

**MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
IR 542, BRITISH SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
INSTRUCTOR: A. NURI YURDUSEV**

GENERAL INFORMATION

This graduate seminar entails a general survey and a critical appraisal of the British School of International Relations. First, it places the British School in the 'British tradition' and attempts to uncover its historical origins. Secondly, it distinguishes the British School from other schools of International Relations such as the Realist School, Behaviouralist School and World System School. Then, it proceeds to critically examine the works of the representative scholars identified with the School. While examining the relevant authors, basic tenets of the School are to be explored in such conceptions as the typology of civilisations and systems of states which are considered to be the principal units of analysis; the units identified on the basis of the cultural or civilisational element; the Janus-headed nature of international relations; a commitment to the idea of universal history and of the whole; a broad historical perspective which shows the historical parallels to current problems; men being the ultimate members of principal units; the search for universally adopted values and the stress on the need for a more cosmopolitan culture; and some idea of a *via media*. Finally, the promises and the prospects of the British School will be discussed.

The course will be conducted mainly on the basis of classroom discussions. The student participation is therefore an essential part of the course.

Students are expected to read the assigned readings for each subject. Students are advised to have a look at the English School web-site at

<http://www.ukc.ac.uk/politics/englishschool/>

Evaluation will be based upon student participation, essays and term papers.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE COURSE

(Readings are given after each entry).

I. INTRODUCTION

II. THE ORIGINS OF THE BRITISH SCHOOL AND THE BRITISH TRADITION

E. Barker, *Britain and the British People* (London: Oxford University Press, 1942).

G. Berridge, 'The Political Theory and Institutional History of States-System', *British Journal of International Studies* (Vol.6, 1980), pp. 82-92.

C.Brewin, 'Research in a Global Context: A Discussion of Toynbee's Legacy', *Review of International Studies* (Vol. 18, 1992), 115-130.

B. Buzan, 'The English School as a Research Program: An Overview, and a Proposal for Reconvening', paper presented at the *BISA 24th Annual Conference*, Manchester, December 20th-20nd 1999.

E.Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, Everyman edition (London: J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd., 1910).

- E.H.Carr, *Twenty Years Crisis, 1919-1939*, 2nd edition (London: Macmillan, 1946).
- A.C.Cutler, 'The 'Grotian Tradition' in International Relations', *Review of International Studies* (Vol.17, 1991), pp.41-65.
- T.Dunne, 'Mythology or Methodology? Traditions in International Theory', *Review of International Studies* (Vol.19, 1993), pp.305-318.
- T.Dunne, *Inventing International Society: A History of the English School* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998), Introduction and ch. 1.
- R.Epp, 'Power Politics and the *Civitas Terrena*: The Augustinian Sources of Anglo-American Theory in International Relations', paper presented to the *BISA Annual Meeting*, 18-20 December 1989, Canterbury, England.
- R.Epp. 'The English School on the Frontiers of International Society: A Hermeneutic Recollection', *Review of International Studies* (Vol. 24, 1998), pp. 47-63.
- S. Grader, 'The English School of International Relations: Evidence and Evaluation', *Review of International Studies* (Vol. 14, 1988), pp. 35, 38.
- A. H. L. Heeren, *A Manual of the History of the Political System of Europe and Its Colonies* (Oxford: D. A. Talboys, 1834).
- R. E. Jones, 'The English School of International Relations: A Case for Closure', *Review of International Studies* (Vol. 7, 1981), pp. 1-13.
- Elie Kedourie, 'Religion and Politics: Arnold Toynbee and Martin Wight', in his *The Crossman Confessions and Other Essays in Politics, History and Religion* (London: Mansell Publishing Limited, 1984).
- G. M. Lyons, 'The Study of International Relations in Great Britain: Further Connections', *World Politics* (Vol. 38, No. 4, 1986), pp. 626-645.
- G. M. Lyons, 'Expanding the Study of International Relations: The French Connection', *World Politics* (Vol. 35, No. 1, 1982), pp. 135-149.
- N.J.Rengger, 'Serpents and Doves in Classical International Theory', *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* (Vol.17, No.2, 1988), pp.215-225.
- H. Suganami, 'The Structure of Institutionalism: An Anatomy of British Mainstream International Relations', *International Relations* (Vol. VII, 1983), pp. 2363-2381.
- Thompson, K. W., *Toynbee's Philosophy of World History and Politics* (Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1985).
- Review of International Studies*, Forum on the English School (Vol.27, No.3, July 2001), 465-513. (joined by A.Watson, B.Buzan, A.Hurrell, S.Guzzini, I.B.Neumann and M.Finnemore).
- A.J.Toynbee, 'Historical Parallels to Current International Problems', *International Affairs* (Vol. 10, No. 4, 1931), pp. 477-492.
- A. J. Toynbee, 'The Study of History in Lights of Current Developments', *International Affairs* (Vol. 24, No. 4, 1948), pp. 563-564.
- A.J.Toynbee, 'The Unification of the World and Change in Historical Perspective', *History* (Vol. 33, No. 117-118, 1948), pp. 23-.
- P. Wilson, 'The English School of International Relations: A Reply to Sheila Grader', *Review of International Studies* (Vol. 15, No. 1, 1989), pp. 49-50, 54-55.
- A. Nuri Yurdusev, 'The British School of International Relations: The Toynbeean Origins', paper presented at the *Millennium 25th Anniversary Conference*, London School of Economics and Political Science, London, 17-19 October 1996.
- A.Nuri Yurdusev, 'Is There a British School of International Relations?', *The British Council Newsletter* (January 1998), pp.14-15.

