**Benedict Anderson (born 1936)**

An Irish academic who was brought up mainly in California, Anderson’s main publication

on nationalism is the celebrated *Imagined Communities* (1983). He views nationalities

and nationalism as cultural artefacts of a particular kind, defining the nation as

an ‘imagined community’, in the sense that it generates a deep, horizontal comradeship

regardless of actual inequalities within the nation and despite the fact that it is not a

face-to-face community. Anderson’s other publications in the field include *The Spectres*

*of Comparison* (1998) and *Under Three Flags* (2005).

**Thomas Aquinas (1225–74)**

Italian Dominican monk, theologian and philosopher. Born near Naples, the son of a

noble family, Aquinas joined the Dominican order against his family’s wishes. Aquinas’

vast but unfinished *Summa Theologica*, begun in 1265, deals with the nature of God,

morality and law – eternal, divine, natural and human. Influenced by Aristotle and

Augustine, he identified three conditions for a war to be just: (1) war should be

declared by a person with the authority to do so, (2) the war should have a just cause,

and (3) the belligerents should have a right intention (that is, the desire for peace and

the avoidance of evil). Aquinas was canonized in 1324, and in the nineteenth century

Pope Leo III recognized Aquinas’ writings as the basis of Catholic theology.

**Zygmunt Bauman (born 1925)**

A Polish sociologist, Bauman’s interests range from the nature of intimacy to globalization, and from the Holocaust to reality television programmes such as *Big Brother*. Sometimes portrayed as the ‘prophet of postmodernity’, he has highlighted trends such as the emergence of new patterns of deprivation and exclusion, the psychic corruption of consumer society, and the growing tendency for social relations to have a ‘liquid’ character. Bauman’s main writings include *Modernity and the Holocaust* (1994), *Globalization* (1998) and *Liquid Modernity* (2000).

**Ulrich Beck (born 1944)**

A German sociologist, Beck’s work has examined topics as wide-ranging as the new world of work, the perils of globalization, and challenges to the global power of capital. In *The Risk Society* (1992), he analyzed the tendency of the globalizing economy to generate uncertainty and insecurity. *Individualization* (2002) (written with his wife, Elizabeth) champions rights-based individualization against free-market individualism. In *Power in the Global Age* (2005), Beck explored how the strategies of capital can be challenged by civil society movements.

**Ben Bernanke (born 1953)**

A US economist and Chairman of the US Federal Reserve since 2006, Bernanke

was instrumental in managing the USA’s response to the 2007–09 global financial

crisis. Bernanke’s academic writings have focused largely on the economic

and political causes of the Great Depression, highlighting, amongst other things,

the role of the Federal Reserve and the tendency of banks and financial institutions

to cut back significantly on lending. Bernanke’s main work is *Essays on the*

*Great Depression* (2004).

**Jagdish Bhagwati (born 1934)**

An Indian-American economist and adviser to the UN and the GATT/WTO, Bhagwati has

been a leader in the fight for freer trade, arguing that globalization has a ‘human face’, even

though this needs to be made more agreeable. His early books helped to encourage the

current economic reforms in India. Bhagwati’s works include *In Defence of Globalization*

(2004) and *Termites in the Trading System* (2008).

**Murray Bookchin (1921–2006)**

A US libertarian socialist, Bookchin highlighted parallels between anarchism and ecology

through the idea of ‘social ecology’, and was also strongly critical of the ‘mystical’ ideas of

deep ecology, which he dubbed ‘eco-la-la’. His major works in this field include *The*

*Ecology of Freedom* ([1982]) and *Re-Enchanting Humanity* (1995).

**Hedley Bull (1932–1985)**

An Australian international relations theorist, Bull’s *The Anarchical Society* ([1977]

2012) famously distinguished between a ‘system of states’ and a ‘society of states’. He

advanced a neo-Grotian approach to theory and practice, in which international

society amounts to a real but fragile normative order, based on the institutions of the

balance of power, international law, diplomacy, war and the great powers. Bull (1966)

also acknowledged that international society may tend towards either solidarism or

pluralism, depending on the extent to which states operate cohesively and pursue

shared goals. His other major works include *The Control of the Arms Race* (1961) and

*Justice in International Relations* (1984).

**E. H. Carr (1892–1982)**

British historian, journalist and international relations theorist. Carr joined the Foreign

Office and attended the Paris Peace Conference at the end of WWI. Appointed

Woodrow Wilson Professor of International Politics at the University College of Wales

at Aberystwyth in 1936, he later became assistant editor of The Times of London

before returning to academic life in 1953. Carr is best known for The Twenty Years’

Crisis, 1919–1939 (1939), a critique of the entire peace settlement of 1919 and the

wider influence of ‘utopianism’ on diplomatic affairs, especially a reliance on international

bodies such as the League of Nations. He is often viewed as one of the key

realist theorists, drawing attention to the need to manage (rather than ignore)

conflict between ‘have’ and ‘have-not’ states. Nevertheless, he condemned cynical

realpolitik for lacking moral judgement. Carr’s other writing includes Nationalism and

After (1945) and the quasi-Marxist 14-volume A History of Soviet Russia (1950–78).

**Manuel Castells (born 1942)**

A Spanish sociologist, Castells is especially associated with the idea of information society and communications research. He suggests that we live in a ‘network society’, in which territorial borders and traditional identities have been undermined by the power of knowledge flows. Castells thus emphasizes the ‘informational’ basis of network

society, and shows how human experience of time and space have been transformed. His works include *The Rise of the Network Society* (1996), *The Internet Galaxy* (2004) and *Communication Power* (2009).

**Noam Chomsky (born 1928)**

US linguistic theorist and radical intellectual, Chomsky was born in Philadelphia, the

son of eastern European immigrant parents. His *Syntactic Structures* (1957) revolutionized

the discipline of linguistics with the theory of ‘transformational grammar’,

which proposed that humans have an innate capacity to acquire language. Radicalized

during the Vietnam War, Chomsky subsequently became the leading radical critic of

US foreign policy, developing his views in an extensive range of works including

*American Power and the New Mandarins* (1969), *New Military Humanism* (1999) and

*Hegemony and Survival* (2004). In works such as (with Edward Herman)

*Manufacturing Consent* (1988), he developed a radical critique of the mass media and

examined how popular support for imperialist aggression is mobilized.

