

**MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY  
DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS  
SPRING 2006  
IR.602 HISTORY, POLITICS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS  
INSTRUCTOR: A. NURI YURDUSEV (ROOM H207)**

**GENERAL INFORMATION**

The basic purpose of this graduate seminar is to give the students a general understanding of philosophy of history and to explore its possible implications for political theory and the study of international relations.

The idea of history and its relations with human knowledge, i.e. the problem of theory and history, is the first issue to be dealt with. The course takes a critical view on different approaches to human knowledge and human history. Here, conceptions of national history and universal history are to be examined in relation to nation-state and international relations. Then, the relations between history, political theory and the study of international relations are to be analyzed and the basic problems and issues are to be considered.

Finally, on the basis of the background built through the discussions so far, some selective philosophers of history and politics will be discussed in the class

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

**COURSE REQUIREMENTS**

Students are expected to read the assigned readings for each subject. Each student is required to submit 6 small weekly essays on designated topics, due no later than 30th of May 2005, and a term paper on an agreed topic, due no later than 13th of June 2005. Evaluation will be based upon student participation, essays and term papers.

**ORGANIZATION OF THE COURSE**

(Readings are given after each entry).

**I. INTRODUCTION**

**II. THEORY, HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY**

Ankersmit, F.R., 'Historiography and Postmodernism', *History and Theory* (Vol. 28, 1989), 137-153.

Ankersmit, F.R. and Kellner, H. (eds), *A New Philosophy of History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

Aron, R., *Introduction to the Philosophy of History: An Essay on the Limits of Historical Objectivity*, trans. G.J.Irwin (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1961).

Berlin, I., 'History and Theory: The Concept of Scientific History,' *History and Theory* (Vol. I, 1961), 1-31.

- Berlin, B., 'Historical Inevitability', in his *Four Essays on Liberty* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969).
- Braudel, F., 'History and Social Sciences: The Long Term,' *Social Science Information* (Vol. 9, No.1, 1970), 145-174.
- Bury, J. B., 'The Science of History,' in *Selected Essays of J. B. Bury*, ed. by H. Temperley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1930).
- Carr, E. H., *What is History?*, second edition, ed. by R. W. Davies (London: Penguin, 1987), chs. 1, 3.
- Clubb, J. M., 'History as a Social Science', *International Social Science Journal* (33).
- Collingwood, R. G., *The Idea of History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961), Introduction.
- Dray, W., *Laws and Explanation in History* (London: Oxford University Press, 1957).
- Gallie, W. B., *Philosophy and Historical Understanding* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1964), ch. 3.
- Gardiner, P. G., *The Nature of Historical Explanation* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961).
- Jenkins, Keith (ed.), *Postmodern History Reader* (London: Routledge, 1997).
- Krieger, L. *Time's Reasons: Philosophies of History Old and New* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1989).
- Kuhn, T. S., 'The Relations Between History and History of Science', *Daedalus* (Vol. 100, No. 2, 1971), 271-304.
- Strauss, L., 'Political Philosophy and History', *Journal of the History of Ideas* (Vol. 10, No. 1, 1949), 30-50.
- Walsh, W. H., *An Introduction to Philosophy of History*, third edition (London: Hutchinson, 1967).
- Whitrow, G.J., *Time in History: Views of Time from Prehistory to the Present Day* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), chs.1-2.
- Yurdusev, A. Nuri, *International Relations and the Philosophy of History: A Civilisational Approach* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), chs.1-2.
- Yurdusev, A. Nuri, 'Uluslararası İlişkilere Teorik Bakmak' (How to Theoretically Study International Relations), *Uluslararası İlişkiler* (Vol.2, No.5, 2005), 157-163.
- Zagorin, P., 'Historiography and Postmodernism: Reconsiderations', *History and Theory* (Vol. 29, 1990), 263-274.
- Zagorin, P., 'History, the Referent, and Narrative: Reflections on Postmodernism Now', *History and Theory* (Vol. 38, 1999), 1-24.
- Zammito, J. H., 'Are We Being Theoretical Yet? The New Historicism, The New Philosophy of History and 'Practicing Historians'', *Journal of Modern History* (Vol. 65, No. 4, 1993), 783-814.

