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كلية العلوم السياسية

Ministry of Higher Education  
& Scientific Research  
Al-Nahrain University  
College of Political Science



# قضايا سياسية Political Issues

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البحوث المنشورة تعبر عن آراء أصحابها وليس بالضرورة عن رأي المجلة

## قواعد النشر

- لغة المجلة هي اللغة العربية والانكليزية على أن يراعى الوضوح وسلامة النص.
- ترحب المجلة بنشر البحوث والدراسات السياسية النظرية والتطبيقية ولا سيما التي تجعل من قضايا المنطقة والعالم محط اهتمامها، ماضياً وحاضراً ومستقبلاً، وعلى وفق الآتي:
  1. أن لا يزيد عدد صفحات البحث أو الدراسة عن (15) صفحة مطبوعة بحجم خط (14) والتباعد (1,15) ونوع الخط Simplified Arabic تقدم عبر المنصة الاليكترونية للمجلة على الرابط :  
<https://pissue.iq/index.php/pissue/about/submissions>
  2. أن تتصف البحوث والدراسات بالموضوعية والدقة العلمية.
  3. أن تعتمد الترتيم العشري للعناوين الأساسية والفرعية او التصنيف المعياري العام.
  4. يرفق مع كل بحث او دراسة ملخصين (احدهما باللغة العربية والآخر باللغة الانكليزية/ يتضمن اهداف البحث ، المنهج والمعالجة ، ابرز النتائج واهم الاستنتاجات والمقترحات) مع ضرورة مراعاة ان الملخص مختلف اختلافا جذريا عن المقدمة وليس تكرارا لها .
  5. تخضع جميع البحوث المقبولة للنشر الى نظام الاستلال الالكتروني في كلية العلوم السياسية -جامعة النهريين.
  6. يرفق مع كل بحث ودراسة سيرة ذاتية مختصرة للباحث وتعهده .
- تقوم المجلة بإخطار الباحثين بإجازة بحوثهم أو دراساتهم من عدمها بعد عرضها على محكمين تختارهم على نحو سري من بين أصحاب الاختصاص.

## مجلة قضايا سياسية

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- يجوز للمجلة أن تطلب إجراء تعديلات شكلية أو شاملة على البحث أو الدراسة قبل إجازتها للنشر بما يتماشى مع أهدافها.
- البحوث المنشورة تعبر عن آراء أصحابها ، ولا تعبر عن رأي المجلة .
- ترحب المجلة بالمناقشات الموضوعية لما ينشر فيها أو في غيرها من الدوريات وبأية ردود فكرية أو تصويب، وكذلك ترحب بنشر التقارير عن المؤتمرات والندوات ذات العلاقة ومراجعات الكتب وملخصات الرسائل الجامعية التي تتم إجازتها على أن تكون من إعداد أصحابها.

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**Book presentation**

The Formation of Global International Relations / The Origins and Development of the Field of International Relations on its Centennial / Authored by Amitav Acharya and Barry Buzan /

Translated by Ammar Bu Asha / World of Knowledge, Issue 502, National Council for Culture, Arts and Letters – Kuwait, January 2023



**Presentation: Prof. Shaima Adel Fadel**

**Translation of presentation: Prof. Edhah Numan Khazaal**

The book contains 10 chapters and 525 pages. The book aims to provide a broad overview of a number of key topics and institutional centers in the field of international relations located outside Europe and North America. It is designed to be part of the reflection on the centenary of the founding of the field of international relations through three main approaches:-

1. Deepening the current understanding of the 1919 narrative to establish the field of international relations and provide an alternative, multi-layered framework for the development of this field of knowledge.

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2. Linking the development of international relations as a field of knowledge to the actual practice of international relations beginning in the 19th century.

3. Opening up to the neglected narrative on thinking about international relations, which took place outside the Western context throughout the period under study.