III. THE BRITISH SCHOOL AND OTHER SCHOOLS

- C. Brown, 'International Theory and International Society: The Viability of the Middle Way?', *Review of International Studies* (Vol. 21, 1995), pp. 183-196.
- H. Bull, 'International Theory: The Case for a Classical Approach', *World Politics* (Vol. 18, No. 3, 1966), pp. 361-377.
- B. Buzan, 'From International System to International Society: Structural Realism and Regime Theory Meet the English School', *International Organization* (Vol. 47, No. 3, 1993), 327-352.
- James Der Derian, 'Introducing Philosophical Traditions', *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* (Vol. 17, 1988), pp. 189-193.
- M. Griffiths, *Realism, Idealism and International Politics: A Reinterpretation* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992).
- A. Grosser, 'L'Etude des Relations Internationales: Specialite Americaine?', *Revue Françoise de Science Politique* (Vol. 6, No. 3, 1956), pp. 631-651.
- S. Hoffmann, 'An American Social Science: International Relations', *Daedalus* (Vol. 106, No. 3, 1977), pp. 41-60.
- R. H. Jackson, 'The Political Theory of International Society', in K. Booth and S. Smith (eds.), *International Relations Theory Today* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995).
- A. James, 'International Society', *British Journal of International Studies* (Vol. 4, No. 2, 1978), pp. 74-104.
- A. James, 'System or Society?', *Review of International Studies* (Vol. 19, 1993), pp. 269-288.
- M. A. Kaplan, 'The New Great Debate: Traditionalism v.s. Science in International Relations', *World Politics* (Vol. 19, No. 1, 1966), pp. 1-20.
- Andrew Linklater, *Beyond Realism and Marxism: Critical Theory and International Relations* (London: Macmillan, 1990).
- R. Little, 'The Systems Approach', in S. Smith (ed.), *International Relations: British and American Perspectives* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1985).
- R. Little, 'The English School's Contribution to the Study of International Relations', paper presented at the *BISA 24th Annual Conference*, Manchester, December 20th-20nd 1999.
- Little, Richard, (1995) 'Neorealism and the English School: A Methodological, Ontological and Theoretical Reassessment', *European Journal of International Relations*, 1:1. 9-34.
- S. Smith, 'Paradigm Dominance in International Relations: The Development of International Relations as a Social Science', *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* (Vol. 16, No. 2, 1987), pp.
- A. Nuri Yurdusev, 'The Concept of International System as a Unit of Analysis', *METU Studies in Development* (Vol. 21, No. 1, 1994), pp. 143-174.

