of modern IR theory
- the American discipline
- the “English School”
- evaluate pretensions to cosmopolitanism as a form of parochialism

IR theory and ethnocentrism



“IR is an American discipline in the sense in which ... Macdonald’s hamburgers are American beef patties; although lots of people in the rest of the world ‘do’ IR, it is American IR that, for the most part, they are doing, just as McDonald’s are American hamburgers, even when ingredients, cooks, and consumers are all drawn from another continent” (Chris Brown, in Crawford & Jarvis 2001, p. 203)

Ironies

“The real irony is that if American social science was *more* parochial it would have a better chance of getting things right. It is not American parochialism that is the problem; it is the *lack* of American parochialism that is the problem. If American social science were to be more overtly committed to promoting American values—preferably in the ironic mode of a Richard Rorty ... it would have a better chance of understanding why other people who are not American are committed to promoting their own values” (p. 216-7)



Tales That Textbooks Tell



the important self & the
unimportant 'other'
textbooks themselves a
theoretical construction
of IR

Place America at the
centre

World beyond the
"water's edge" populated
by "free riders" &
unimportant states

Hegemonic Stability Theory

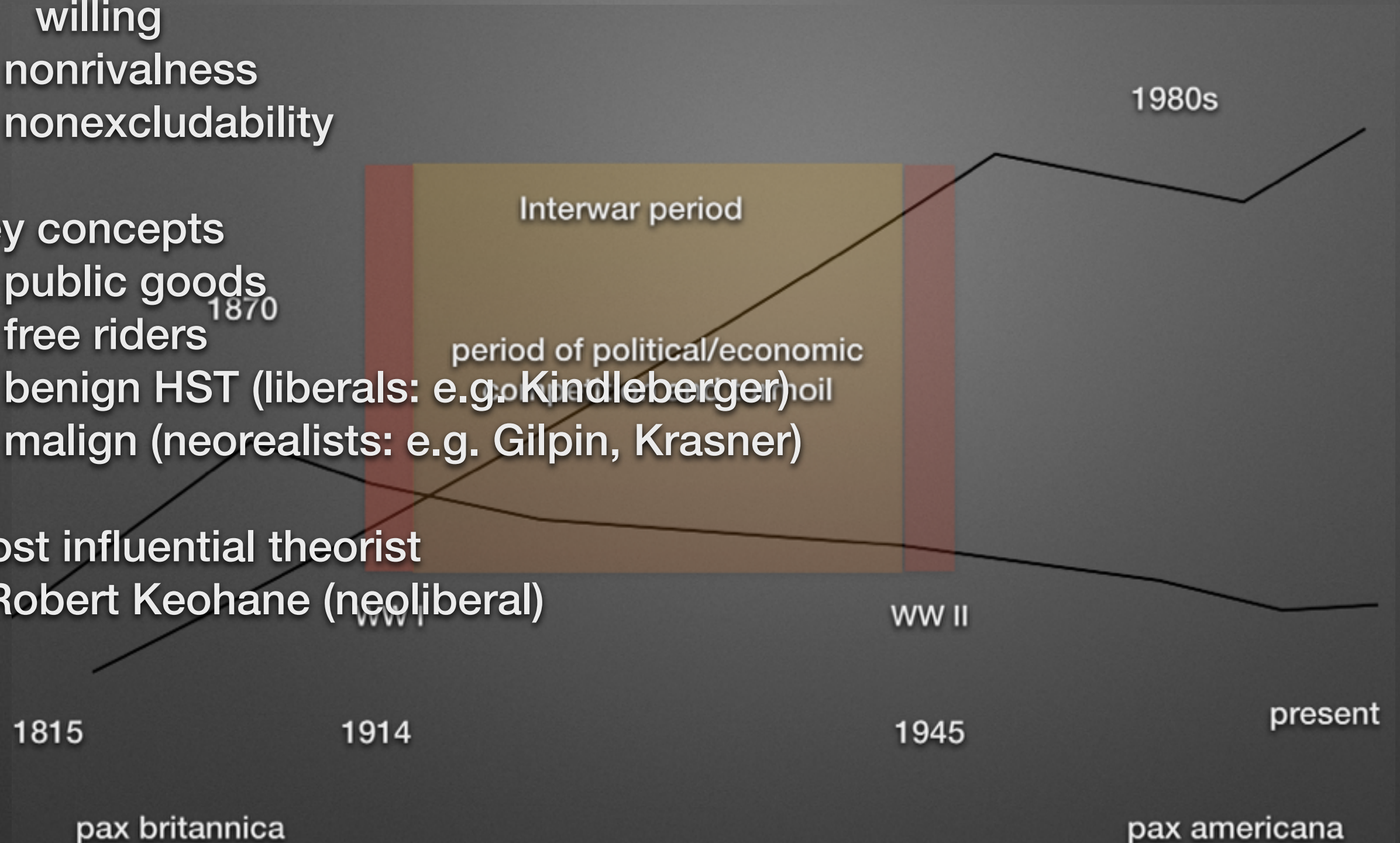
1. able
 2. willing
- nonrivalness
 - nonexcludability