**Karl von Clausewitz (1780–1831)**

Prussian general and military theorist. The son of a Lutheran Pastor, Clausewitz

entered the Prussian military service at the age of 12, and achieved the rank of Major-

General by the age of 38. Having studied the philosophy of Kant (see p. 15) and been

involved in the reform of the Prussian army, Clausewitz set out his ideas on military

strategy in *On War* ([1833] 1976). Widely interpreted as advancing the idea that war

is essentially a political act, an instrument of policy, the book sets out a ‘trinitarian’

theory of warfare which involves (1) the masses, who are motivated by a sense of

national animosity; (2) the army, which devises strategies to take account of the

contingencies of war; and (3) political leaders, who establish the aims and objectives

of military action. Clausewitz is usually regarded as the greatest writer on military

theory and war.

**Robert Cox (born 1926)**

Canadian international political economist and leading exponent of critical theory.

Cox worked in the International Labour Organization (ILO), before, in the early

1970s, taking up an academic career. Cox adopted a ‘reflexive’ approach to theory,

in which theories are firmly linked to their context and subject. In his seminal work,

*Production, Power, and World Order: Social Forces in the Making of History* (1987),

he examined the relationship between material forces of production, ideas and

institutions in three periods: the liberal international economy (1789–1873); the

era of rival imperialisms (1873–1945); and the neoliberal world order (post-1945).

His writing examines issues such as the implications of globalization and the

nature of US global hegemony, in part to highlight the prospects for counter-hegemonic

social forces. Cox’s other major writings include (with H. Jacobson) *The*

*Anatomy of Influence* (1972) and (with Timothy J. Sinclair) *Approaches to World*

*Order* (1996).

**Martin van Creveld (born 1946)**

Israeli military historian and theorist of war. Van Creveld’s *The Transformation of War*

(1991) attempts to explain the apparent military impotence of the developed world due

to the predominance, since 1945, of low-intensity conflicts and non-conventional

warfare. In this context, Clausewitzian ideas about political war no longer apply, as war

often becomes an end in itself, rather than an instrument of national power. Van

Creveld’s other key works include *Supplying War* (1977) and *The Art of War* (2000).

**Herman Daly (born 1938)**

A US ecological economist, Daly is best known for his theory of steady-state

economics. This suggests that perpetual economic growth is neither possible

nor desirable. Daly champions qualitatively-defined ‘development’ over

quantitatively-defined ‘growth (‘more of the same stuff’), and favours rich

countries reducing their economic growth to free up resources and ecological

space for use by the poor. His key works include *Steady-State Economics*

(1973) and (with J. Cobb) *For the Common Good* (1990).

**Karl Deutsch (1912–92)**

A Czech-born US political scientist, Deutsch challenged the traditional realist image of

international relations by emphasizing how regional integration can modify the impact of

international anarchy. ‘Amalgamation’, through the construction of a single decisionmaking

centre, would nevertheless be less common than ‘integration’, which allows sovereign

states to interact within a ‘pluralist security community’. Deutsch’s major works in

this field include *Political Community in the North Atlantic Area* (1957) and *Nation-*

*Building* (1966).

**Jean Bethke Elshtain (1941–2013)**

A US political philosopher, Elshtain’s *Public Man, Private Woman* (1981) made a major

contribution to feminist scholarship in examining the role of gender in informing the

division between the public and private spheres in political theory. In *Women and War*

(1987), she discussed the perceptual lenses that determine the roles of men and

women in war, interweaving personal narrative and historical analysis to highlight the

myths that men are ‘just warriors’ and women are ‘beautiful souls’ to be saved. In *Just*

*War against Terror* (2003), Elshtain mounted an impassioned defence of the ‘war on

terror’ based on just war theory.

**Cynthia Enloe (born 1938)**

A US feminist academic, Enloe’s writings aim to expose the multiplicity of roles

women play in sustaining global economic forces and inter-state relations. Often

associated with feminist empiricism, she has been concerned to counter the

tendency within conventional paradigms to limit, usually in a gendered fashion, our

perceptual and conceptual fields, effectively excluding women from analysis. In

works such as *Bananas, Beaches and Bases* (1989), *The Morning After* (1993) and

*Manoeuvres* (2000) Enloe has examined international politics as if the experiences of

women are a matter of central concern.

**Frantz Fanon (1925–61)**

A Martinique-born French revolutionary theorist, Fanon is best known for his views

on the anti-colonial struggle. In *Black Skin, White Masks* (1952), he mixed personal

reflection with social analysis to explore the psychological damage done to black

people in a ‘whitened’ world. In his classic work, T*he Wretched of the Earth* (1961), he

drew on psychiatry, politics, sociology and the existentialism of Jean-Paul Sartre in

arguing that only total revolution and absolute violence can help black or colonized

people liberate themselves from the social and psychological scars of imperialism.

Fanon died after contracting leukaemia, and, at his request, his body was returned to

Algeria and buried with honours by the Algerian National Army of Liberation. His

other works include *Towards the African Revolution* (1964).

**Martha Finnemore (born 1959)**

A US international relations scholar. Finnemore helped to pioneer the use of

constructivist analysis in international relations, especially in works such as *National*

*Interests in International Society* (1996) and *The Purpose of Intervention* (2003). In the

former, Finnemore challenged the tendency of neorealism and neoliberalism to treat

state interests as though they are both stable and roughly identical, consisting of

some combination of power, security and wealth. Instead, she highlighted the extent

to which state interests are defined and redefined by the dense network of transnational

and international social relations of which they are a part. In the latter work,

Finnemore examined how the purposes for which states use military intervention

have changed over some four centuries, giving particular attention to the growing

significance of new norms about who is human and how we should treat ‘strangers’.

