

A Brief History of the “World According to IR”: 1400 to the Present

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Stay Critical!

- History is used and abused
- Focus?
 - Sens & Stoett: history of war & state
 - Hobsbawm: classes, social revolution, capitalism
- General history knowledge is necessary
- Ferdinand Braudel's three “times” of history:
 1. Short time: individuals, short events
 2. Medium time: states, classes, long events, collectivities
 3. Long time: processes, trends, **structures**

History to 1900:

Middle Europe

- Middle Ages & Feudalism in Europe
 - Holy Roman Christian Empire under the Pope of Rome = takes over Rome's empire
 - Kings were annointed to guard over territories for the Church (God)
 - Territories still fought and expanded
 - Feudal system: king > lords > knights > peasants
 - no standing armies
 - no singular loyalty
- Reformation 1500s-1600s
 - Break in the Christian empire: Catholicism & Protestantism
 - Religious wars
 - Monarchs killing their own populations (religious cleansing) > change Monarch's faith means opposing side is killed
 - Papal intervention (Pope) into domestic politics & foreign affair
 - Fight over taxation, revenue, and other economic benefits
 - Hundred Year's War 1618-1648 over this

Modern Europe

- 1648 Treaty of Westphalia: rise of the modern European state
 - State as sovereign actor (no meddling by outside actors)
 - State = territory + people (+ ruler)
 - Main loyalty = state, not Church
 - State religion = your religion
 - End of the Holy Roman Empire = states have their own succession systems, locally controlled

- Growth of state = bureaucracy, militaries, taxation
 - All taxes kept within state, not sent to Rome
- Capitalism as Economic System begins supplant feudalism
 - Slowly replaces feudalism, feeds imperialism
 - Propertied class have land ownership & protection by/against state
 - Taxation no longer arbitrarily set by state
 - Propertied class get various roles & influences in the affairs of the state
 - Monarchs look to overseas to generate wealth & resources = empires in non-European areas (where people will have no role/say in state)
- Exploration to Imperialism
 - Mercantilist policies > all wealth to the state
 - 17th-18th century = building of large European empires
 - Netherlands, England, France, Spain, Portugal – Germany much later
 - North & South America, Asia, & Africa
 - Raw resources, human slaves, spices, weapons, diseases
 - Land – enclosures and removal of people from land = overseas to farm, fight & administrate empires
- Enlightenment:
 - Challenge to feudal state
 - Power of property owners – individual rights
- French Revolution:
 - Middle-class revolt with workers, peasants, etc.
 - Nation-wide revolution
 - Gave way to domination by Napoleon Bonaparte & his attempt to create a French European Empire
- Colonial Revolts in 1700s and 1800s:
 - American Revolution of 1776
- Concert of Europe:
 - Monarchies ally against Bonaparte's France & prevent democratic revolution
 - 100 years of no *major continental war*, BUT smaller wars involving 2-3 countries continued
 - Russia joins into the “European Theatre”
- Industrial Revolution:
 - Capitalist expansion away from land to industrial production
 - Late-1800s in Europe and North America (later to colonies)
 - Factories with workers emerge – technological impact
 - People moving off farms (small % until mid-1900s) and into factories – emergence of the “working class” & “bourgeoisie”
 - End to large family production system (farm or craftshop) – household at most (nuclear family working in factory, laundry, etc.)
 - Changes the way states trade, compete, and war
 - Internal challenges grow tremendously with economic dislocation

Trends to 1900s

- Trends:

- Rise of the modern European state
- End of the Holy Roman Empire, and demise in power of the Papacy in Rome over European affairs
- Rise and fall of feudalism, entrenchment of capitalism, and transformation through industrialization
- Imperialism & colonization – sea travel, technology
- Permanent settlement communities > state: territory + people
- Conflicts large & small, but peace, too!
- Empires to states, but also alliances of states for same reasons
- Racism = deny identity/rights of non-Europeans (vice versa)
- Sexism = ‘rape & pillage’, female heirs, masculinity & war