Key concepts

- public goods
- free riders
- benign HST (liberals: e.g. Kindleberger)
- malign (neorealists: e.g. Gilpin, Krasner)

Most influential theorist

- Robert Keohane (neoliberal)



Tales of Hoffmann

- America's prominence at close of WW II led to a concern that its conduct be “blended with the study of international relations, for the whole world seems to be the stake of the American Soviet confrontation ... To study United States foreign policy was to study the international system. To study the international system could not fail to bring one back to the role of the United States” (Hoffman 1977: 35)



Hoffmann identifies three institutional features peculiar to American IR and that make its replication elsewhere impossible:

1. the close links between academics and policymakers, who could easily move in and from academia, think tanks and policy circles;
2. the funding of policy-relevant academic research sponsored by wealthy foundations and;
3. the mass-education system that allowed for disciplinary specialization (Hoffmann 1977: 49-50)

What's so American about American Social Science?

The degree to which it is modeled on the natural,
rather than historical sciences

The degree to which it is embedded in the
classical ideology of liberal individualism

This exceptionalism manifest in its “liberal
values, practical bent, shallow historical vision,
and technocratic confidence”

This is a very special form of parochialism or
ethnocentrism



Is this a parochial or
Cosmopolitan view?
How can we tell the
Difference?

“the cloaking of interest in the language of
altruism”?

“a miasma of moralizing rhetoric”?

"We have always set our compass by the (guiding stars) of
democracy and prosperity. These values make up our inheritance as
Americans. It is for US now, as the one remaining superpower, to do
our best to NUDGE the rest of the world toward greater liberty,
wealth, and security—to expand the reach of democracy and
prosperity as mutually reinforcing values that can lift the lives of
everyone on this planet" Tom Daschle, former US Senate majority
leader, *Foreign Policy*, 1996

Where does this sort of thinking come from?

America's "forgotten founding father"

1630 sermon: MBC to be a "city on a hill"

"you are the light of the world. A city on a hill cannot be hidden" Sermon on the Mount, Matthew 5:14
earliest recorded reference to popular modern idea of American exceptionalism

Arthur Miller: "They believed, in short, that they held in their steady hands the candle that would light the world. We have inherited this belief, and it has helped and hurt us" p. 5, Act One (An Overture), *The Crucible*



John Winthrop, 2nd, 6th, 9th, and 12th Governor of the MBC

The English School

central tenet: that there is a considerable degree of *order*, and some degree of *justice*, in world politics sustained by its formal structure as an anarchical society of sovereign states governed by international law and other mechanisms and communicating among themselves through the institution of diplomacy

Hidemi Suganami (Aberystwyth)