**Michel Foucault (1926–84)**

French philosopher and radical intellectual. The son of a prosperous surgeon, Foucault

had a troubled youth in which he attempted suicide on several occasions and struggled

to come to terms with his homosexuality. His work, which ranged over the

history of madness, of medicine, of punishment, of sexuality and of knowledge itself,

was based on the assumption that the institutions, concepts and beliefs of each

period are upheld by ‘discourses of power’. This suggests that power relations can

largely be disclosed by examining the structure of ‘knowledge’, since ‘truth serves the

interests of a ruling class or the prevailing power-structure’. Foucault’s most important

works include *Madness and Civilization* (1961), *The Order of Things* (1966) and

*The History of Sexuality* (1976).

**Milton Friedman (1912–2006)**

US academic and economist. A trenchant critic of Roosevelt’s ‘New Deal’, and close

associate of Friedrich Hayek, Friedman became professor of economics at the

University of Chicago in 1948, founding the so-called ‘Chicago School’. Friedman also

worked as a *Newsweek* columnist and a US presidential adviser. He was awarded the

Nobel prize for economics in 1976. A leading exponent of monetarism and freemarket

economics, Friedman was a powerful critic of Keynesian theory and ‘tax and

spend’ government policies, helping to shift economic priorities during the 1970s and

1980s in the USA and the UK in particular. His major works, *Capitalism and Freedom*

(1962) and, with his wife Rose, *Free to Choose* (1980), had a considerable impact on

emerging neoliberal thinking.

**Francis Fukuyama (born 1952)**

US social analyst and political commentator. Fukuyama was born in Chicago, USA, the

son of a Protestant preacher. He was a member of the Policy Planning Staff of the US

State Department before becoming a consultant for the Rand Corporation. A staunch

Republican, he came to international prominence as a result of his article ‘The End of

History?’ (1989), which he later developed into *The End of History and the Last Man*

(1992). These claimed that the history of ideas had ended with the recognition of

liberal democracy as ‘the final form of human government’. In *Trust* (1996) and *The*

*Great Disruption* (1999), Fukuyama discussed the relationship between economic

development and social cohesion, highlighting contrasting forms of capitalist development.

In *The Origins of Political Order* (2011), he examined the paths that different

societies have taken to reach their current form of political order.

**Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (1869–1948)**

Indian spiritual and political leader (called *Mahatma*, ‘Great Soul’). A lawyer trained in

the UK, Gandhi worked in South Africa, where he organized protests against discrimination.

After returning to India in 1915, he became the leader of the nationalist

movement, campaigning tirelessly for independence, finally achieved in 1947.

Gandhi’s ethic of non-violent resistance, *satyagraha*, reinforced by his ascetic lifestyle,

gave the movement for Indian independence enormous moral authority. Derived from

Hinduism, Gandhi’s political philosophy was based on the assumption that the

universe is regulated by the primacy of truth, or *satya*, and that humankind is ‘ultimately

one’. Gandhi was assassinated in 1948 by a fanatical Hindu, becoming a

victim of the ferocious Hindu–Muslim violence which followed independence.

**Marcus Garvey (1887–1940)**

Jamaican political thinker and activist, and an early advocate of black nationalism.

Garvey was the founder in 1914 of the Universal Negro Improvement Association

(UNIA). In 1916, he left Jamaica for New York, where his message of black pride and

economic self-sufficiency gained him a growing following, particularly in ghettos

such as Harlem. Although his black business enterprises failed, and his call for a return

to Africa was largely ignored, Garvey’s emphasis on establishing black pride and his

vision of Africa as a ‘homeland’ provided the basis for the later Black Power movement.

Rastafarianism is also based largely on his ideas. Garvey was imprisoned for

mail fraud in 1923, and was later deported, eventually dying in obscurity in London.

**Ernest Gellner (1925–95)**

A UK social philosopher and anthropologist, Gellner made major contributions to a

variety of academic fields, including social anthropology, sociology and political

philosophy. The most prominent figure in the modernist camp in the study of

nationalism, Gellner explained the rise of nationalism in terms of the need of industrial

societies, unlike agrarian ones, for homogeneous languages and cultures in

order to work efficiently. Gellner’s major writings include *Legitimation of Belief*

(1974), *Nations and Nationalism* (1983), *Culture, Identity and Politics* (1987) and

*Reason and Culture* (1992).

**Susan George (born 1934)**

A Franco-American political scientist and activist, George has been a fierce critic of the

‘maldevelopment’ policies of the IMF and the World Bank, advancing an uncompromising

critique of the impact of capitalism on the world’s poor. Her works include *How*

*the Other Half Dies* (1976), *A Fate Worse Than Debt* (1988) and *Another World is*

*Possible If* (2004).

**Antonio Gramsci (1891–1937)**

Italian Marxist and social theorist. The son of a minor public official, Gramsci joined

the Socialist Party in 1913, but switched to the newly-formed Italian Communist

Party in 1921, being recognized as its leader by 1924. He was imprisoned by Mussolini

in 1926, and remained incarcerated until his death. In *Prison Notebooks* (1970),

written between 1929 and 1935, Gramsci sought to redress the emphasis within

orthodox Marxism on economic or material factors. Rejecting any form of ‘scientific’

determinism, he stressed, through the theory of hegemony, the importance of political

and intellectual struggle. Gramsci insisted that bourgeois hegemony could only

be challenged at the political and intellectual level, through a ‘counter-hegemonic’

struggle, carried out in the interests of the proletariat and on the basis of socialist

principles, values and theories.

**Hugo Grotius (1583–1645)**

Dutch jurist, philosopher and writer. Born in Delft into a family of professional

lawyers, Grotius became a diplomat and political adviser and held a number of political

offices. In *On the Law of War and Peace* (1625), he developed a secular basis for

international law, arguing that it is grounded not in theology but in reason. This was

largely accomplished by constructing a theory of the just war, based on natural rights.

For Grotius there were four causes of a just war: (1) self-defence, (2) to enforce rights,

(3) to seek reparations for injury and (4) to punish a wrong-doer. By restricting the

right of states to go to war for political purposes, Grotius emphasized the common

purposes of the international community and helped to found the idea of international

society (see p. 9), as developed by the ‘neo-Grotian’ English School.

