

## The Making of Global International Relations

This book presents a challenge to the discipline of International Relations (IR) to rethink itself, in the light of both its own modern origins and the two centuries of world history that have shaped it. By tracking the development of thinking about IR and the practice of world politics, this book shows how they relate to each other across five time periods from nineteenth-century colonialism, through two world wars, the Cold War and decolonisation, to twenty-first century globalisation. It gives equal weight to the neglected voices and histories of the Global South and the traditionally dominant perspectives of the West, showing how they have moved from nearly complete separation to the beginnings of significant integration. The authors argue that IR needs to continue this globalising movement if it is to cope with the rapidly emerging post-Western world order, with its more diffuse distribution of wealth, power and cultural authority.

Amitav Acharya is Distinguished Professor at the School of International Service, American University, Washington, DC. His recent books include *Constructing Global Order* (Cambridge, 2018) and *The End of American World Order* (2014). His previous book with Barry Buzan is *Non-Western International Relations Theory: Perspectives on and Beyond Asia* (2010). He is the recipient of Distinguished Scholar Awards from the International Studies Association's Global South Caucus (2015) and International Organization Section (2018).

Barry Buzan is Emeritus Professor in the London School of Economics Department of International Relations, Honorary Professor at Copenhagen, Jilin and China Foreign Affairs Universities, and a Fellow of the British Academy. His recent books include *Global International Society*, with Laust Schouenborg (Cambridge, 2018) and *The Global Transformation*, with George Lawson (Cambridge, 2015), which won the Francesco Guicciardini Prize for Best Book in Historical International Relations (2017).

Cambridge University Press  
978-1-108-48017-8 — The Making of Global International Relations  
Amitav Acharya , Barry Buzan  
Frontmatter  
[More Information](#)

---

# The Making of Global International Relations

*Origins and Evolution of IR at its Centenary*

---

Amitav Acharya

*American University, Washington, DC*

Barry Buzan

*London School of Economics and Political Science*



CAMBRIDGE  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press  
978-1-108-48017-8 — The Making of Global International Relations  
Amitav Acharya , Barry Buzan  
Frontmatter  
[More Information](#)

## CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre,  
New Delhi – 110025, India

79 Anson Road, #06-04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

[www.cambridge.org](http://www.cambridge.org)

Information on this title: [www.cambridge.org/9781108480178](http://www.cambridge.org/9781108480178)

DOI: 10.1017/9781108647670

© Amitav Acharya and Barry Buzan 2019

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2019

Printed in the United Kingdom by TJ International Ltd. Padstow Cornwall

*A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.*

ISBN 978-1-108-48017-8 Hardback

ISBN 978-1-108-72711-2 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

## Contents

---

<i>List of Tables</i>	page vi
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	vii
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	ix
Introduction	1
1 The World up to 1919: The Making of Modern International Relations	8
2 International Relations up to 1919: Laying the Foundations	33
3 The World 1919–1945: Still Version 1.0 Global International Society	67
4 International Relations 1919–1945: The First Founding of the Discipline	82
5 The World after 1945: The Era of the Cold War and Decolonisation	112
6 International Relations 1945–1989: The Second Founding of the Discipline	138
7 The World after 1989: ‘Unipolarity’, Globalisation and the Rise of the Rest	179
8 International Relations after 1989	218
9 The Post-Western World Order: Deep Pluralism	261
10 Towards Global International Relations	285
<i>References</i>	321
<i>Index</i>	363

## Tables

---

8.1	New Academic Associations	<i>page</i> 220
8.2	New IR Journals	221

## Acknowledgements

---

This book is a development from our earlier work on ‘Non-Western’ IR theory (Acharya and Buzan, 2007a, b, 2010).<sup>1</sup> When we wrote a ‘ten years on’ retrospective on this work (Acharya and Buzan, 2017) the centenary (at least according to its founding myth) of IR in 2019 was on the horizon, and seemed an obvious target for the next stage of our project. Our individual work during the last decade was strikingly parallel in outlook, so we had firm foundations on which to build. We set out the details of all this in Chapter 10.