History from 1900-1945

World War I

- Players:
 - Main: Britain, Germany, France, Russia
 - Others: Austria, Russia, Serbia, Ottoman Empire, USA, Japan
 - Alliances:
 - Triple Entente: Britain, France, Russia
 - Triple Alliance: Germany, Austria, Ottoman Empire
- Events:
 - June 18, 1914: Austrian Archduke Franz Ferdinand assassinated by Serbian
 - Austria wants assassin, but Serbia = not us
 - Germany backs Austria, Russia backs Serbia
 - Germany declares war on Serbia & Russia by backing Austria
 - Britain & France follow in Alliance
- War from 1914-1918
 - Treaty of Versailles end Germany’s war with Triple Alliance (different treaties with different opposing members)
- Points:
 - Everyone wanted the war & expected a quick war
 - Conscription (drafting or forcing adult males into army) & standing national armies
 - First use of many new weapons created since the technological & industrial revolution
 - First global war: European countries enlist help from or drag in non-European countries (eg. Japan, India, Canada)
 - Austro-Hungarian & Ottoman Empires disintegrate creating new states
 - Beginning of fascist ideology in Germany, Italy, and elsewhere – especially countries humiliated by the WWI defeat
 - October, 1917: Russian Revolution
 - Ends the Romanov monarchy
 - Vladimir Lenin and the Bolsheviks (of the Communist party) seize power in Russia

- Punitive peace settlement: Germany had to pay France & Britain for the cost of the war and other reparations
- US emerges to join in the war effort, and then fights in the war
 - Beginnings of the global rise of the US
- Brutality of war unprecedented
- Democratization of war – no longer just soldiers, nor just for leaders
- End of imperialist expansion, beginning of imperialist implosion

Inter-War/Depression Years

- USSR: the first socialist country
 - Gains status as country
 - Fights off Western (American & West European) supported rebels
 - Begins to build economy and provide a socialist example
 - Becomes ally of West over the course of this period
- Reparations cause serious problems
 - Germany cannot make payments
 - US banker Dawes brokers deal to get payments going, but 'house of cards' system: Western money = help Germany pay back reparations
 - Germans still upset at 'responsibility' clause which blamed them for the war
- Washington Naval Treaty, 1922
 - Limits ships & armaments for everyone
 - Upsets Japan because not given same level as European powers, eventhough Japan fought against Germany
- League of Nation, 1926
 - Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Germany, USSR (US not join)
 - Not effective in checking aggression or getting members to obey rules
 - Marginalized Japan, Germany and Italy
- Emergence of global high finance
 - End of the gold standard – floating exchange rates
 - Problems in agriculture = market problems grow
- China: Mao ZeDong
 - Begins fight against pro-Western Guo Min Dang, with which it had an alliance until 1927
 - Ally with Russia, but separate in many ways
 - Paves the way for non-European Communist guerrilla revolutionary movements
- Depression:
 - 1930s: world economy integrating, but starts to regress
 - Germany can't repay loans to Britain & France, so devalues its currency = rendered worthless
 - world commodities market falls apart after post-WWI boom = US debts & credits unpayable = economy dies

Trends to World War II

- No international system to manage globalizing economy
- Rise of facism in Europe (and US & Canada)

- Benito Mussolini in Italy, Adolf Hitler in Germany, Japan (became the Axis powers)
- Opposed to Communists (USSR), later Liberals, who initially supported them, (West) (became the Allied powers)
- State-run economy & society, nationalists, ethno-centric, violent, anti-Semitic

World War II

- Actions:
 - Germany's actions:
 - 1938: Austria annexed peacefully & part of Czechoslovakia
 - 1939: Rest of Czechoslovakia annexed
 - League of Nations not effective
 - Italy & Japan already on side with Germany
 - Britain & France expecting German war
 - Policy of 'Appeasement' by Neville Chamberlain of Britain > concession or buying-time?
- Players:
 - Main: Britain, Germany, France, Russia, Austria, USA, Japan
- Events:
 - September 1939: Hitler invades Poland > Britain & France declare war on Germany
 - Hitler & Joseph Stalin (Germany): sign Non-Aggression Pact
 - 1940: France falls to Germany
 - 1941: Japan attacks Pearl Harbour, Hawaii, USA > US joins war on Allied side against Japan & Germany (US was only supporting role until this)
 - Until 1942-1943: Axis powers were winning, but US involvement changes everything
 - August 1945: US drops first Atomic-bomb on Japan
 - Surrenders:
 - Germany = May 1945
 - Japan = September 1945
- Points:
 - Joseph Goebbels: "total war"
 - US rises to make significant turn in tide of the war
 - Will continue with global role
 - Takes on role of shaping and protecting liberal-capitalist world
 - 50 million people killed - 20 million in USSR
 - Atomic age is ushered in > arms race, space race, etc. will begin now
 - Fascism is crushed by capitalist & communist cooperation — anti-Enlightenment forces vs. Enlightenment forces
 - Solidifying of the modern state system
 - Remaining empires weekend and will result in new countries again
 - Cold War system will emerge from the two economic/ideological/political camps remaining
 - **Realization of need for global security and financial architecture**