### III. CONCEPT OF UNIVERSAL HISTORY

- Acton, J., *Lectures on Modern History*, ed. with an introduction by J. N. Figgis and R.V. Laurence (London: Macmillan, 1950), Appendix I, pp. 315-318.
- Barrachlough, G., 'The Larger View of History', *Times Literary Supplement* (No. 2810, 6 January 1956), ii.
- Barrachlough, G., *History in a Changing World* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1957), ch. 1.
- Barrachlough, G. 'Universal History', in H. P. R. Finberg (ed.), *Approaches to History: A Symposium* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1962).
- Dawson, C., *The Dynamics of the World History* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1957).
- Fukuyama, F., *The End of History and the Last Man* (New York: Free Press, 1992), ch.5.

Hodgson, M.G.S., *Rethinking World History: Essays on Europe, Islam and World History*, ed. By E. Burke, III (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

McNeill, W. H., *A World History* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967).

McNeill, W. H., 'Organizing Concepts for World History', *Review* (Vol. 10, No. 2, 1986), 211-229.

Ortega y Gasset, J., *An Interpretation of Universal History*, trans. by M. Adams (New York and London: W.W. Norton and Company, 1973).

P.Pomper, R.H.Elphick and R.T.Vann (eds.), *World Historians and Their Critics, History and Theory: Studies in the Philosophy of History*, Theme Issue 34, 1995.

Stavrianos, L. S., 'The Teaching of World History', *The Journal of Modern History* (Vol. 31, 1959), 110-117.

Yurdusev, *op.cit.*, ch. 3.

#### IV. CONCEPT OF CIVILISATION

Bagby, P., *Culture and History: Prolegomena to the Comparative Study of Civilizations* (London: Longmans, 1958).

Braudel, F., 'History of Civilizations: The Past Explains the Present', in his *On History*, trans. by S. Matthews (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1980).

Braudel, F., *A History of Civilizations* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1993).

Collingwood, R. G., *The New Leviathan or Man, Society, Civilization and Barbarism*, ed. and introduced by D. Boucher (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992).

Elias, N., *The History of Manners* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978).

Guizot, F., *The History of Civilization in Europe* (London: Cassell and Company, 1911).

Kroeber, A. L. 'The Delimitation of Civilizations', *Journal of the History of Ideas* (Vol. 14, No. 2, 1953), 264-275.

Kroeber, A. L., *Styles and Civilizations* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1957).

Kroeber, A.L. and Kluckhohn, C., *Culture: A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions* (Cambridge, Mass: Pleabody Museum of Archeology and Ethnology, 1952).

McNeill, W. H., 'Civilization', *The Encyclopedia Americana* (Danbury: Grolier, 1982).

Melko, M., *The Nature of Civilizations* (Boston: Porter Sargent Publisher, 1969).

Mill, J. S. 'Civilization', *London and Westminster Review* (Vol. 28, No. 1, 1836), 1-28.

Yurdusev, *op.cit.*, chs.4-7.

#### V. HISTORY, POLITICS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Buzan, B. And Little, R., *International Systems in World History: Remaking the Study of International Relations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

Christopher H., 'History and International Relations', in S. Smith (ed.), *International Relations: British and American Perspective* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1985).

Cox, R.W., 'Thinking about Civilizations', *Review of International Studies* (Vol.26, December 2000), 217-234.

Craig, G.A., 'The Historian and the Study of International Relations', *American Historical Review* (Vol.88, No.1, 1983), 1-10.

Donelan, M., 'Introduction', in M.Donelan (ed.), *The Reason of States: A Study in International Political Theory* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1978).

Huntington, S. P., 'The Clash of Civilizations?' *Foreign Affairs* (Vol. 72, No. 3, Summer 1993), 22-49.

