**Key Thinkers**

**Ayatollah Khomeini (1900–1989)**

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 United States 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

**James Baldwin (1924–87)**

A novelist, essayist, and public intellectual, Baldwin was a controversial and influential figure in American culture and politics in the late twentieth century, whose ideas and analyses spoke to global histories and potential futures. Already an established novelist dealing with themes of race, class, and sexuality, when the civil rights movement reached its zenith in the 1960s, Baldwin became a key intellectual in the movement. A friend of civil rights leaders including Medgar Evers, Malcolm X, and Martin Luther King Jr – all of whom were assassinated during his lifetime, as documented in his essay *No Name in the Street* (1972) – Baldwin’s work has become increasingly influential in recent times, as a new anti-racist movement, focused on the Black Lives Matter campaign (see p. 103), has become globalized. Baldwin’s novels include *Giovanni’s Room* (1956a), while his non-fiction essay collections include *Notes of a Native Son* (1956b) and *The Fire Next Time* (1963). An acclaimed feature length documentary, *I Am Not Your Negro* (2016), was based on his unfinished manuscript ‘Remember this House’, while his novel *If Beale Street Could Talk* was also adapted into an award-winning feature film of the same name (2018) by director Barry Jenkins.

**Hedley Bull (1932–85)**

An Australian international relations theorist, Bull’s *The Anarchical Society* (1977) famously distinguished between a ‘system of states’ and a ‘society of states’. Rejecting both the dominant realist and liberal idealist analyses of international relations, 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).

**Amílcar Cabral (1924–73)**

Founder of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC) in Guinea-Bissau, and an anti- colonial fighter who became known as widely for his intellectual and strategic leadership as for the effectiveness of his military campaign. A pan-Africanist, influenced by Marxist thought as well as West African cultural traditions, Cabral spoke widely about revolutionary warfare (these speeches were later published in books such as *Revolution in Guinea*, 1969). Cabral insisted on the importance of education, especially political education, to building a militant movement among the people, along with strategic nous when it came to the different approaches needed to mobilize urban and rural populations in a revolutionary war. Positioning the PAIGC’s armed struggle internationally, Cabral (a skilled and active diplomat) was also careful to maintain ‘non- aligned’ status in the Cold War context. Against all odds, the PAIGC, a small, inexperienced and ill-equipped anti-colonial movement defeated Portuguese colonialism in 1974, after more than eleven years of revolutionary war. Cabral was assassinated by rivals from within the PAIGC shortly before independence was formalized, in 1973, in a move that foreshadowed the string of coups and assassinations that have plagued Guinea-Bissau since independence. Cabral’s ideas were also the model in Angola for the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA, of which Cabral was also a founder), and the National Liberation Front of Angola (FNLA), and in Mozambique for the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO).

**Stokely Carmichael/Kwame Ture (1941–98)**

Leading figure in the American civil rights movement, and specifically of what became known, after his work, as the ‘Black Power’ movement. Inspired by older contemporaries including Frantz Fanon (see p. 282) and Malcolm X, Ture was a pan- Africanist who attended the ‘historically Black’ Howard University, where he participated in the ‘Freedom Rides’ aimed at desegregating interstate bus travel. He was later a leading organizer and activist in civil rights organizations including the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the Black Panther Party. Ture’s structural theory of power, elaborated in many speeches and later in *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America* (1967), remains highly influential on anti-racist and postcolonial thought today. His relative militancy, rejection of nonviolence, and integration and coalition with white liberals made Ture a target for the FBI and CIA, whose surveillance of him continued even after he left the United States for Guinea, where he became an advisor to socialist President Ahmed Sékou Touré and where he co-founded and led the All-African People’s Revolutionary Party, a socialist, anti-colonial, pan-Africanist political party.

**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 the First World War. 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 fourteen-volume *A History of Soviet Russia* (1950–78).

**Noam Chomsky (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 or Survival* (2003). 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.

