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the GLOBALIZATION of
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Edited by

Tim Dunne & Christian Reus-Smit

The Globalization of International Society

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TIM DUNNE
and
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Preface

The academic study of International Relations (IR) is prone to reflect on its self-identity. Is this because it is a relatively young and insecure discipline, or perhaps because it is a divided discipline? Or, more positively, because IR is a dynamic field of study in which previous ideas and concepts are critically engaged to advance current research? We do not want to imply that there is only one answer to the question of why IR reaches into its past with quite such regularity. It is clear to us as editors that *The Globalization of International Society* is intended to be a voice in a dynamic disciplinary conversation. It is at once a reflection on established ideas and concepts, and, more ambitiously, a contribution to a conversation about the future of IR; a future that will and must become more global than it has been in the first hundred years or so of the discipline's development.

The global has a history, although it is one that is almost impossible to tell as a single narrative—which is why world history was avoided until relatively recently. It is also why Hedley Bull and Adam Watson, when they conceived of an edited book on the making of modern international society, sought to restrict the focus to the evolving patterns of interactions among sovereign states as discrete entities; patterns that Bull and Watson believed had 'their own logic'.¹

Thirty years after *The Expansion of International Society* was published, we thought it was time to revisit this claim of Bull and Watson's and many other themes in this classic work. Dominic Byatt, commissioning editor for politics and IR at Oxford University Press, was enthusiastic about the project from the moment we first mentioned it and has remained so ever since. The timing of our project coincided, fortuitously, with the publication of a new edition of *The Expansion* that includes a contextual introduction by Andrew Hurrell—who has continued to advise us during the compilation of this book. We hope the availability of these two new publications provides IR scholars and students with richer resources for understanding the element of society in the global order.

Edited books are greatly enhanced when they are the product of genuine collaboration. Just as *The Expansion* was workshopped in the context of the final phase of the British Committee on the Theory of International Politics, *The Globalization of International Society* benefited greatly from being workshopped at two critical junctures. The first of these was held at the University

¹ Bull and Watson 1984b: 9.

of Queensland (UQ) from 14 to 16 July 2014, where short summary documents were shared and discussed. This event was funded by the Academy of Social Sciences in Australia, the School of Political Science and International Studies, and the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences at UQ. We would like to acknowledge the considerable organizational support provided by Bronwyn Crook and Eglantine Staunton, as well as colleagues and PhD students in the School of Political Science and International Studies who chaired panels and acted as discussants.

We came away from this workshop knowing that there was work to be done in clarifying a number of fundamental questions about the scope of the project and the framing theories and concepts. From that point, the contributors—who had rightly pushed the editors to provide greater clarity—were asked to work more closely with a common set of concepts and propositions (which are defended in Part I). It was evident from the quality of the drafts at the second workshop, held at the International Studies Association (ISA) conference in New Orleans in February 2015, that far greater convergence had indeed been achieved. The workshop would not have happened without the support of ISA. We would also like to acknowledge the contribution of three colleagues who participated in one or other workshop: Janice Bially Mattern who was with us in Brisbane via Skype and New Orleans in person, and Beverley Loke, Dan Nexon, and Jason Sharman who attended the initial event in Brisbane.

The biggest debt of gratitude that we need to acknowledge is of course to the outstanding contributors. They were set a tall order: engage critically with Bull and Watson's classic work while drawing on a wealth of new scholarship which questions the historical and theoretical foundations of their conventional account. The upshot, we think, is that *The Globalization of International Society* is a deep and innovative book that aspires to make two important contributions to the renewal of a 'global IR'. First, it is a collection of revisionist arguments about a classic book in the field that was too narrow and ethnocentric in its reading of 'the expansion' process, and that conceived of the system/society boundary in ways that limited its sociological imagination. Second, becoming 'global IR' requires critical engagements with the disrupters that now challenge the society of states: the contests over the limits of sovereignty in relation to cosmopolitan conceptions of responsibility; disputes over procedural justice in a post-Western world; concerns about the failure to achieve racial and gender equality; and the disruptive power of digital communications, to name but a few.