IV. SCHOLARS OF THE BRITISH SCHOOL

1. H. BUTTERFIELD

- H. Butterfield, *Christianity and History* (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1949).
- H. Butterfield, *History and Human Relations* (London: Collins, 1951).
- H. Butterfield, *Man on Hist Past: The Study of History of Historical Scholarship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955).
- H. Butterfield, *The Whig Interpretation of History* (New York: Norton, 1965).

- H.Butterfield, *The Origins of History* (New York: Basic Books, 1981).
- H.Butterfield, and M.Wight (eds.), *Diplomatic Investigations: Essays in the Theory of International Politics* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1966).
- H.Butterfield, 'Balance of Power', in H. Butterfield and M. Wight (eds.), *Diplomatic Investigations...*
- H.Butterfield, 'The New Diplomacy and Historical Diplomacy', in H. Butterfield and M. Wight (eds.), *Diplomatic Investigations...*
- Butterfield, H. 'Morality and an International Order', in B. Porter ed., *The Aberystwyth Papers: International Politics, 1919-1969*. London, Oxford University Press, 1972.
- Coll, A. R., *The Wisdom of Statecraft: Sir Herbert Butterfield and the Philosophy of International Politics* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1985).
- T.Dunne, *Inventing International Society...*, ch.4.
- K. W. Thompson, *Masters of International Thought: Major Twentieth Century Theorists and the World Crisis* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1980).

2. M. WIGHT

- M. Wight, 'Christian Pacifism', *Theology* (Vol.33, No.163, 191936), pp.12-21.
- M. Wight, 'The Church, Russia and the West', *Ecumenical Review* (Vol. 1, No. 1, 1948), pp.25-45.
- M. Wight, 'Why Is There No International Theory?', in H. Butterfield and M. Wight (eds.), *Diplomatic Investigations: Essays in the Theory of International Politics* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1966).
- M. Wight, 'Western Values in International Relations', in H. Butterfield and M. Wight (eds.), *Diplomatic Investigations: Essays in the Theory of International Politics* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1966).
- M. Wight, *Systems of States*, ed. by H. Bull (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1977).
- M. Wight, *Power Politics*, second edition (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1986).
- M. Wight, 'An Anatomy of International Thought', *Review of International Studies* (Vol. 13, 1987), pp. 221-227.
- M. Wight, *International Theory: The Three Traditions*, ed. by G.Wight and B.Porter (Leicester and London: Leicester University Press, 1991).
- H. Bull, 'Martin Wight and the Theory of International Relations: The Second Martin Wight Memorial Lecture', *British Journal of International Studies* (Vol. 2, 1976), pp.
- H. Bull, 'Introduction: Martin Wight and the Study of International Relations', in M. Wight, *Systems of States* (1977).
- T.Dunne, 'Mythology or Methodology? Traditions in International Theory', *Review of International Studies* (Vol.19, 1993), pp.305-318.
- T.Dunne, *Inventing International Society...*, ch.3.
- M. Forsyth, 'The Classical Theory of International Relations', *Political Studies* (Vol. 26, No. 3, 1978).
- A.James, 'Michael Nicholson on Martin Wight: A Mind Passing in the Night', *Review of International Studies* (Vol.8, 1982), pp.117-123.
- Kedourie, *op. cit.*
- M.Nicholson, 'The Enigma of Martin Wight', *Review of International Studies* (Vol. 7, 1981), pp.15-22.

B.Porter, 'Patterns of Thought and Practice: Martin Wight's 'International Theory'', in M.Donelan (ed.), *The Reason of States: A Study in International Political Theory* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1978).