Conclusion

1. Movement from civilizations to states
2. Emergence and spread of European...
 - ...Political Systems:
 - Westphalian State
 - Liberalism/Individualism or Collectivism
 - ...Economic Systems:
 - Capitalism or Socialism
 - Industrialization
3. Beginning of Global Architecture: State Security & Financial System

History from 1945-1990:

Creating the Cold War

- 1945: World War II ends
 - Allies feeling victorious, especially USSR and USA
 - Europe is largely destroyed and will need to be rebuilt
 - Britain & France very concerned about Germany -- as are USSR and USA
 - All sides calling for international cooperation, but secretly do not trust one another
 - Nationalist and anti-colonialist movements gain momentum due to their involvement in WWII
- So when does the Cold War begin?
 - No fixed dates
 - 1945: race to capture Berlin
 - Soviets 'arrive' first
 - Decide to divide Berlin into Soviet, American, British and French segments
 - USSR has large forces left over much of Eastern Europe, which do not recede but remain
 - USA begins to exert presence over Japan and Pacific area and also over Western Europe -- British and French reluctantly comply
 - 1948: Perceiving each other as aggressors
 - Creation of Federal Republic of Germany (West) with USA
 - Czechoslovakia coup [some scholars claim - Soviets assist in coup by Communist Party
 - decide no more cooperation, and move to enemy-footing
 - 1949: USSR explodes atomic bomb
 - USA and USSR termed as 'superpowers' (nuclear)
 - Large imperial-like spheres of influence which are somewhat geographically defined:
 - USA: W. Europe, Pacific, South America, North America
 - USSR: E. Europe, Russia
 - Toss-up areas: Asia, Africa, Middle East
 - Create 'Cold War' (war without them fighting directly)

US-USSR Rivalry in the Cold War

- Ideological:
 - USA:
 - Capitalism
 - Individualism
 - Market Economy
 - Intellectuality: John Locke & Adam Smith
 - USSR:
 - Socialism
 - Collectivism
 - Command Economy
 - Intellectuality: (Jean-Jacques Rousseau) Karl Marx & Vladimir Lenin
- Geopolitical/Strategic:
 - Both sides saw the other as expansionist or imperialist
 - Bipolarity: world divided between two superpowers
 - USSR has huge army present in Eastern Europe
 - USA builds up nuclear arsenal -- always greater than the USSR, but usually about even

US & Cold War

- Strategic:
 - Building up nuclear arsenal
 - 1947: USA announces Truman Doctrine
 - Containment Policy
 - Contain the USSR to prevent it from expanding its control or influence
 - Adopt deterrence (risks of war greater than benefit) and Mutually Assured Destruction (both sides destroyed) policy
 - High-tech weapons into Europe and Japan
 - Create alliances:
 - North Atlantic Treaty Organization/NATO (1949) for Europe
- Economic:
 - Build up Europe & Japan
 - USA sets up Japan's Constitution and builds its economy
 - Announces Marshall Plan for Western Europe -- building up European economies with US financial aid (and thus, preventing socialists from coming to power)
 - Build global liberal capitalist financial economic order: Bretton Woods, 1944
 - International Monetary Fund (IMF) to help states with the value of currency, etc.
 - International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD, "World Bank") to provide loans for rebuilding economies

USSR & Cold War

- Strategic:
 - Large presence in Eastern Europe: Berlin Wall, 1961

- Backs Mao in China, and Mao emerges victorious in mainland China by 1949
- Creates Warsaw Pact (like NATO), 1949, composed of its Eastern European allies
- Dominates the politics of East European allies
- Builds up its nuclear arsenal
- Economic:
 - Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON), 1949
 - Massive cash assistance to its allies

“Fighting” the Cold War

- United Nations, 1945:
 - Arena for USA-USSR to berate each other
 - Largely ineffectual for peace, because US & USSR would veto each other in the Security Council
- “Proxy wars”
 - Other parties fight for US or USSR
 - In China (20s-49): Mao for USSR and Chang-Kai Shek for US
 - In Korea (50-53): North Korea for USSR, later China, and South Korea for USA
 - In Vietnam (65-75): Viet Minh for US and Viet Cong for USSR, mostly China
 - Afghanistan (79-89): Soviet’s state-puppet government vs. US/CIA funded & trained Mujahhadin rebels
- Exercising control of Spheres of Influence:
 - 1956: Hungarian rebellion crushed by Soviet troops
 - 1973: Chile’s democratically elected socialist government of Salvador Allende is overthrown by CIA-backed General Augusto Pinochet
 - 1962: Cuban Missile Crisis
 - Soviet missiles caught by US spy-cam
 - Kennedy makes ultimatum, Khrushchev backs down
 - Both directly or indirectly crush opposition