The project has benefitted from the international conference on ‘African Voices in IR Theory’ at Rhodes University, South Africa in May 2013 (Bischoff, Aning and Acharya, 2016), and ‘Latin America in Global IR’ (‘América Latina en la Disciplina Global de las Relaciones Internacionales’) in Buenos Aires on 2–3 November 2017. We would also like to thank our colleagues in the Political Science department at Copenhagen University for their comments on a sketch of the project and an early draft of Chapter 2 in November 2017.

Thanks also to Peter Wilson, Hitomi Koyama, Randolph Persaud, Qin Yaqing and Arlene Tickner, for their advice on specific aspects of the story. We are very grateful to Allan Layug and Jiajie He for their valuable research assistance and to Sahil Mathur for both research and editorial assistance.

We would also like to thank John Haslam, and Cambridge University Press, not only for taking on this book, but particularly for getting it out in time to launch in early 2019.

<sup>1</sup> The label ‘Non-Western’ is placed in quotes to indicate two, simultaneous conditions: (1) no one comes from a pristine origin anymore, given the impact of globalisation today and colonialism yesterday; nonetheless, (2) Non-Western ways of being and knowing still figure powerfully in the lifeworlds of their cultural heirs. This second condition includes the ontologies and epistemologies of indigenous peoples in what the Europeans called the ‘New World’. They are located geographically in the West but their epistemes do not stem from the Eurocentric definition of the ‘West’. For the sake of stylistic simplicity, however, the scare quotes are omitted from subsequent uses of the term Non-Western. We are grateful to L. H. M. Ling for these important clarifications.

Cambridge University Press  
978-1-108-48017-8 — The Making of Global International Relations  
Amitav Acharya , Barry Buzan  
Frontmatter  
[More Information](#)

---



## Abbreviations

---

ADIZ	Air Defense Identification Zone
AI	Artificial Intelligence
AIIB	Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank
ARC	Asian Relations Conference
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
AU	African Union
BISA	British International Studies Association
BRI	Belt and Road Initiative
BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CEE	Central and Eastern Europe
CEEISA	Central and East European International Studies Association
CFR	Council on Foreign Relations
DPT	Democratic Peace Theory
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EEC	European Economic Community
EISA	European International Studies Association
ES	English School
EU	European Union
EUISS	European Union Institute for Security Studies
G8	Group of 8
G20	Group of 20
G77	Group of 77
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GDP	gross domestic product
GIS	global international society
GWoT	global war on terrorism
HST	Hegemonic Stability Theory
IAB	Inter-American Bank
IBSA	India, Brazil, South Africa

x List of Abbreviations

ICISS	International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty
ICWA	Indian Council of World Affairs
IGO	intergovernmental organisation
IIIC	International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INGO	international non-governmental organisation
IPE	International Political Economy
IPR	Institute of Pacific Relations
IPSA	International Political Science Association
IR	International Relations (discipline)
ir	international relations (practice)
ISA	International Studies Association
ISC	International Studies Conference
ISS	International Security Studies
JAIR	Japan Association of International Relations
KMT	Kuomintang
LN	League of Nations
MNE	multinational enterprise
NAM	Non-Aligned Movement
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NEFOS	New Emerging Forces
NIEO	New International Economic Order
NNWS	non-nuclear weapon state
NWS	nuclear weapon state
OAU	Organization of African Unity
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OEP	Open Economy Politics
OLDEFOS	Old Established Forces
OPEC	Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries
R2P	Responsibility to Protect
SCO	Shanghai Cooperation Organisation
SSA	sub-Saharan Africa
TPP	Trans-Pacific Partnership
TNC	transnational corporation
TRIP	Teaching, Research and International Policy
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNCTAD	UN Conference on Trade and Development
UNDP	UN Development Programme

## List of Abbreviations

xi

UNHCR	UN High Commissioner for Refugees
UNSC	UN Security Council
US	United States
WHO	World Health Organization
WILPF	Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
WISC	World International Studies Committee
WST	World Systems Theory
WTO	World Trade Organization

Cambridge University Press  
978-1-108-48017-8 — The Making of Global International Relations  
Amitav Acharya , Barry Buzan  
Frontmatter  
[More Information](#)

---