**Christine Chinkin (1949–)**

Feminists have taken an active interest in international law since at least the 1915 International Conference of Women, at the Hague, which sought a framework for conflict resolution in the context of the First World War. But only in the post-Cold War era have feminist approaches made serious headway in both the scholarship and practice of international law, and Christine Chinkin – a UK barrister and eminent legal scholar – is widely seen as a pivotal figure in this ‘gender mainstreaming’ (see p. 525). Chinkin has written and advised international organizations extensively on women, feminism and international law. Chinkin and Hilary Charlesworth’s *The Boundaries of International Law: A Feminist Analysis* (2000) is a key text in the field, which argues that ‘the absence of women in the development of international law has led to a narrow and inadequate jurisprudence’. She has provided expert consultancy to the UN’s Division for the Advancement of Women, participated in a UN Human Rights Council Fact-Finding Mission to Gaza and the Kosovo Human Rights Advisory Panel, and has published on issues from ‘gender and new war’ (with Mary Kaldor, see p. 336) to the implementation of the UN’s 1981 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women. Chinkin played a central role in advising the Council of Europe’s Committee of Ministers prior to its adoption of the Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence Against Women and Domestic Violence, known as the ‘Istanbul Convention’ in 2011. In 2019 Chinkin noted that although the advent of Resolution 1325 and the WPS agenda (see above) was a ‘pivotal moment’ of feminist hope, the world took a ‘turn back toward militarism and national security’ after the 9/11 attacks. Chinkin’s other key works include *The Making of International Law* (2007, with Alan Boyle).

**Confucius (551–479 BCE)**

An important politician and thinker in his own lifetime, Confucius remains one of the most influential political and moral philosophers in world history. Alongside the religious philosophies of Taoism and Buddhism, the broad philosophical tradition known as Confucianism (see p. 283) has strongly shaped political and cultural values in China, East Asia, and among some communities in the West too. Whereas his contemporaries in ancient Greece, whose philosophies would come to underpin Western traditions of political thought, tended to focus on the powers, rights, and needs of individuals in relation to their fellow citizens and governing authorities, Confucius emphasized social duties and obligations, especially ‘filial piety’ – the obligation to honour one’s parents and ancestors through good conduct. Confucian values are about acting ‘correctly’ and with integrity in all one’s dealings, including political leadership. Confucius was traditionally attributed as author of the Chinese ‘Five Classics’ (major works of ancient Chinese poetry, philosophy, and history), though their authorship is now disputed, but is best known for *The Analects*, collated and published posthumously during the Han Dynasty (202 BCE–220 CE).

**Robert Cox (1926–2018)**

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).

**Cynthia Enloe (1938–)**

Cynthia Enloe is one of the most influential feminist thinkers ever to have worked in the field of IR. Her book *Bananas, Beaches and Bases* (1989, with revised editions in 2000 and 2014) has been immensely popular, and offered a unique account of the ways in which women are present – though often rendered invisible – across a range of spheres of global politics. Enloe is the recipient of multiple awards recognizing the impact of her scholarship and teaching on the discipline of IR, and is widely seen as a pivotal figure in opening it up to feminist contributions. Her other works include *Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women’s Lives* (2000) and *The Big Push: Exposing and Challenging the Persistence of Patriarchy* (2017).

**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, *The 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).

**Michel Foucault (1926–84)**

French philosopher and radical intellectual. Foucault was initially a member of the French Communist Party (PCF) and remained a lifelong political activist, though his academic work turned away from Marxism and towards what came to be called ‘post-structuralism’. His books and popular public lectures, which ranged over the histories of madness, of medicine, of punishment, of sexuality, and of knowledge itself, proceeded on the basis that ‘universal’ truths about such subjects do not exist, and that instead we should understand these fields as ‘discourses’: structured ways of representing the world and interacting in it. This suggests that power relations can largely be disclosed by examining the structure of knowledge, since ‘“Truth” is […] produced and transmitted under the control, dominant if not exclusive, of a few great political and economic apparatuses’ (Foucault [1972] 1984: 73). Foucault’s most important works include *The Order of Things* (1966) and *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1969).