Huntington, S. P., *The Clash of Civilization and the Remaking of World Order* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996).

- Kedourie, E., 'From Clerk to Clerk: Writing Diplomatic History', *The American Scholar* (Vol.48, No.4, 1979), 502-512.
- Lee Burns, A., 'International Theory and Historical Explanation', *History and Theory* (Vol.1, 1961), 55-74.
- Liska, G., 'The Vital Triad: International Relations Theory, History, and Social Philosophy', *Social Research* (Vol.48, No.4, 1982), 701-716.
- Savigear, P., 'International Relations and the Philosophy of History', in M. Donelan (ed.), *The Reason of States* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1978).
- Sked, A., 'The Study of International Relations: An Historian's View', *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* (Vol.16, No.2, 1987), 251-262.
- Webster, C.K., 'Study of International History', *History* (Vol.17, No.70, 1933), 97-114.
- Wight, M., 'Why Is There No International Theory?', in H.Butterfield and M.Wight (eds.), *Diplomatic Investigations* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1966).
- Yurdusev, A. Nuri, 'Siyasi Tarih ve İdeoloji' (Political History and Ideology), in Gokhan Erdem (ed.), *Prof. Dr. Oral Sander Anısına, Türkiye'de Siyasi Tarihin Gelişimi ve Sorunları Sempozyumu* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, 2006).

## VI. APPROACHES TO PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY

### 1. IBN KHALDUN

- Arslan, A., *Ibn Haldun'un İlim ve Fikir Dünyası* (Ankara: Vadi Yay., 1997), chs.1-3.
- Hassan, Ü., *Ibn Haldun'un Metodu ve Siyaset Teorisi* (Ankara: SBF Yay., 1982).
- Irwin, R., 'Toynbee and Ibn Khaldun', *Middle Eastern Studies* (Vol.33, No.3, July 1997), 461-479.
- Khaldun, Ibn, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, trans. by F. Rosenthal, second edition (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967).
- Khaldun, Ibn, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, ab. ed. By N.J.Dawood (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967), pp.5-43, 91-124, 263-296.
- Lawrence, B., *Ibn Khaldun & Islamic Ideology* (Leiden: Brill, 1984), pp.14-26, 46-68
- Meriç, Cemil, *Umrandan Uygarlığa* (İstanbul: Ötüken Yay., 1979), pp.149-170.
- Meriç, Ü., *Cevdet Paşa'nın Cemiyet ve Devlet Görüşü* (İstanbul: Ötüken, 1979), 1-22.
- Rosenthal, F., 'Introduction', in Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, trans. by F. Rosenthal (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967).

#### Essay topics on Ibn Khaldun

-Do you think Ibn Khaldun's view of history and society can be considered within the positivist epistemology?

-How would you evaluate the concept of "umran" in its *bedouin* and *sedentary* forms? Is it historically tenable?

-Discuss the impact of Ibn Khaldun's cyclical theory of history and civilization for the students of International Relations as observed in such concepts as "rise and decline of great powers", "hegemony cycles", and "long cycles".

### 2. HERDER and KANT

- Berlin, I., *Vico and Herder* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1980).  
 Collingwood, *op.cit.*, pp. 88-104.  
 von Herder, J. G., von *Reflections on the Philosophy of the History of Mankind*, abridged and with an introduction by F. E. Manuel (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1968).  
 Kant, I., 'Idea for a Universal History with a Cosmopolitan Purpose,' in H. Reiss (ed.), *Kant: Political Writings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).  
 I. Kant, 'Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Skeetch', in H. Reiss (ed.), *Kant: Political Writings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).  
 Kant, I., *Critique of Pure Reason*, trans. by N. K. Smith (London: Macmillan, 1968).

#### Essay topics on Herder and Kant

- How would you evaluate Herder and Kant from the point of the Enlightenment?
- “Once Herder’s theory of race is accepted there is no escaping the Nazi marriage laws.” (Collingwood). Do you agree?
- To Kant, for the establishment of a universal peace, all states must be republican. Discuss the implications of this thesis for IR theory (Think of the idea of ‘democratic peace’).