**Ernst Haas (1924–2003)**

A German-born US international relations theorist, Haas is best known as one of the

founders of neofunctionalism, or ‘federalism by instalments’, particularly as applied to

European integration. He argued that the process of ‘spillover’ would lead political actors

progressively to shift their loyalties, expectations and activities from the nation-state

towards a ‘new larger centre’. However, Haas became disenchanted with neofunctionalism in the 1970s. His main works include *Beyond the Nation-State* (1964) and *Tangle of Hopes*

(1969).

**Garrett Hardin (1915–2003)**

A US ecologist and microbiologist, Hardin is best known for the idea of the ‘tragedy of the commons’, which calls attention to ‘the damage that innocent actions by individuals can inflict on the environment’. He developed an uncompromising form of ecologism that warned against the dangers of population growth and excessive freedom. Hardin’s chief works include *The Tragedy of the Commons* (1968) and *Lifeboat Ethics* (1974).

**Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679)**

English political philosopher. Hobbes was the son of a minor clergyman who subsequently

abandoned his family. Writing at a time of uncertainty and civil strife, precipitated

by the English Revolution, Hobbes developed the first comprehensive theory of

nature and human behaviour since Aristotle. His classic work, *Leviathan* (1651)

discussed the grounds of political obligation and undoubtedly reflected the impact of

the Civil War. Based on the assumption that human beings seek ‘power after power’,

it provided a realist justification for absolutist government as the only alternative to

the anarchy of the ‘state of nature’, in which life would be ‘solitary, poor, nasty, brutish

and short’. Hobbes’ emphasis on the state as an essential guarantor of order and

security has led to a revived interest in his ideas since 9/11.

**Samuel P. Huntington (1927–2008)**

US academic and political commentator. Huntington made influential contributions

to three fields: military politics, strategy and civil/military relations; US and comparative

politics; and the politics of less developed societies. In *The Third Wave* (1991), he

coined the notion of ‘waves of democratization’ and linked the process of democratization

after 1972 to earlier waves, in 1828–1926 and 1943–62. His most widely

discussed work, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Making of World Order* (1996),

advanced the controversial thesis that in the twenty-first century conflict between

the world’s major civilizations would lead to warfare and international disorder. In

*Who Are We?* (2004) Huntington discussed the challenges posed to the USA’s national

identity by large-scale Latino immigration and the unwillingness of Latino communities

to assimilate into the language and culture of majority society.

**Mary Kaldor (born 1946)**

UK academic and international relations theorist. In *New Wars and Old Wars* (2012), Kaldor

linked new wars to the crisis in state authority that has occurred through the impact of privatization and globalization. Violent struggles to gain access to or control the state lead to

massive violations of human rights, with violence usually being carried out in the name of

identity and mainly being directed against civilians. Kaldor’s other works include *Global Civil*

*Society* (2003) and *Human Security* (2007).

**Immanuel Kant (1724–1804)**

German philosopher. Kant spent his entire life in Königsberg (which was then in East

Prussia), becoming professor of logic and metaphysics at the University of Königsberg

in 1770. His ‘critical’ philosophy holds that knowledge is not merely an aggregate of

sense impressions; it depends on the conceptual apparatus of human understanding.

Kant’s political thought was shaped by the central importance of morality. He

believed that the law of reason dictated categorical imperatives, the most important

of which was the obligation to treat others as ‘ends’, and never only as ‘means’. Kant’s

most important works include *Critique of Pure Reason* (1781), *Idea for a Universal*

*History with a Cosmopolitan Purpose* (1784) and *Metaphysics of Morals* (1785).

**Robert Keohane (born 1941)**

US international relations theorist. With his long-time collaborator, Joseph S. Nye (see

p. 222), Keohane questioned some of the core assumptions of realist analysis in

*Transnational Relations and World Politics* (1971), highlighting the increasing importance

of non-state actors and of economic issues in world affairs. In *Power and*

*Interdependence: World Politics in Transition* (1977) Keohane and Nye set out the

theory of ‘complex interdependence’ as an alternative to realism, based on the trend

towards international cooperation and the growing significance of international

regimes. Since the publication of *After Hegemony* (1984), however, Keohane has

attempted to synthesize structural realism and complex interdependence, creating a

hybrid dubbed either ‘modified structural realism’ or ‘neoliberal institutionalism’. His

other major works include *International Institutions and State Power* (1989) and *Power*

*and Interdependence in a Partially Globalized World* (2002).

**John Maynard Keynes (1883–1946)**

British economist. Keynes’s reputation was established by his critique of the Treaty of

Versailles, outlined in *The Economic Consequences of the Peace* (1919). His major

work, *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money* ([1936] 1963), departed

significantly from neoclassical economic theories, and went a long way towards

establishing the discipline now known as macroeconomics. By challenging *laissezfaire*

principles, he provided the theoretical basis for the policy of demand management,

which was widely adopted by western governments in the early post-WWII

period. The last years of his life saw him devoting much of his efforts to shaping the

nature of the post-war international monetary order through the establishment of

the Bretton Woods system, including the IMF and the World Bank.

**Ayatollah Khomeini (1900–89)**

Iranian cleric and political leader. The son and grandson of Shi’a clergy, Khomeini was

one of the foremost scholars in the major theological centre in Qom until being

expelled from Iran in 1964. His return from exile in 1979 sparked the ‘Islamic

Revolution’, leaving the Ayatollah (literally, ‘gift of Allah’) as the supreme leader of the

world’s first Islamic state until his death. Breaking decisively with the Shi’a tradition

that the clergy remain outside politics, Khomeini’s world-view was rooted in a clear

division between the oppressed, understood largely as the poor and excluded of the

developing world, and the oppressors, seen as the twin Satans: the USA and the Soviet

Union, capitalism and communism. Islam thus became a theo-political project aimed at

regenerating the Islamic world by ridding it of occupation and corruption from outside.

**David Kilkullen (born 1967)**

Australian former army officer and adviser on counter-terrorism and counter-insurgency. He

argues that as the contemporary conflict environment is often complex, diverse, diffuse and

highly lethal, counter-insurgency must seek to control the overall environment, paying

particular attention to its ‘cultural ethnography’. Kilkullen’s ideas have influenced the USA’s

altered approach to the ‘war on terror’. His works include ‘Countering Global Insurgency’

(2005), *The Accidental Guerrilla* (2009) and *Counter Insurgency* (2010).

