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978-1-107-03557-7 - The Global Transformation: History, Modernity and the Making of International Relations

Barry Buzan and George Lawson

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The Global Transformation

The ‘long nineteenth century’ (1776–1914) was a period of political, economic, military and cultural revolutions that re-forged both domestic and international societies. Neither existing international histories nor international relations texts sufficiently register the scale and impact of this ‘global transformation’, yet it is the consequences of these multiple revolutions that provide the material and ideational foundations of modern international relations. Global modernity reconstituted the mode of power that underpinned international order and opened a power gap between those who harnessed the revolutions of modernity and those who were denied access to them. This gap dominated international relations for two centuries and is only now being closed. By taking the global transformation as the starting point for international relations, this book repositions the roots of the discipline and establishes a new way of both understanding and teaching the relationship between world history and international relations.

BARRY BUZAN is Emeritus Professor in the Department of International Relations at the London School of Economics and Political Science, a Senior Fellow at LSE IDEAS and a Fellow of the British Academy. Among his books are *International Systems in World History* (2000, with Richard Little); *Regions and Powers* (Cambridge, 2003, with Ole Wæver); *From International to World Society?* (Cambridge, 2004, with Ole Wæver); *The Evolution of International Security Studies* (Cambridge, 2009, with Lene Hansen); and *An Introduction to the English School of International Relations* (2014).

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*To Fred Halliday and Justin Rosenberg,
for pointing the way.*

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Preface

This project originated in our shared interest in modernity and our shared frustration at the lack of awareness of its importance in International Relations (IR). Working together at the LSE gave us the opportunity to talk about the book's main ideas, and both of us were in different ways guided towards this project by the influence of Fred Halliday and Justin Rosenberg. Fred always made a big deal of the nineteenth-century disjuncture, even though most people in IR were resistant to his promptings. Justin's work on both modernity and uneven and combined development provided another shared stimulus. We dedicate this book to both of them, and hope that it might stand as a vindication of Fred's campaign to turn the IR supertanker.

We would like to thank Carmen Gayoso, Mark Kersten and Luca Tardelli for their extremely helpful research assistance, and for always delivering more than we asked for. Luca in particular has worked on a number of different parts of the book, providing both materials and insights that have greatly strengthened our argument. Kirsten Ainley gave us good advice on the history of International Law. Especially big thanks to Mathias Albert, Tarak Barkawi, Pinar Bilgin, Andrew Linklater, Richard Little, Jeppe Mulich and Justin Rosenberg for reading the whole manuscript and providing comments on it, and to Vivien Barr and Harvey Chisick for comments on particular aspects of our argument. Thanks also to the Cambridge University Press reviewers who commented on the proposal and the manuscript. Whether or not we agreed with all the comments we received, our community of scholars made us think hard about what we wanted to say, and we are deeply grateful for their collegial insight and support. Our gratitude also to Cambridge University Press, particularly Carrie Parkinson for being extremely helpful with the production process, and John Haslam for his encouragement, and sometimes tolerance, of our project.

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Preface

Along the way the research for this book spun off three journal articles: Barry Buzan and George Lawson (2013) ‘The Global Transformation: The Nineteenth Century and the Making of Modern International Relations’, *International Studies Quarterly*, 57(3): 620–34; Barry Buzan and George Lawson (2014a) ‘Rethinking Benchmark Dates in International Relations’, *European Journal of International Relations*, 20(2): 437–62; and Barry Buzan and George Lawson (2014b) ‘Capitalism and the Emergent World Order’, *International Affairs*, 90(1): 71–91. Readers familiar with these articles will find arguments from them scattered throughout this book. During the course of writing the book, we presented parts of the argument at LSE, Sussex University, Copenhagen University, the University of British Columbia, Korea University and Zhejiang University, plus various conferences, including those held by the International Studies Association, the American Political Science Association, the European International Studies Association, the British International Studies Association and the Social Science History Association. We thank colleagues who took part in these events – the book is much richer for their engagements.

Our hope is that this is one of those books where the argument is so obvious that people will react by saying: ‘Of course!’ But if our argument is unlikely to be quite as easy a sell as that, we do at least hope to convince our IR colleagues to take modernity more seriously. Lest we forget, IR owes its origins to the global transformation, as does the term ‘international’, which Jeremy Bentham coined in 1789 to refer to the legal transactions between sovereigns. We also hope that sociologists and historians find that the book has something to offer their debates. Neither sociologists nor historians have done sufficient justice to the global features of modernity. This mutual neglect provides the opportunity for a productive conversation to take place between IR specialists, historians and sociologists around the subject of ‘global modernity’. Our aim is for this book to contribute to just such a conversation.

This is not one of those books where we have carved out discrete spheres of influence. Although some parts of the text bear the hallmarks of one of us more than the other, everything in the book is the result of extensive discussion, collaboration and co-authorship. Both of us wrote with the other ‘on their shoulder’, and the back and forth we had on the manuscript made writing it an enjoyable, if sometimes exhausting,

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process. We offer our heartfelt thanks to our families for putting up with us as we worked long hours and mused to the point of obsession over the global transformation. We would like to say that Deborah, Kirsten, Jake and Xavi have been patient. But we're not sure we'd love them as much if they had been.

Barry Buzan

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ABM	anti-ballistic missile
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
AU	African Union
BRIC	Brazil, Russia, India, China
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
CPI	Consumer Price Index
DPT	Democratic Peace Theory
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
ETA	Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (Basque Homeland and Freedom)
EU	European Union
FDI	foreign direct investment
G7	Group of Seven
G8	Group of Eight
G20	Group of Twenty
G77	Group of Seventy-Seven
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GDP	gross domestic product
GEG	global economic governance
GNP	gross national product
ICBM	intercontinental ballistic missile
ICJ	International Court of Justice
ICSU	International Council of Scientific Unions
IFI	international financial institution
IGO	intergovernmental organization
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INGO	international non-governmental organization
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
IPE	International Political Economy
IR	International Relations

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IRA	Irish Republican Army
ISI	import substitution industrialization
IT	information technology
IUCN	International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources
IWA	International Workingmen's Association
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Association
NSA	non-state actor
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OPEC	Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries
Oxfam	Oxford Committee for Famine Relief
PCIJ	Permanent Court of International Justice
R&D	research and development
RMA	revolution in military affairs
RMB	renminbi
RPG	rocket-propelled grenade
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SARC	South Asian Regional Cooperation
SCO	Shanghai Cooperation Organization
SOE	state-owned enterprise
TNC	transnational corporation
TPP	Trans-Pacific Partnership
TTIP	Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership
UCD	uneven and combined development
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UPU	Universal Postal Union
WMD	weapons of mass destruction
WTO	World Trade Organization
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association