Last Decades of the Cold War

- 1960s-1970s:
 - Proxy wars continue
 - Arms agreements emerge
 - Strategic Arms Limitations Treaty 1 (1972) & 2 (1979)
 - Economic problems of Cold War surface = huge arms expenditures are costly
- 1980s:
 - USSR goes on offensive in Afghanistan
 - US begins massive military initiative
 - Accelerated military build-up
 - Strategic Defense Initiative “Star Wars”
 - Insurgency movements in Client States

Trends in the Cold War

- Conflict with Cooperation
- Wars fought away from Europe, USA, USSR
- Each side develops its allies
- Creation and growth of distrust
- Cost of military expansion very high -- economic problems
- Bipolarity: reasonable amount of sureness for major players
- Hiding of many things going on underneath

Decolonization

- Tables have turned:
 - Britain, France, Netherlands, Portugal, etc. were all weak after WWII
 - USSR preaching and backing anti-colonialist movements
 - USA worried Europeans' desire to hold on to colonies will push the colonized into Soviet hands
 - Colonial movements -- some of whom helped their colonizers fight in WWII -- gain credibility
 - Gandhi/Nehru (India), Sukarno (Indonesia)Nkhruma (Ghana) & Franz Fanon (Algeria)
 - Not affect Soviet or America expansions/colonizations
- Slow process:
 - Goes on through 1940s-1970s (eg. Goa: Portugal v. India, or East Timor: Netherlands v. Indonesia)
 - Major events:
 - 1947: India-Pakistan
 - 1954: Vietnam (real start of Vietnam war)
 - 1960s: African decolonizations
- Problem: Europeans carve out states and model them on their own European systems
 - Leads to internal fighting
 - Problems relating to corruption, land reform, ethnicity, tribal systems, etc. often not settled
 - Little to no infrastructure or aid to build modern economy
 - Get caught up in US-USSR Cold War through proxy wars
 - Client states: allegiances demanded
 - Exploitation of resources
 - Become important market for arms sales
 - Forced to decide between American or Soviet path for industrial development -- not given an option, a must
 - In Asia, regardless of allegiance, most faired well, eg. South Korea, China, India, Indonesia, Pakistan
 - In Africa, continual violence, Apartheid, and general neglect from the superpowers -- remained a fighting ground

1970s: Economic Shocks

- Bretton Woods system collapses:
 - US does not have enough gold to convert US dollars so all currencies are now speculator-driven (markets' perceptions determine value of currency)
 - Welfare states are questioned and attacked
- OPEC cartel (1960)
 - reduces oil supply causing major problems around the world
 - directed against Western countries
- Economic restructuring in the West results in increased replacing of labour with capital & technology-intensive systems
 - Post-WWII welfare states feel pressure, and begin to chart course for neoliberal restructuring
- West reacts:
 - General Agreement on Trade & Tariffs (1949) suffers set back as protectionism rise around world
 - GATT = multi-government forum for reducing tariffs among the West and its allies
 - Group of 7 emerges to become executive council of key liberal capitalist states, and seeks to manage international economy, and re-align global economy and welfare states
 - Trilateral Forum: broader grouping of government and business leaders worried about trouble in global capitalist economy in 1970s
 - Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development: think-tank for promoting free trade & capitalism globally
- USSR and allies in trouble, too
 - Economic stagnation & high cost of military expenses
 - Oil reduction affects them, because of underdeveloped tapping of oil reserves
- G-77 emerges in 1974 with call for New International Economic Order
 - Technology transfer
 - Debt Relief
 - Increase role in IMF and World Bank

1980s: Economic Restructuring

- Neoliberalism:
 - American economic and political model: individuals & markets & technology
 - Points:
 - No mixed economies (government leave market alone)
 - Few government social services -- only what market cannot provide
 - Privatization of goods and services
 - 'Efficient' & 'rational' markets, export-oriented production
 - Friedrich Hayek & Milton Friedman (20c economists)
 - End Welfare State
 - Globalize liberal free-market capitalism, and sometimes democracy
 - Adopted by IMF and World Bank for development projects = 'Structural Adjustment Programs'
 - Imposed on Asia, Africa, South America