**Francis Fukuyama (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’ (see p. 267). 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 *Identity: The Demand for Dignity and the Politics of Resentment* (2018), Fukuyama attempted to get to grips with recent challenges to what he calls ‘liberal world order’ and the increasing prioritization of ‘identity politics’ (see Chapter 9), framing everything from al-Qaeda to Black Lives Matter as emerging from ‘resentment at indignities’.

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

Indian spiritual and political leader (called Mahatma, ‘Great Soul’). A lawyer trained in the United Kingdom, 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 that followed independence.

**Marcus Garvey (1887–1940)**

The Jamaican political activist and thinker Marcus Garvey was a key figure in the development of Black nationalism (see p. 269) and pan-Africanism (see p. 237). In founding the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), Garvey played a pivotal role in establishing international relations among Black liberation movements across the West. However, Garvey was a controversial figure, whose Black nationalist politics extended to racial separatism and to opposition to ‘miscegenation’, or ‘racial mixing’. He actually embraced the politics of the violent white supremacist group the Ku Klux Klan (KKK), agreeing that America should be left to the whites, while Black Americans should make a new, separate home for themselves in Africa. Garvey’s collaboration with the KKK saw him jailed in the 1920s, and he remained unrepentant over it upon his release. Garvey’s racial separatism put him at odds with integrationist contemporaries such as W. E. B. Du Bois (see p. 106). Though he wrote no books, Garvey’s UNIA papers, speeches, courses, and poetry were posthumously collected and published in many volumes, including *Message to the People: The Course of African Philosophy* (1986, edited by Tony Martin).

**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. 641), as developed by the ‘neo-Grotian’ English School.

**Friedrich Hayek (1899–1992)**

An Austrian political and economic theorist, Friedrich Hayek had an international career, including a stint at the University of Chicago, where – alongside Frank Knight, Milton Friedman, and others – he shaped what came to be known as a the ‘Chicago School’ of economic thought, closely associated with neoliberalism. Hayek’s central argument, honed during his two decades at the London School of Economics (LSE), from 1931 to 1950, and most concisely stated in his short book *The Road to Serfdom* (1944), was that the capitalist market mechanisms of free enterprise and supply and demand offer a morally superior way of organizing society to their socialist, or even moderately social democratic, welfarist alternatives. Hayek opposed nearly all forms of social security, and unemployment benefits in particular. But he also rejected *laissez-faire* (see p. 158), and argued that the state has an important role to play in implementing and refereeing market solutions to political problems. A hugely influential thinker, Hayek is said to have been championed by the British Prime Minister (1979–90) Margaret Thatcher, just as his fellow neoliberal Milton Friedman shaped the Reagan administration’s (1981–9) economic policies, effectively mainstreaming Anglo-American neoliberalism in the global economy from the 1980s onward. Hayek’s other key works include *Individualism and Economic Order* (1948) and *The Constitution of Liberty* (1960).

**David Held (1951–2019)**

Among the globalization theorists that rose to prominence in the late twentieth century, David Held became one of the best-known cosmopolitan ‘globalists’, offering politically liberal and optimistic interpretations of globalization. Having written widely on democratic and cosmopolitan political theory in the 1980s, from the 1990s Held began to focus on global governance and how democracy and cosmopolitanism might be up-scaled to the global level. In *Democracy and the Global Order* (1995), Held laid out his hopes for a world governed by ‘cosmopolitan democratic law’, in which ‘a new “Bretton Woods” agreement’ would tie the institutions of global economic governance to democratic political goals, and to a more socially just world order. He continued to argue for good global governance throughout his life, focusing in the 2010s on what he called global ‘gridlock’ and the urgent need to reform or replace international financial and political institutions to better enable governance on issues ranging from economic policy to climate change. In 2011, in the context of the Arab Spring uprisings and the Libyan Civil War, the turn of real-world global events embroiled Held in a scandal relating to his Global Governance research centre, through which he had supervised the PhD of Saif Gaddafi, a son of Libyan dictator Muammar Gadaffi, whose family had made large donations to the centre. Held’s other key works on global governance include *Gridlock: Why Global Cooperation Is Failing When We Need It Most* (2013, with Thomas Hale and Kevin Young) and the journal article ‘Elements of a Theory of Global Governance’ (2016).