Our collective efforts would appear far less polished, and the journey to publication would have been far more fraught, were it not for the legendary copy-editing skills of Mary-Louise Hickey. Her extraordinary eye for detail and commitment to harmonizing the work of twenty-three authors has taken the volume to another level. We thank her greatly for her patience,

commitment, and unfailing good humour. We would also like to thank Constance Duncombe and Jocelyn Vaughn for their energetic and resourceful research assistance as the project evolved.

We would be remiss not to acknowledge the editors and contributors to the original 1984 book. Readers will encounter many criticisms of the book which need to be moderated by two factors: first, *The Expansion* reflects many cultural and historical misconceptions that were prevalent three to four decades ago; and second, relative to much of the IR published in the late 1970s and early 1980s, the editors and contributors to *The Expansion* asked many of the right questions. They understood the fact of political diversity and were motivated to know more about how devolved political orders established common approaches to reach their goals. As world order undergoes a further transition with the pivot to the economic powerhouses of India and China in particular, the question about the capacity of institutions to managing remains as prescient as it was at the time that *The Expansion* was written.

The life and work of Hedley Bull in particular has had a profound effect on the academic path that both of us have taken. Educated in both the Anglo-Australian and American academies, and intrigued by large-scale processes of global social change, Chris continues to wrestle with Bull's intellectual legacy, both as an inspiration and a site of critical engagement. Tim's path has been different. Through his then supervisor Andrew Hurrell, Tim was given access to many of Hedley Bull's unpublished papers, which featured prominently in his early works seeking to tell a different story about how a distinctive account of IR developed in Britain after 1945. Our paths have been distinct yet the two of us have a deeply shared interest in the history of IR and the productive possibilities that are immanent in classic works such as *The Expansion*. Once Chris joined UQ in 2013, the possibility of working together on a big project and collaborating with other outstanding colleagues at UQ was too good an opportunity to pass up. Our thinking has been so convergent throughout that we managed to arrive separately at the same preferred title in advance of a planned discussion about what to call the project. *The Globalization of International Society* thus reflects our shared view that the original book was largely a story about the Europeanization of international society and that this story needed to be retold from diverse standpoints. We like to think that Bull and Watson would have approved.

The cover of this book reproduces an image by the outstanding Brisbane-born Indigenous Australian photographer, Michael Cook. It is a wonderful and thought-provoking recreation of the first encounter between the British colonizers and Aborigines. The sequence of staged photographs is called *Civilised*; here, in *Civilised* #13, the Aboriginal man on horseback, wearing a naval uniform, is inverting the identity of colonizer and colonized. *Civilised* #13 reminds us that *The Expansion* is not just a book but is at the same time a historical experience that must be remembered, acknowledged, and curated.

And Michael Cook shows us that this remembering can be beautiful and ironic too.

The conventional narrative about the 'expansion' of international society is a story of 'European' international society expanding outwards to encompass the globe, through processes of imperialism and then decolonization. It is a story of non-Europeans being integrated into an essentially Western order, socialized to accept European international norms and practices. The story we tell in the following chapters is one in which international society was, from the outset, profoundly influenced by encounters, engagements, and interactions between Europeans and non-European peoples, producing a global international order that is culturally and politically far more complex than the conventional narrative allows. Michael's photograph captures this complexity, and we thank him and his art dealer Andrew Baker for allowing us to showcase his extraordinary work.

Tim Dunne and Christian Reus-Smit
University of Queensland

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List of Abbreviations

AAR	Alpena-Amberley Ridge
BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa
ECB	European Central Bank
ECOSOC	Economic and Social Council
EMU	Economic and Monetary Union
EU	European Union
G20	Group of Twenty
GDP	gross domestic product
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICISS	International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IP	Internet Protocol
IR	international relations
IWSA	International Woman Suffrage Alliance
NGO	non-governmental organization
NPT	Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty
OAS	Organization of American States
OCA	optimum currency area
OCHA	Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
PRC	People's Republic of China
R2P	responsibility to protect
UN	United Nations
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UPR	Universal Periodic Review

List of Contributors

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