Founding figures

- Hedley Bull, Martin Wight, Charles Manning, Adam Watson, Alan James, and John Vincent, Herbert Butterfield (and sometimes E. H. Carr)
- Two overlapping types of English School thinkers:
1. those who taught in the Department of International Relations at the London School of Economics headed by Manning, and; 2. those who were members of the British Committee on the Theory of International Politics, spearheaded by Herbert Butterfield
- Wight and Bull belonged to each type

English School today (those directly or indirectly influenced)

Andrew Hurrell, Tim Dunne, Nicholas Wheeler,
David Long, Peter Wilson, David Armstrong,
Paul Keal, Barry Buzan, and Roger Epp

Andrew Linklater, Robert Jackson

**“the English School was never very English and
is even less so today,” Dunne p. 108**

hmmm?

**“English School” label created by one of its greatest critics in 1981 (and he
was Welsh!)**

**emphasized ES lack of coherence as a research programme; vagueness of
its aims; poverty of its methodology; and disputable status of the School
as a “theory” (Roy Jones 1981)**

some of its founding members not English

**ES focus not English, but global (e.g. no particular interest in British
foreign policy)**

**nothing particularly English about its ideas (e.g. a mix of history, sociology,
law, & political theory that is European)**

its “patron saint” a Dutch legal philosopher: Hugo Grotius (1583-1645)

its initial funding came from American foundations (Rockefeller and Ford)

Does it really matter?

by Dunne's own admission, the ES is the "dominant theoretical voice" in Britain today

Situating the English School

- IR has tended either to: 1. ignore ES; 2. treat ES as a distinct but conceptually underdeveloped and marginal school, or; 3. treat ES as a subtype of Realism

Bull

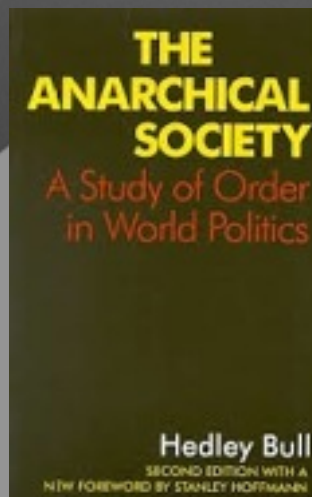


Wight

Neorealism
(and related theories)

Liberal
institutionalism

via media

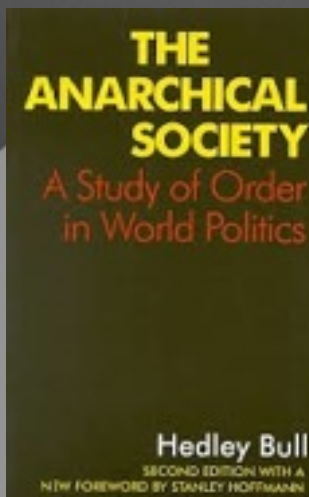


Anarchy



global governance

via media

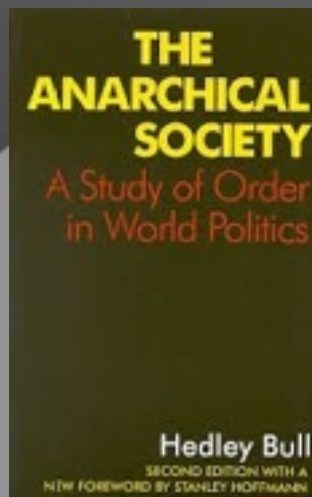


mainstream IR



critical theory/post
structuralism

via media



avoids either or framings:
theory *and* history; morality *and* power; agency *and* structure



realism
(strict rationalism)

idealism
(normative contestations)

Carr sometimes seen as a founding
member of ES

But not so clear

pro: his desire to blend power & morality
looks like the ES *via media*
contra: not primarily interested in
international society, and the existence of
the latter set down and manipulated by
great powers