**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 theorized human nature, and explored its social and political implications, chiefly in his great work, *Leviathan* (1651). Here Hobbes extrapolated from his philosophical belief – influenced by his French contemporary and interlocutor, the philosopher René Descartes (1596–1650) – that human beings are fundamentally wired to avoid pain and to seek out pleasure. Hobbes argued that this motivates people to accumulate *power*, which enables the avoidance of painful experiences and the proliferation of pleasant ones. Human nature is thus the seeking of ‘power after power’, and life in what Hobbes called the ‘state of nature’ would be violently selfish, ‘nasty, brutish and short’. For this reason, the *sovereign* power of the state and government are required to protect us from ourselves and one another.

**Bell Hooks (1952–2021)**

bell hooks is the pen name of Gloria Watkins. Raised in a working-class African American family in the segregated Deep South of the United States, hooks went on to become a scholar of literature and a cultural critic. Her work explores the intersections of race, class, and gender in a wide variety of contexts, from music, art, and cinema to higher education and politics. hooks has been an extraordinarily prolific intellectual and is widely recognized as one of the most influential feminist thinkers of the last century. Her books include *Ain’t I a Woman?* (1981, her hugely influential debut, written when hooks was an undergraduate student), *Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center* (1984), *Teaching to Transgress* (1994), and *Feminism Is for Everybody* (2000).

**Richard Jackson (1967–)**

The academic field of Terrorism Studies – a sub-discipline of political science, with interdisciplinary connections to psychology and other areas – grew enormously after the 9/11 attacks. In the Western universities where it largely blossomed, Terrorism Studies mainly took the form of research into the causes of ‘Islamist’ terrorism, from a positivist epistemological (see p. 67) and traditional theoretical (see Chapter 3) outlook. From this field emerged, among other things, the now widely discredited ‘conveyor belt’ theory of radicalization, according to which ‘vulnerable’ people are moved to violence by exposure to ‘extremist’ views online. With the publication of *Writing the War on Terrorism* (2005), New Zealander Richard Jackson became a pivotal figure in a new field aimed at countering these approaches: Critical Terrorism Studies (CTS; see p. 385). Jackson and other CTS scholars seek to problematize or deconstruct our assumptions about terrorism – he opened *Writing the War on Terrorism*, for instance, by noting that even in the year of the deadly 9/11 attacks (as in every other year in the United States) gun violence killed vastly more Americans than terrorism. The ‘nature’, scale, functions, and causes of terrorism, Jackson argued, might be better understood through the application of *critical* theory and epistemology. He founded the scholarly journal *Critical Studies in Terrorism* in 2008, and has edited and contributed to many books on the subject. Jackson’s *Confessions of a Terrorist* (2014) is a research-informed novel presenting the fictional interrogation of a ‘terror suspect’, which aimed to humanize figures often demonized in politics and media.