**Naomi Klein (born 1970)**

Canadian journalist, author and anti-corporate activist. Klein’s *No Logo: Taking Aim at*

*the Brand Bullies* (2000) is a wide-ranging critique of lifestyle branding and labour

abuses, and discusses emerging forms of resistance to globalization and corporate

domination. It has been described as ‘the book that became part of the movement’

but has had wider significance in provoking reflection on the nature of consumer

capitalism and the tyranny of brand culture. In *Disaster Capitalism* (2008), she drew

attention to the extent to which the advance of neoliberalism has been implicated in

‘shocks’, states of emergency and crises of one kind or another. Klein is a frequent and

influential media commentator. She lives in Toronto but travels widely throughout

North America, Asia, Latin America and Europe, supporting movements campaigning

against the negative effects of globalization.

**Paul Krugman (born 1953)**

A US economist and political commentator, Krugman’s academic work has primarily focused

on international economics. A neo-Keynesian, he has viewed expansionary fiscal policy as the solution to recession. Krugman criticized the Bush administration’s tax cuts and widening deficit as unsustainable in the long run. His best-known works include *The Conscience of a Liberal* (2007) and *The Return of Depression Economics and the Crisis of 2008* (2008).

**James Lovelock (born 1919)**

UK atmospheric chemist, inventor and environmental thinker. Lovelock was recruited

by NASA as part of its team devising strategies for identifying life on Mars, but he has

subsequently worked as an independent scientist for over forty years. He adopts a

holistic approach to science which rejects disciplinary distinctions and emphasizes

instead interconnectedness. Lovelock is best known for the ‘Gaia hypothesis’, which

proposes that the earth is best understood as a complex, self-regulating, living ‘being’.

This implies that the prospects for humankind are closely linked to whether the

species helps to sustain, or to threaten, the planetary ecosystem. Lovelock was also

the first person to alert the world to the worldwide presence of CFCs in the atmosphere.

His chief works include *Gaia* (1979) and *The Ages of Gaia* (1989).

**Niccolò Machiavelli (1469–1527)**

Italian politician and author. The son of a civil lawyer, Machiavelli’s knowledge of

public life was gained from a sometimes precarious existence in politically unstable

Florence. As a servant of the republic of Florence, he was despatched on diplomatic

missions to France, Germany and throughout Italy. After a brief period of imprisonment

and the restoration of Medici rule, Machiavelli retired into private life and

embarked on a literary career. His major work *The Prince*, written in 1513 but not

published until 1531 and seen as the classic realist analysis of power politics, drew

heavily on his first-hand observations of the statecraft of Cesare Borgia. *The Disourses*,

written over a twenty-year period, nevertheless portray him as a republican. The

adjective ‘Machiavellian’ (fairly or unfairly) subsequently came to mean ‘cunning and

duplicitous’.

**Thomas Malthus (1766–1834)**

A UK political economist and clergyman. Malthus was brought up according to the

Enlightenment ideas of thinkers such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–78) and David

Hume (1711–76). He became a Church of England minister in 1788. Malthus is best

known for the views set out in his pamphlet, later expanded into a book in many

editions, the *Essay on Population* (1798). Its key argument was that (unchecked)

population growth will always exceed the growth of the means of subsistence,

because population growth is exponential (or geometric) while the growth in the

supply of food and other essentials is merely arithmetical. Population growth would

therefore always result in famine, disease and war. While some have argued that

Malthus’ predictions were fundamentally flawed, as they took no account of improvements

in agricultural and other technologies, others have suggested that his predictions

have merely been postponed.

**Karl Marx (1818–83)**

German philosopher, economist and political thinker, usually portrayed as the father

of twentieth-century communism. After a brief career as a university teacher, Marx

became increasingly involved in the socialist movement. Finally settling in London, he

worked for the rest of his life as an active revolutionary and writer, supported by his

friend and lifelong collaborator, Friedrich Engels (1820–95). At the centre of Marx’s

work was a critique of capitalism that highlights its transitionary nature by drawing

attention to systemic inequality and instability. Marx subscribed to a teleological

theory of history that holds that social development would inevitably culminate in

the establishment of communism. His classic work was the three-volume *Capital*

([1885, 1887, 1894] 1969); his best-known and most accessible work, with Engels, is

the *Communist Manifesto* ([1848] 1976).

**John Mearsheimer (born 1947)**

US political scientist and international relations theorist. Mearsheimer is one of the

leading exponents of offensive realism and a key architect of neorealist stability

theory. In 'Back to the Future' (1990) he argued that the Cold War had been largely

responsible for maintaining peace in Europe, warning that the end of Cold War bipolarity

created the prospect of increased international conflict. In *The Tragedy of Great*

*Power Politics* (2001), Mearsheimer argued that, as it is impossible to determine how

much power is sufficient to ensure survival, great powers will always seek to achieve

hegemony, behaving aggressively when they believe they enjoy a power advantage

over their rivals. Mearsheimer has been a vocal critic of US policy towards China,

believing that this is strengthening China, ultimately at the expense of the USA. He

was also an outspoken opponent of the Iraq War (see p. 521). His other major works

include (with Stephen Walt) *The Israel Lobby and US Foreign Policy* (2007).

**Carolyn Merchant (born 1936)**

A US ecofeminist philosopher and historian of science, Merchant portrays female nature as

the benevolent mother of all undermined by the ‘dominion’ model of nature that emerged out of the scientific revolution and the rise of market society. Her main works include *The Death* *of Nature* (1983) and *Radical Ecology* (1992).

**David Mitrany (1888–1975)**

A Romanian-born UK historian and political theorist, Mitrany was the leading exponent of functionalism in international politics. His ‘functionalist-sociological’ approach emphasized that international cooperation would begin over specific transnational issues and then develop into a wider process. As ‘functional’ bodies proved to be more effective than national government, the state-system would develop into a ‘working peace system’. Mitrany’s major writings include *A Working Peace System* (1966) and *The Functionalist Theory of Politics* (1975).