- Decrease government social services
- Infrastructure built by private corporations
- Open economy to international investors & markets
- Limited role of government in economy or its stabilization
- Economy focussed on exports to pay debts
- Results:
 - Unprecedented overall production of 'wealth' but also unprecedented inequality in who has wealth
 - Major set backs in developing countries
 - Social movements against it
- Growth of regionalism
 - 1988: Canada-US Free Trade Agreement: end to trade tariffs, but still not all tariffs
 - Taken as model by US for the world
 - 1992: expanded to NAFTA by including Mexico
 - EC (1984) to EU (1994): European Union begins to congeal as an alternative to American neoliberalism -- but adopts many of its policies
 - Asia-Pacific
 - Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)
 - Flood of US and European investment into Asia-Pacific
- Labour:
 - Third Worldization: American and European companies go to developing countries to produce their labour-intensive products
 - Clothes, shoes, electronics, food production
 - Feminization:
 - Formal economy: boom in women's employment, as women are generally paid lower wages
 - Informal economy: rise in domestic servants, sex trade, and reliance on women to provide social services previously provided by the state
 - Cultural & social impact
 - Problems in child labour begin to be taken notice of

Trends since the 1960s

- Decolonization:
 - US or USSR? Pick a side and a model
 - Rise of Europe and China as alternative models
 - Rise of Asia-Pacific
 - Economic aspects are linked to politics not separable -- 70s Shocks to 80s Neoliberalism
 - Decline of the welfare
 - Changes in the international division of labour
 - Impact on development assistance, especially Africa
- History from 1945-1990:
Trends since the 1960s
- Role of women in politics and economics

- Female leaders emerge in Britain (Thatcher), India (Indira Gandhi), and elsewhere
- 1960s-1980s: social revolutions with counter-reactions
- Realization of women's role in economy, society, politics -- some 'progress' while others 'regressive'
- Still shut out of most important political or economic power centres
- Increasing reliance of economy on women

History from 1990-present:

Ending the Cold War

- Ending the Cold War
 - Economic exhaustion of both sides
 - USSR:
 - Gorbachev changes direction economically, militarily, and politically
 - Economy crippled, so begins *perestroika* program, and stops funding Eastern Europe and other Soviet allies
 - Begins to seek cooperation with US and West
 - Attempts to reform USSR into Western model = disintegration of USSR and some Eastern European state
 - Ethnic and state separatist movements emerge
 - 1991: Russia and others states declare independence
 - 1994: Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)
 - American view: we beat them = triumph of Western liberal capitalist representative democracy
 - Star Wars initiative and others led to a huge economic cost of production of goods never to be used
 - Massive deficit spending heavily raises US debt
 - Problems of with many of its allies over actions by US in the end -- especially preventing Europe-Russia relations
- Wars are over: no
 - Ethnic wars: Yugoslavia, Ireland, Indonesia, Rwanda
 - 1991-92: Gulf War
 - Iraq invades Kuwait
 - US allies in Gulf allow US to conduct war against Iraq
 - Situation of Kurdish minority
 - Yugoslavia: site of wars between Serbia, Croatia, Montenegro, Bosnia, Kosovo
 - UN missions and US diplomatic missions
 - NATO action in Kosovo against Serbia
- Importance of China:
 - Economic changes, but not like USSR
 - Rise as a confident, challenging actor
 - Relationship with US seen as sign of change in global approach away from conflict to cooperation as possible
- Importance of Russia:

- Still has large nuclear arsenal, but rotting
- Russian mafia is likely the most powerful in world
- Instability in political system
- Rise of right-wing movements
- 'Rise of Islam':
 - Growth and power of Islamic movements
 - Seen as threat to West and non-Islamics
 - Lack of focussed or sensitive research in IR
 - Most power of Islamic movements is derived from their social function: schools, education, social services, sense of collection
 - Many Islamic 'rebels' are American or Soviet trained soldiers who now have no wars to fight, but also no civilian life available to them
- Globalization -- still remains undefined
 - Old:
 - Historical push: expansion of capitalism
 - Marx wrote about this in the late 1800s
 - Incorporation of rest of world into Euro-North American politico-economic world
 - Movement of capital to higher profit margin areas
 - High finance
 - People communicating across cultures
 - Limited to a few, but always adding a few more
 - Growing chaos and economic disparity
 - Rise of right-wing movements
 - New:
 - Institutionalization: IMF, World Bank, UN, WTO, Davos
 - Non-state actors: Doctors without Borders, Global feminist movements, transnational labour
 - Internet: speed up communication, financial exchanges, global reach (if you have access)
 - Expansion of American culture throughout world
 - Global culture?
 - Growing numbers of critical voices from non-Euro-North American areas and sources
 - Academics, newspapers, etc.
 - Enforcement on other states possible -- SAPs, WTO