K. W. Thompson, *op. cit.*, *Masters of International Thought...*

A. Watson, 'Systems of States', *Review of International Studies* (Vol.16, 1990), pp. 99-109.

3. C.A.W. MANNING

C.A.W. Manning, *The Nature of International Society* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1962).

Manning, C.A.W. (1972) 'The Legal Framework in a World of Change', in Brian Porter (ed.), *The Aberystwyth Papers: International Politics 1919-1969*, London, Oxford University Press.

Grader, *op. cit.*

H. Suganami, 'C.A.W.Manning and the Study of International Relations', *Review of International Studies* (Vol. 27, No.1, January 2001), pp.91-107.

Wilson, *op. cit.*

4. H. BULL

H.Bull, 'The Grotian Conception of International Society', in H. Butterfield and M. Wight (eds.), *Diplomatic Investigations: Essays in the Theory of International Politics* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1966).

H.Bull, 'Society and Anarchy in International Relations,' in H. Butterfield and M. Wight (eds.), *Diplomatic Investigations* (1966).

H.Bull, 'International Theory: The Case for a Classical Approach', *World Politics* (Vol. 18, No.3, 1966), 361-377.

H.Bull, 'International Relations as an Academic Pursuit', *Australian Outlook* (Vol.26, No.3, 1972), pp.251-265.

H.Bull, 'The Theory of International Politics 1919-1969', in B. Porter (ed.), *The Aberystwyth Papers: International Politics 1919-1969* (London: Oxford University Press, 1972).

H.Bull, 'Martin Wight and the Theory of International Relations: The Second Martin Wight Memorial Lecture', *British Journal of International Studies* (Vol. 2, 1976), 101-116.

H.Bull, *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics* (London: McMillan, 1977).

H.Bull, 'Natural Law and International Relations', *British Journal of International Studies* (Vol.5, No.2, 1979), pp.171-181.

H.Bull, 'The State's Positive Role in World Affairs', *Daedalus* (Vol.108, No.4, 1979), pp.111-123.

H.Bull and A.Watson (eds.), *The Expansion of International Society* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984).

H.Bull, 'European States and African Political Communities', in H.Bull and A.Watson (eds.) *The Expansion of International Society* (1984).

H.Bull, 'The Emergence of a Universal International Society', in H. Bull and A. Watson (eds.), *The Expansion of International Society* (1984).

H.Bull, 'The Revolt Against the West', in H. Bull and A. Watson (eds.), *The Expansion of International Society* (1984).

- T.Dunne, *Inventing International Society...*, ch.7.
- Forsyth, *op. cit.*
- I.Harris, 'Order and Justice in 'The Anarchical Society'', *International Affairs* (Vol.69, No.4, 1993), pp.725-741.
- J.Hoffman, 'Hedley Bull's Conception of International Society and the Future of the State', *Leicester University Discussion Papers in Politics* (Leicester, March 1992).
- A. James, 'System or Society?', *Review of International Studies* (Vol.19, 1993), pp. 269-288.
- J.D.B.Miller and R.J.Vincent (eds.), *Order and Violence: Hedley Bull and International Relations* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990).
- R.J.Vincent, 'Hedley Bull and Order in International Politics', *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* (Vol.17, No.2, 1988), pp.195-213.
- A.Watson, 'Hedley Bull, States System and International Societies' *Review of International Studies* (Vol. 13, 1987), pp.147-153.
- Yurdusev, A. Nuri (1999) 'Turkey in and of Europe: Hedley Bull's distinction between international system and international society revisited', paper presented to BISA Conference, December 1999

5. F. S. NORTHEGE

- F. S. Northedge, *The International Political System* (London: Faber and Faber, 1976).
- F.S.Northedge and M.J.Grieve, *A Hundred Years of International Relations* (London: Duckworth, 1971).
- F.S.Northedge, 'Transnationalism: The American Illusion', *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* (Vol.5, No.1, 1976), pp.21-27.