**Jean Monnet (1888–1979)**

French economist and administrator. Monnet was largely self-taught. He found

employment during WWI coordinating Franco-British war supplies, and he was later

appointed Deputy Secretary-General of the League of Nations. He was the originator

of Winston Churchill’s offer of union between the UK and France in 1940, which was

abandoned once Pétain’s Vichy regime had been installed. Monnet took charge of the

French modernization programme under de Gaulle in 1945, and in 1950 he produced

the Schuman Plan, from which the European Coal and Steel community and the

European Economic Community were subsequently developed. Although Monnet

rejected intergovernmentalism in favour of supranational government, he was not a

formal advocate of European federalism.

**Hans Morgenthau (1904–80)**

German-born, US international relations theorist. A Jewish refugee from Nazi

Germany, Morgenthau arrived in the USA in 1937 and started an academic career

which led to him being dubbed the ‘Pope’ of international relations. Morgenthau’s

*Politics Among Nations* (1948) was highly influential in the development of international

relations theory. He set out to develop a science of ‘power politics’, based on

the belief, clearly echoing Machiavellian Hobbes, that what he called ‘political man’ is

an innately selfish creature with an insatiable urge to dominate others. Rejecting

‘moralistic’ approaches to international politics, Morgenthau advocated an emphasis

on ‘realistic’ diplomacy, based on an analysis of balance of power and the need to

promote the national interest. His other major writings include *Scientific Man Versus*

*Power Politics* (1946), *In Defence of the National Interest* (1951) and *The Purpose of*

*American Politics* (1960).

**Arne Naess (1912–2009)**

A Norwegian philosopher who was influenced by the teachings of Spinoza, Gandhi and

Buddha, Naess was the leading advocate of ‘deep ecology’, arguing that ecology should be

concerned with every part of nature on an equal basis, because natural order has an intrinsic value. His writings include *Ecology, Community and Lifestyle* (1989).

**Terry Nardin (born 1942)**

A US political scientist and academic, Nardin’s *Law, Morality and the Relations of States*

(1983) advanced a pluralist model of international society, based on a ‘practical’, rather

than a ‘purposive’, association of states. Drawing on the ideas of the UK political

philosopher, Michael Oakeshott (1901–90), he argued that international society

provides rules that enable its member states to coexist and to interact with one

another in a peaceful and orderly fashion, despite being committed to different

cultures, ways of life, and political systems. Nardin is particularly interested in the

tensions between sovereignty and legitimacy. His other main works include *The Ethics*

*of War and Peace* (1998) and *The Philosophy of Michael Oakeshott* (2001).

**Joseph S. Nye (born 1937)**

US academic and foreign policy analyst. Nye was, with Robert Keohane (see p. 442),

one of the leading theorists of ‘complex interdependence’, which offered an alternative

to the realist belief in international anarchy (Keohane and Nye 1977). In *Bound*

*to Lead* (1990) and *The Paradox of American Power* (2002) he has emphasized the

need for the USA to redefine the national interest in the light of developments such

as globalization and the information revolution, recognizing that the new conditions

of global interdependence placed a greater stress on multilateral cooperation. As he

put it, the USA ‘can’t go it alone’. Nye has been particularly associated with the idea

of ‘soft power’ (the ability to attract and persuade), a term he coined, and later with

the notion of ‘smart power’, a blend of 'soft' and ‘hard’ power. Nye's other major

works include *Soft Power* (2005), *Understanding International Conflict* (2008a) and

*The Powers to Lead* (2008b).

**Sayyid Qutb (1906–66)**

Egyptian writer and religious leader, sometimes seen as the father of modern political

Islam. The son of a well-to-do farmer, Qutb was radicalized during a two-year study

visit to the USA, which instilled in him a profound distaste for the materialism,

immorality and sexual licentiousness he claimed to have encountered. Qutb’s worldview,

or ‘Qutbism’, highlighted the barbarism and corruption that westernization had

inflicted on the world, with a return to strict Islamic practice in all aspects of life

offering the only possibility of salvation. Qutb’s primary targets were the westernized

rulers of Egypt and other Muslim states. Imprisoned under Nasser in 1954–64, he was

eventually tried for treason and executed.

**Roland Robertson (born 1938)**

A UK sociologist and one of the pioneers in the study of globalization, Robertson’s psychosocial view of globalization portrays it as ’the compression of the world and the intensification of the consciousness of the world as a whole’. He has drawn attention to both the process of ‘relativization’ (when local cultures and global pressures mix) and the process of ‘glocalization’ (through which global pressures are forced to conform to local conditions). Robertson’s key work in this field is *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture* (1992).

**James Rosenau (1924–2011)**

A US political scientist and international affairs scholar. A pioneer in the analysis of

foreign policy decision-making, Rosenau came to focus on the dynamics and consequences

of globalization, and on the wider phenomenon of increased complexity and

uncertainty. In *Turbulence in World Politics* (1990), he investigated the new forces

shaping world politics beyond the nation-state, including the rising importance of

NGOs and the empowerment of individuals as actors in world politics. *Along the*

*Domestic-Foreign Frontier* (1997) and *Distant Proximities* (2003) took this analysis

further, by emphasizing how the increasing number of actors involved in events and

the deepening degree of interdependence amongst them creates an environment

that is dense with causal layers. His concept of ‘fragmentation’ attempted to capture

dynamics that operate beyond globalization, notably localization and decentralization.

**Jeffrey Sachs (born 1954)**

A US economist and director of the Earth Institute at Columbia University, Sachs has been a

leading exponent of sustainable development, placing an emphasis on ending extreme

poverty and hunger and advising the UN on strategies for supporting the Millennium

Development Goals. His publications include *The End of Poverty* (2005), *Investing in*

*Development* (2005) and *Common Wealth* (2008).