### **3. HEGEL and MARX**

- Avineri, S., *The Social and Political Thought of Karl Marx* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968).  
 Collingwood, *op.cit.*, pp. 113-126.  
 Hegel, G. W. F., *Lectures on the Philosophy of World History*, ed., by Johannes Hoffmeister, trans. by H. B. Nisbet (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975).  
 Marx, K. and Engels, F., *Selected Works* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1968).  
 Butterfield, H., *History and Human Relations* (London: Collins, 1951), pp. 66-100.

#### Essay topics on Hegel and Marx

- Do you think the conclusions of Hegel and Marx’s philosophies are consistent with the dialectical method they use?
- How historical is Hegel and Marx’s conceptions of world history?
- Discuss the implications of Hegel and Marx’s view of history and the state for IR theory.

### **4. RANKE and ACTON**

- Acton, Lord., *Lectures on Modern History*, ed. with an introduction by J. N. Figgis and R.V. Laurence (London: Macmillan, 1950). (Especially the *Inagural Lecture* on The Study of History and *Appendix 1*)  
 Acton, Lord, *Essays on Freedom and Power* (New York: Meridian Books, 1955).

- Acton, Lord, *Essays in the Liberal Interpretation of History: Selected Papers*, ed. with an Introduction by W.H.McNeill (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967).
- Butterfield, H., *Man on His Past: The Study of History of Historical Scholarship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955). (Chs III-VI, and Aps II-VII).
- Chadwick, O., *Acton and History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).
- Fitzsimons, M. A., 'Ranke: History as Worship', *The Review of Politics* (Vol. 42, No. 4, 1980), 533-552.
- von Laue, T. H., *Leopold Ranke: The Formative Years* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950).
- von Ranke, L., *Universal History: The Oldest Historical Groups of Nations and the Greeks*, trans. by G. W. Prothero (London: Kegan Paul, Trench and Co., 1884).
- von Ranke, L., *The Secret of World History: Selected Writings on the Art and Science of History*, ed. by Roger Wines (New York: Fordham University Press, 1981).

#### Essay topics on Ranke and Acton

- Do you think Ranke and Acton's conception of universal/world history is an objectivist conception?
- How would you evaluate Ranke and Acton's views on the moral responsibility of the historian?
- Comment on Ranke's dictum that history seeks for 'what actually happened.'
- Do you see a link between Ranke's analysis of 'the great powers' and the conceptualization of great powers as an institution of international society in IR theory?
- Do you think Acton's analysis of nationality relates to mainstream views on nationality, namely civic and ethnic models?

#### **5. TOYNBEE and SPENGLER**

- Brewin, C., 'Research in a Global Context: A Discussion of Toynbee's Legacy', *Review of International Studies* (Vol. 18, 1992), 115-130.
- Collingwood, *op.cit.*, pp. 159-165, 181-183.
- Dray, W., 'Toynbee's Search for Historical Laws', *History and Theory* (Vol.1, No.1, 1960), 32-54.
- Dray, W., *Perspectives on History* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980), ch.V.
- Engels-Janosi, F., 'Toynbee and the Tradition of Universal History-A Sketch', in *The McAuley Lectures, 1957: Some Aspects of History* (West Hartford, Connecticut: Saint Joseph College, 1957).
- Feischer, M.P. (ed.), *The Decline of the West?* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970), pp.10-14, 40-47, 82-87
- H.S., *Oswald Spengler: A Critical Estimate* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1952).
- Joll, J., 'Two Prophets of the Twentieth Century: Spengler and Toynbee', *Review of International Studies* (Vol. 11, No. 2, 1985), 91-104.
- Kaufmann, W., 'Toynbee and Super-History', in his *From Shakespeare to Existentialism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980).
- Kedourie, E., 'Arnold Toynbee and His 'Nonsense Book'', *The New Criterion* (March 1990), 18-31.