Daniel Maliniak et. al. (2011) “International Relations in the US Academy,” ISQ

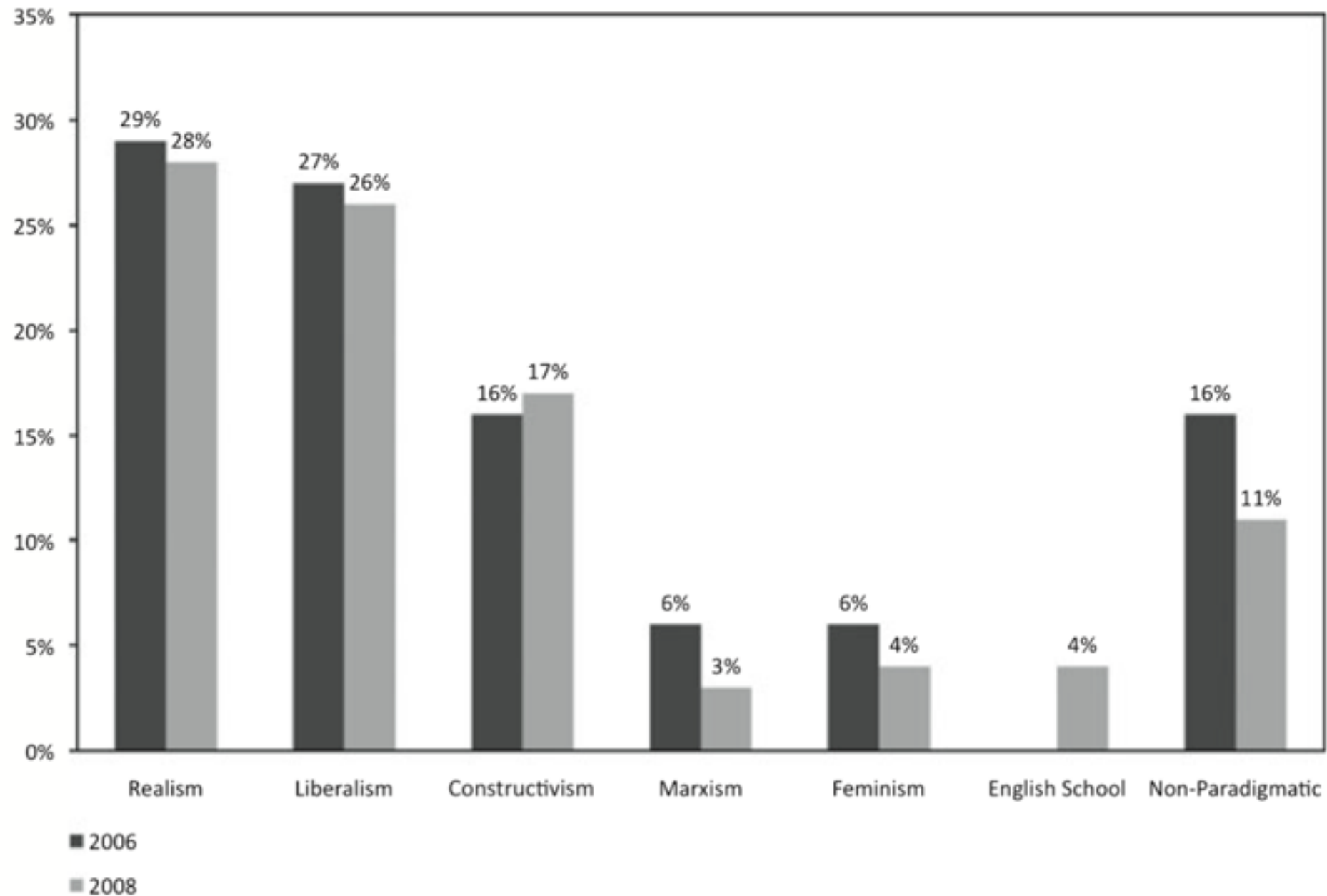
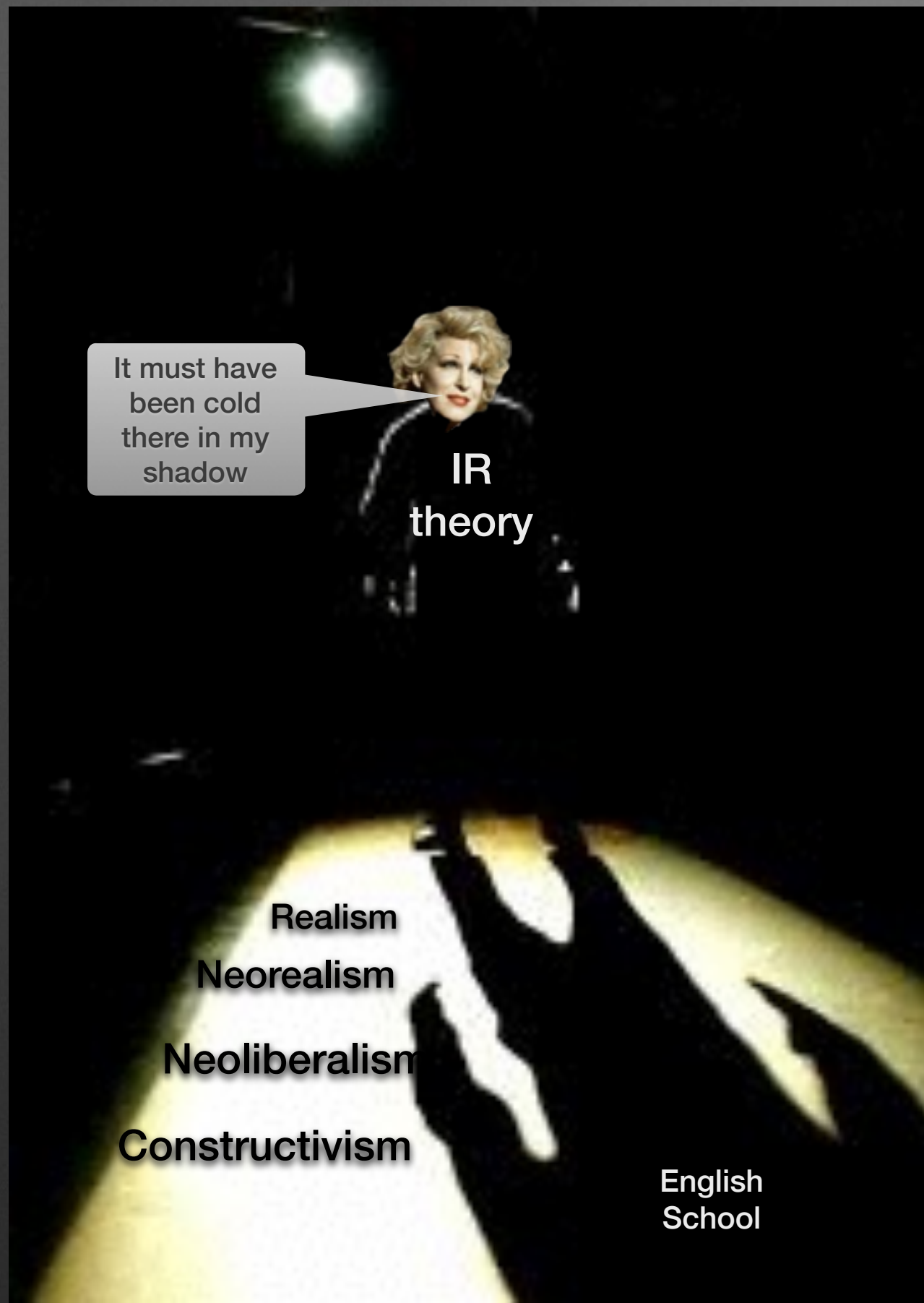


FIG 2. Survey Respondents' Perception of Literature Devoted to Each Paradigm Today



It must have
been cold
there in my
shadow

IR
theory

Realism

Neorealism

Neoliberalism

Constructivism

English
School

American IR versus English School