**Edward Said (1935–2003)**

Jerusalem-born US academic and literary critic. Said was a prominent advocate of the

Palestinian cause and a founding figure of postcolonial theory. He developed, from

the 1970s onwards, a humanist critique of the western Enlightenment that uncovered

its links to colonialism and highlighted ‘narratives of oppression’, cultural and ideological

biases that disempower colonized peoples by representing them as the nonwestern

‘other’, particularly applying this to the Middle East. He is best known for the

notion of ‘Orientalism’, which operates through a ‘subtle but persistent Eurocentric

prejudice against Arabo-Islamic peoples and culture’. Said’s key works include

*Orientalism* ([1978] 2003) and *Culture and Imperialism* (1993).

**Saskia Sassen (born 1949)**

A Dutch sociologist, Sassen is noted for her analyses of globalization and international human migration. In *The Global City* (2001), she examined how cities such as New York, London and Tokyo have become emblematic of the capacity of globalization to create contradictory spaces, characterized by the relationship between the employees of global corporations and the vast population of the low-income ‘others’ (often migrants and women). Sassen’s other works include *The Mobility* *of Capital and Labour* (1988) and *Territory, Authority, Rights* (2006).

**Jan Aart Scholte (born 1959)**

A Dutch sociologist and globalization theorist, Scholte argues that globalization is best understood as a reconfiguration of social geography marked by the growth of transplanetary and supraterritorial connections between people. Although by no means a critic of the ‘supraterritorialism’ that globalization brings about, he highlights the tendency of ‘neoliberalist globalization’ to heighten insecurities, exacerbate inequalities and deepen democratic deficits. Scholte’s main works include *International Relations of Social Change* (1993) and *Globalization: A Critical Introduction* (2005).

**Ernst Friedrich Schumacher (1911–77)**

A German-born UK economist and environmental thinker, Schumacher championed the cause of human-scale production and advanced a ‘Buddhist’ economic philosophy (economics ‘as if people mattered’) that stresses the importance of morality and ‘right livelihood’. His key work is *Small is Beautiful* (1973).

**Amartya Sen (born 1933)**

An Indian welfare economist and philosopher, Sen has made a major contribution to

shifting thinking about development away from economic models and towards ideas

such as capacity, freedom and choice. Sen’s thinking had a major impact on the creation

of the Human Development Index. His works include *Poverty and Famine* (1981),

*Development as Freedom* (1999) and *The Idea of Justice* (2009).

**Vandana Shiva (born 1952)**

An Indian ecofeminist activist and nuclear physicist, Shiva is a trenchant critic of the

biotechnology industry. She argues that the advance of globalization has threatened

biodiversity and deepened poverty, particularly among women. Her writings include

*Monocultures of the Mind* (1993) and *Stolen Harvest* (1999).

**Anthony D. Smith (born 1933)**

A UK academic and one of the founders of the interdisciplinary field of nationalism studies, Smith has been particularly concerned to transcend the debate between crude primordialism and modernism. Although his work does not contain a comprehensive explanation for the emergence and character of nationalism, it explores the ethnic

origins of nations as well as the historical forces that help to fashion nationalism’s various forms. Smith’s key works include *Theories of Nationalism* (1972), *The Ethnic Origin of Nations* (1986) and *Nations and Nationalism in a Global Era* (1995).

**Adam Smith (1723–90)**

Scottish economist and philosopher, usually seen as the founder of the ‘dismal

science’ (economics). After holding the chair of logic and then moral philosophy at

Glasgow University, Smith became tutor to the Duke of Buccleuch, which enabled

him to visit France and Geneva and to develop his economic theories. *The Theory of*

*Moral Sentiments* (1759) developed a theory of motivation that tried to reconcile

human self-interestedness with unregulated social order. Smith’s most famous work,

*The Wealth of Nations* (1776), was the first systematic attempt to explain the workings

of the economy in market terms, emphasizing the importance of the division of

labour. Although he is often viewed as a free-market theorist, Smith was nevertheless

aware of the limitations of the market.

**George Soros (born 1930)**

A Hungarian-born stock market investor, businessman and philanthropist, Soros

has been a critic of the market fundamentalist belief in natural equilibrium. He

particularly emphasizes the role of reflexivity (the tendency for cause and effect

to be linked, as actions ‘bend back on’ themselves) in showing why rational-actor

economic models do not work. Soros’s main works include *Open Society* (2000)

and *The New Paradigm for Financial Markets* (2008).

**Joseph Stiglitz (born 1943)**

Nobel Prize-winning US economist. The chair of President Clinton’s Council of

Economic Advisors, 1995–97, and chief economist of the World Bank, 1997–2000,

Stiglitz is best known for his critical views on global economic governance and on

globalization. In *Globalization and its Discontents* (2002), Stiglitz argued that the IMF

had imposed policies on developing countries that often exacerbated, rather than

relieved, balance-of-payments crises, being designed more to help banking and financial

interests in the developed world than to alleviate poverty. In *Making Globalization*

*Work* (2006), he linked globalization to ‘Americanization’, environmental degradation,

a ‘roll-back’ of democracy and a widening of development disparities, calling instead

for stronger and more transparent international institutions to expand economic

opportunities and prevent financial crises. Stiglitz’s other main works include *Whither*

*Socialism?* (1996), *The Roaring Nineties* (2003) and *Freefall* (2010).

**Susan Strange (1923–98)**

UK academic and leading exponent of international political economy. A selfdescribed

‘new realist’, Strange made contributions in a number of areas. Her idea of

structural power challenged the prevalent realist theory of power and reframed the

debate, fashionable in the 1980s, about US decline and its implications. In *States and*

*Markets* (1988), Strange analyzed the growing ascendancy of the market over political

authority since the 1970s, an idea further developed in *The Retreat of the State*

(1996), in which she declared that ‘state authority has leaked away, upwards, sideways

and downwards’. In *Casino Capitalism* (1997) and *Mad Money* (1998), Strange

examined the instability and volatility of market-based economies, particularly in the

light of innovations in the way in which financial markets work.