**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 ‘*a priori*’ conceptual apparatus of human understanding, which precedes our experiences. Kant’s political thought was shaped by the central importance of morality and is closely associated with ‘Enlightenment’ thinking and ‘universalist’ claims about our rights and obligations. That said, despite his arguments for the ‘cosmopolitanism’ (global citizenship) of political communities, Kant is now viewed also as a variety of ‘scientific racist’ for writings in which he sought to intellectually establish the cultural superiority of white Europeans over Asians and Africans. Kant’s most influential works include *Critique of Pure Reason* (1781), *Idea for a Universal History with a Cosmopolitan Purpose* (1784), *Groundwork for a Metaphysics of Morals* (1785), and *To Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch* (1795)

**Robert Keohane (1941–)**

US international relations theorist. With his long-time collaborator, Joseph S. Nye (see p. 295), 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 Governance in a Partially Globalized World (2002).*

**Naomi Klein (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. Klein travels widely throughout North America, Asia, Latin America, and Europe, supporting movements campaigning against the negative effects of globalization. Increasingly, through books such as *This Changes Everything* (2014) and *On Fire* (2019), Klein has focused on the imminent dangers posed by climate change as a consequence of globalized capitalism.

**L. H. M. Ling (1955–2018)**

L. H. M. (Lily) Ling became a highly influential scholar of postcolonial international relations theory (see p. 99) in the early twenty-first century. Ling’s work challenged many of the dominant, ‘traditional’ understandings of global politics in the West, including what she called ‘Westphalia world’ – the view that the world consists of a lot of territorially bounded states of various sizes and capabilities interacting with one another under conditions of anarchy. Importantly, whereas this vision of global politics was rooted in exclusively Western sources, from Thucydides and Thomas Hobbes to Immanuel Kant, Ling’s ‘worldist’ alternative drew also upon Chinese sources, including Daoist philosophical texts and dialectical reasoning. Ling was also a feminist scholar, contributing to ‘non-Western’ feminist thinking on international relations. In a 2015 interview Ling said: ‘I am a product of both East and West. Growing up in this hybrid space has allowed me to see the possibilities and drawbacks of both traditions; […] to syncretize the best of both worlds, thereby leaving behind the worst of each.’ Her key works include *Postcolonial International Relations: Conquest and Desire between Asia and the West* (2002), *Transforming World Politics: From Empire to Multiple Worlds* (2009, with Anna M. Agathangelou), *The Dao of World Politics* (2014), and *Imagining W*or*ld Politics* (2014).

**John Maynard Keynes (1883–1946)**

British economist. Keynes’ 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 *laissez-faire* principles, he provided the theoretical basis for the policy of demand management, which was widely adopted by Western governments in the early post-1945 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.

**John Mearsheimer (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 United States. He was also an outspoken opponent of the Iraq War (see p. 88). His other major works include (with Stephen Walt) *The Israel Lobby and US Foreign Policy (2007).*

**Jean Monnet (1888–1979)**

French economist and administrator. Monnet was largely self-taught. He found employment during the First World War coordinating Franco-British war supplies, and he was later appointed Deputy Secretary-General of the League of Nations. 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)**

Hans Morgenthau was a German-born US international relations theorist. A Jewish refugee from Nazi Germany, Morgenthau arrived in the United States in 1937 and started an academic career that 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 Machiavelli and 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).

**Joseph S. Nye (1937–)**

US academic and foreign policy analyst. Nye was, with Robert Keohane (see p. 548), 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 United States 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 United States ‘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* (2008), and *The Powers to Lead* (2008).

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**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 United States, which instilled in him a profound distaste for the materialism, immorality, and sexual licentiousness he claimed to have encountered. Qutb’s world view, 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.

**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 create an environment that is dense with causal layers. His concept of ‘fragmentation’ attempted to capture dynamics that operate beyond globalization, notably localization and decentralization.

**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 non-Western ‘other’, particularly applying this to the Middle East. He is best known for the notion of ‘Orientalism’, which operates through ‘the history of popular anti-Arab and anti-Islamic prejudice in the West’ (Said [1978] 2003). Said’s key works include *Orientalism* (1978) and *Culture and Imperialism* (1993).

**Adam Smith (1723–90)**

Scottish economist and philosopher, often seen as the founder of modern 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.