- von Laue, T. H., 'Toynbee Amended and Updated', in C.T.McIntire and M. Perry (eds.), *Toynbee: Reappraisals* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989).
- McNeill, W. H., *Arnold J. Toynbee: A Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989).
- Montagu, M. F. A., (ed.), *Toynbee and History: Critical Essays and Reviews* (Boston: Porter Sargent Publisher, 1956).
- Sorokin, P.A., *Modern Historical and Social Philosophies* (New York: Dover, 1963).
- Spengler, O., *The Decline of the West*, 2 vols, trans. by C. F. Atkinson (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, vol. I 1926 and vol. II 1928).
- Thompson, K. W., *Toynbee's Philosophy of World History and Politics* (Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1985).
- Toynbee, A.J., 'Historical Parallels to Current International Problems', *International Affairs* (Vol. 10, No. 4, 1931), 477-492.
- Toynbee, A. J., *A Study of History*, 12 Vols.(London: Oxford University Press, vols. I-III 1934, vols. IV-VI 1939, vols. VII-X 1954, vol. XI-*Historical Atlas and Gazetteer*- 1959, vol.XII-*Reconsiderations*- 1961).
- Toynbee, A.J., *A Study of History*, Abridgement of Volumes I-VI by D.C.Somerwell (London: Oxford University Press, 1946).
- Toynbee, A.J., *A Study of History*, Abridgement of Volumes VII-X by D.C.Somerwell (London: Oxford University Press, 1957).
- Toynbee, A. J., *Civilization on Trial* (London: Oxford University Press, 1948).
- Toynbee, A. J., 'The Downfalls of Civilizations', in *Hobhouse Memorial Lectures 1930-1940* (London: Oxford University Press, 1948).
- Trevor-Roper, H., 'Arnold Toynbee's Millennium', *Encounter* (Vol.8, No.6, 1957), 14-28.
- White, H., 'Collingwood and Toynbee: Transitions in English Historical Thought', *English Miscellany* (Rome) (1957), 147-178.
- Yurdusev, A.N., *The Concept of Civilization and the Study of International Relations: With Special Reference to the Work of Arnold J. Toynbee*, Ph.D. Thesis (Leicester: University of Leicester, 1995), ch.7.

### Essay topics on Toynbee and Spengler

- Do you agree with Collingwood's argument that Toynbee and Spengler's analysis of history is a positivistic analysis?
- Comment on the argument that Toynbee and Spengler's conceptualizations of the history and civilizations are in line with Ibn Khaldun.
- Toynbee and Spengler's arguments on the study of history via civilizations are relevant to the level/unit of analysis debate in IR theory. What do you think?

## **6. OAKESHOTT and COLLINGWOOD**

- Collingwood, R. G., *The Principles of Art* (London: Oxford University Press, 1938).
- Collingwood, R. G., *An Essay on Metaphysics* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940).
- Collingwood, R. G., 'The Three Laws of Politics', in *Hobhouse Memorial Lectures, 1941-1950* (London: Oxford University Press, 1952).
- Collingwood, R. G., *The Idea of History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961). (Especially pp. 151-159, 205-334).
- Krausz, M., *Critical Essays on the Philosophy of R. G. Collingwood* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972).

- Mink, L.O., *Mind, History and Dialectic* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1969).
- Oakeshott, M., *Rationalism in Politics and Other Essays* (London: Methuen, 1962).
- Oakeshott, M., *On Human Conduct* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975).
- Oakeshott, M., *On History and Other Essays* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983).
- Dray, *op.cit.*, ch. I.
- Strauss, L., 'On Collingwood's Philosophy of History', *The Review of Metaphysics* (Vol.5, No.4, 1952), 559-586.

#### Essay topics on Oakeshott and Collingwood

- Oakeshott and Collingwood argue that human history and knowledge are corporate possessions. Do you agree?
- How would you assess Collingwood's views on the historicalness of the political?
- Discuss Oakeshott analysis of the 'character of a modern European state'.