**Thucydides (ca. 460–406 BCE)**

Greek historian with philosophical interests. Thucydides’ great work *The History of the*

*Peloponnesian War* recounts the struggle between Athens and Sparta for control of

the Hellenic world, 431–404 BCE, which culminated in the destruction of Athens, the

birthplace of democracy. He explained this conflict in terms of the dynamics of power

politics and the relative power of the rival city-states. As such, he developed the first

sustained realist explanation of international conflict and, arguably, propounded the

earliest theory of international relations. His dark view of human nature influenced

Hobbes (see p. 14). In the Melian dialogue, Thucydides showed how power politics is

indifferent to moral argument, a lesson sometimes taken to be a universal truth.

**J. Ann Tickner (born 1937)**

A US academic and feminist international relations theorist. An exponent of standpoint

feminism, Tickner has exposed ways in which the conventional study of international

relations marginalizes gender, whilst also being itself gendered. Her best

known book, *Gender in International Relations* (1992a), highlights the biases and limitations

of the masculinized, geo-political version of national security, demonstrating

that it may enhance rather than reduce the insecurity of individuals and showing how

peace, economic justice and ecological sustainability are vital to women’s security.

Although she argues that gender relations shape the search for knowledge, Tickner’s

ultimate goal is to transcend gender by overcoming gender inequality. Her other

works include *Hans Morgenthau’s Principles of Political Realism: A Feminist*

*Reformulation* (1988) and *Feminist Perspectives on 9/11* (2002).

**Immanuel Wallerstein (born 1930)**

US sociologist and pioneer of world-systems theory. Influenced by neo-Marxist

dependency theory and the ideas of the French historian Fernand Braudel (1902–85),

Wallerstein argues that the modern world-system is characterized by an international

division of labour between the ‘core’ and the ‘periphery’. Core regions benefit from

the concentration of capital in its most sophisticated forms, while peripheral ones are

dependent on the export of raw materials to the core, although fundamental contradictions

will ultimately bring about the demise of the world-system. Wallerstein

also traces the rise and decline of core hegemons (dominant powers) to changes

in the world-system over time, arguing that the end of the Cold War marked the

decline, not triumph, of the US hegemony. Wallerstein’s key works include the threevolume

*The Modern World System* (1974, 1980, 1989) and *Decline of American Power*

(2003).

**Kenneth Waltz (1924–2013)**

US international relations theorist. Waltz’s initial contribution to international relations,

outlined in *Man, the State, and War* (1959), adopted a conventional realist

approach and remains the basic starting point for the analysis of war. His *Theory of*

*International Politics* (1979) was the most influential book on international relations

theory of its generation, establishing Waltz as the successor to Morgenthau in the

discipline. Ignoring human nature and the ethics of statecraft, Waltz used systems

theory to explain how international anarchy effectively determines the actions of

states, with change in the international system occurring through changes in the

distribution of capabilities between and amongst states. Waltz’s analysis was closely

associated with the Cold War and the belief that bipolarity is more stable and

provides a better guarantee of peace and security than does multipolarity.

**Michael Walzer (born 1935)**

A Jewish US political philosopher, Walzer has made major contributions to thinking

about the ethics of war. In *Just and Unjust Wars* ([1977] 2006), he developed a just war

theory based on the ‘legalist paradigm’, which draws parallels between the rights and

responsibilities of the individual and those of political communities (understood as

states). This implies that states may defend themselves against aggression, possibly

through pre-emptive attack (just wars), but that aggression in pursuit of self-interest

is ruled out (unjust wars). Walzer also acknowledged that a ‘supreme emergency’

(stemming from an imminent and overriding threat to a nation) may require that ‘the

rules are set aside’, and defended humanitarian intervention. Walzer’s other key texts

include *Spheres of Justice* (1983) and *Arguing about War* (2004).

**Alexander Wendt (born 1958)**

German-born international relations theorist who has worked mainly in the USA.

Wendt is a meta-theorist who has used constructivist analysis to provide a critique

of both neorealism and neoliberalism. He accepts that states are the primary units of

analysis for international political theory, but urges that states and their interests

should not be taken for granted. The key structures of the state-system are ‘intersubjective’

rather than material, in that states act on the basis of identities and

interests that are socially constructed. Wendt therefore argues that neorealism

and neoliberalism are defective because both fail to take account of the selfunderstandings

of state actors. Wendt’s key writings include ‘The Agent-Structure

Problem in International Relations Theory’ (1987), ‘Anarchy is What States Make of It’

(1992) and *Social Theory of International Politics* (1999).

**Martin Wight (1913–72)**

A UK international relations theorist, Wight’s best known book, *International Theory:*

*The Three Traditions* (1991), advanced the idea that international theory can be

divided into the ‘three Rs’ – realism, revolutionism and rationalism. While realism

views international politics as a zero-sum struggle for power, revolutionism highlights

deep tension between the dynamics of the state-system and the real interests

of individual citizens. Rationalism stands between these extremes, advancing the

idea that, as social creatures, humans forge societies that are regulated by reciprocal

rights and obligations. International society is therefore neither chaotic and necessarily

violent nor blissfully peaceful.

**Woodrow Wilson (1856–1924)**

US President, 1913–21. The son of a Presbyterian minister, Wilson was the president

of Princeton University, 1902–10, before serving as the Democratic Governor of New

Jersey, 1911–13, and being elected President in 1912. Wilson initially kept the USA

out of WWI, but felt compelled to enter the war in April 1917 to make the world ‘safe

for democracy’. Wilson’s idealistic internationalism, sometimes called ‘Wilsonianism’,

was most clearly reflected in the Fourteen Points he laid out in a speech to Congress

in January 1918, as the basis for an enduring peace. These expressed the ideas of

national self-determination, open agreements and an end to secret diplomacy,

freedom of trade and navigation, disarmament and collective security achieved

through a ‘general association of nations’. Wilsonian liberalism is usually associated

with the idea that a world of democratic nation-states, modelled on the USA, is the

surest means of preventing war.

**Muhammad Yunus (born 1940)**

A Bangladeshi banker, economist and Nobel laureate who founded the pioneering microfinance institution, the Grameen Bank, from which he stood down as managing director in 2011. Yunus’ wider influence stems from his ability to turn microcredit into a viable business model as well as an effective poverty-reduction mechanism. His publications include *Banker* *to the Poor* (2003), *Creating a World Without Poverty* (2008) and *Building Social Business* (2010).