Joseph Stiglitz (1943–)

Nobel Prize-winning US economist. The chair of President Clinton’s Council of Economic Advisors, 1995–7, 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 *The Roaring Nineties* (2003), *Freefall* (2010), and *People, Power, and Profits: Progressive Capitalism for an Age of Discontent* (2019).

**Merze Tate (1905–96)**

Merze Tate was a trailblazing researcher and teacher, specializing in diplomatic history. The first Black graduate of what is now Western Michigan University, and first Black woman to gain a government PhD from Harvard, Tate went on to spend thirty-five years of her academic career at the prestigious, historically Black Howard University. Despite publishing prolifically on global politics, Tate is often overlooked in the field of IR today (with notable exceptions, including: Shilliam 2021). But Tate’s interests in pre-nuclear armament and disarmament policies, and in the geopolitics of the Pacific region, led to her important work (with Doris M. Hull) on ‘Effects of Nuclear Explosions on Pacific Islanders’ (1964). Tate and Hull showed through this early research on the subject, that the United States’ testing of nuclear weapons on Pacific islands and atolls had led to serious radiation sicknesses among the indigenous peoples there, in addition to contaminating their drinking water. A series of scandals would later follow in relation to the displacement and harm caused to indigenous Pacific islanders by states testing nuclear weapons. Most recently, in 2021, a study of declassified documents revealed that the French state concealed the fact it had caused radiation sicknesses among 110,000 people in the islands of French Polynesia from the 1960s to the 1990s. Tate’s books include *The United States and Armaments* (1954) and *The United States and the Hawaiian Kingdom: A Political History* (1965).

**J. Ann Tickner (1937–)**

Originally from the United Kingdom, J. Ann Tickner settled in the United States and is perhaps the most well-known feminist theorist in the discipline of IR. Widely credited with forcing IR scholars to pay attention to feminist concerns, Tickner’s work highlights the gendered nature of mainstream IR theories, and of the practices of global politics. Her key works include *Gender in International Relations* (1992), *Gendering World Politics* (2001), and *A Feminist Voyage through International Relations* (2014).

**Immanuel Wallerstein (1930–2019)**

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 argued that the modern, capitalist world system is characterized by an international division of labour between the ‘core’ and the ‘periphery’. Wallerstein also traced 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. For Wallerstein, ‘globalization’ was not the territorial expansion of the capitalist world economy, a process that was effectively complete by the end of the nineteenth century, but its entrenchment; globalization is the *deepening* rather than the *widening* of capitalist social and economic relations in what Wallerstein called ‘the commodification of everything’. Though steeped in Marxist theory and terminology – including the language of class and commodification – Wallerstein was critical of both the Marxist and social democratic left. He was also a friend and noted intellectual defender of Frantz Fanon (see p. 282), the Algerian revolutionary and influential anti-colonial theorist whose arguments about race, class, and revolution prompted hostility from many white European Marxists. Wallerstein’s key works include the three-volume *The Modern World System* (1974, 1980, 1989), the essay *Historical Capitalism* (1983), and *The 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 (1935–)**

An American political philosopher, Walzer has made major contributions to thinking about the ethics of war. In *Just and Unjust Wars* (1977), 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).

**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 United States out of the First World War, but felt compelled to enter the war in April 1917 to make the world ‘safe for democracy’. Wilson is often understood as an idealist, naïve, or utopian liberal voice on international relations. ‘Wilsonian idealism’ was constructed as the foil for realist IR theory (see p. 71). But this is to ignore his role in perpetuating the global colour line (see p. 106). Wilson actively pursued resegregation policies in the post-Civil War United States, while also defending the Ku Klux Klan and calling Black Americans ‘an ignorant and inferior race’ in his five-volume history of the country. Like Kant’s before him, Wilson’s ostensibly ‘cosmopolitan’ liberal internationalism was in fact connected to an exclusionary, racist Enlightenment project (see p. 32).