6. A. WATSON

- A.Watson, *The Evolution of International Society: A Comparative Historical Analysis* (London: Routledge, 1992).
- A.Watson, 'Systems of States', *Review of International Studies* (Vol.16, 1990), pp. 99-109.
- A.Watson, 'Hedley Bull, States System and International Societies' *Review of International Studies* (Vol. 13, 1987), pp.147-153.
- A.Watson, 'European International Society and its Expansion', in H. Bull and A. Watson (eds.), *The Expansion of International Society* (1984).
- A.Watson, 'New States in the Americas', in H. Bull and A. Watson (eds.), *The Expansion of International Society* (1984).
- A.Watson, *Diplomacy: The Dialogue between States* (London: Methuen, 1982).

7. M. DONELAN

- M.Donelan, 'Introduction' in M.Donelan (ed.), *The Reason of States: A Study in International Political Theory* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1978).
- M.Donelan, 'The Political Theorist and International Theory', in M. Donelan, (ed.), *Reason of States* (1978).
- Donelan, 'A Community of Mankind,' in J. Mayall, (ed.), *The Community of States* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1982).
- M.Donelan, 'Spain and the Indies', in H. Bull and A. Watson (eds.), *The Expansion of International Society* (1984).
- M. Donelan, *Elements of International Political Theory* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990).

8. G. W. GONG

G. W. Gong, *The Standard of 'Civilization' in International Society* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984).

G.W.Gong, 'China's Entry into International Society', in H. Bull and A. Watson (eds.), *The Expansion of International Society* (1984).

Y.Zhang, 'China's Entry into International Society: Beyond the Standard of 'Civilization'', *Review of International Studies* (Vol.17, 1991), pp.3-16.

Essay topics on Herbert Butterfield

- Do you think that the inclusion of Butterfield in the British School is justified?
- Is it possible to argue that the account by Butterfield of “the balance of power” and “diplomacy” show the basic tenets which could be associated with the British School?
- How would you assess Butterfield’s emphasis on the role of Christianity and history in understanding international relations?

Essay topics on Martin Wight

- Do you think that Wight’s three traditions analysis of IR is meaningful?
- The contribution of Wight to IR theory in general and the British School in particular.
- To what extent does Wight’s examination of the historical systems of states contribute to our understanding of international systems?

Essay topics on Charles A. W. Manning

- Do you think that Manning could be considered within the British School?
- Reflet upon the distinction between the existence “in fact” and “in effect”.
- To what extent does Manning’s conception of international society comply with its general treatment in the British School?

Essay topics on Hedley Bull

- How would you assess Bull’s critique of the Behaviouralists from the viewpoint of epistemology?.
- Do you think that Bull’s distinction between a “system of states” and a “society of states” is meaningful and sustainable?
- To what extent does Bull’s conception of international society comply with the contemporary international relations?
- Evaluate the contribution of Hedley Bull to IR theory in general and the British School in particular.

Essay topics on F. Northedge

- How would you assess Northedge's conception of "international system"?
- Evaluate the contribution of F. Northedge to IR theory in general and the British School in particular.

Essay topics on A. Watson

- Do you think Watson's conception of "international society" is based upon that of Bull's?
- How would you assess Watson's analysis of the pre-modern international societies?
- Do you think that there can be asserted a lineage from Butterfield via Wight and Bull to Watson?

Essay topics on M. Donelan

- How would you assess Donelan's conceptualization of 'five different views of the nature of international politics'?
- Do you think that Donelan could be considered within the British School?
- Compare Donelan and Wight on rationalism.

Essay topics on G. W. Gong

- Do you think Gong's analysis of "international society" complies with Bull's?
- How would you assess Gong's analysis of the entry of the non-European societies into the European international society?
- Do you think that Gong's conception of "the standard of civilization" is plausible for an examination of the contemporary international system?