The first chapter describes how the field of international relations emerged in response to an urgent problem concerning how to understand the issue of peace and war in the community of nations. It reveals four distinct but closely interrelated themes:

1. The impact of modern revolutions on international relations.
2. The establishment of the hierarchical Western colonial international society and the reactions against it.
3. The rise of Japan as the first major move towards the rise of the rest.
4. The shock of the First World War

Barry Buzan and George Lawson argue that the revolutions of modernity during the nineteenth century transformed what had been an international system dominated by dynastic and agrarian empires, laying the foundations for a set of ideas, actors, systems, and trajectories that continue to define the field of international relations today.

They also believe that modern revolutions have three notable effects on international relations:

1. It has changed the capacity for interaction within the international system by reducing the time, cost, and risk associated with moving goods, people, and information around the world.
2. It has changed the units that make up the familiar cast of modern actors on the world political stage.
3. It has introduced rapid technological change as a permanent feature of the international system, with significant implications for economic and military relations.

According to the above, traces have been found of the first international community at the global level, which we refer to as the “first form of the global international community.”

There are three main factors behind the emergence of this formula, the first formula for the global international community:

The establishment of a global center-periphery economy centered in Europe, creating a large power gap between modernizing countries and the rest during the early stages of modernity and the revolutions that created a group of new

countries in the Americas, which were dominated by immigrants from Europe, The chapter concludes by stating that the 19th century, which ended with World War I, was a period of profound transformation, as everything in international relations changed and paved the way for a three-way ideological competition between socialism, fascism, and liberal democracy, with monarchies being pushed into the background.

The second chapter entitled “The Field of International Relations until 1919: Laying the Foundations,” begins with the question: What happened during the 130 years between these two dates (1789-1919)? To answer this question, the authors divide the chapter into three main sections;

The first covers (thinking and research) within the center's countries, which is what is known today as the field of international relations, although it did not bear this name at the time and from the same perspective, The second section examines the field of international relations before it was codified as an academic discipline, through the transcendent opinions and ideas coming from the countries involved. The third section examines the ongoing debate about the founding (1919) and how it relates to what happened before. The authors conclude that the field of international relations did not arise out of nowhere in 1919. as it was not so much a new birth as a repackaging and re launching of ideas and practices that had been ongoing for a long time, and to observe the enormous continuity between the concerns of the field of international relations in the nineteenth century and the field of contemporary international relations. It is necessary to break through the boundaries of 1919 and face the reality that racism and the standard of civilization were fundamental to the field of international relations. Despite their suppression or widespread neglect, they remain influential elements, as do the four ideologies (liberalism, socialism, nationalism, and racism).

Based on key strands of modern thinking in the field of international relations at the structural and normative levels, the authors conclude that the story of the West was the field of international relations during the nineteenth century, as described by Carver Lo and Hobson, which focused on the powers of the center and for their sake, with the periphery largely reduced, thus deepening the gap in power and hegemony between those who led the revolutions of modernity and those whom the forces of modernization left behind.

Then, the third and fourth chapters, which discussed the period from 1919 to 1945, as it was the first form of the global international community and the beginning of the establishment of international relations and the emergence of a

new ideology (fascism) in the 1920s. However, the authors analyzed it as nothing more than a fusion of (scientific) racism and nationalism within an extreme formula, especially social Darwinism, although geopolitics influenced imperialist thinking before 1919 and remained so until the end of World War II, new lines of thought emerged, such as feminism, and Lucien continued to argue that there was an influential early feminist movement in international relations centered around the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Women writers developed a vision of war and collective security on the grounds that women, as givers of life, had a different perspective on these issues than men. The focus in international relations thinking has been on the center, ignoring thinking within the periphery as a field of study and practice. In addition to the establishment of the League of Nations, which was closely linked to the founding of the field of international relations and made it a field of study and acquired a high degree of institutionalization, This feature continued after World War II, even though geopolitics had influenced imperialist thinking before 1991 and remained so until the end of World War II. New lines of thinking emerged, such as feminism, and Lucien continued to focus on thinking about international relations at the center and ignored thinking within the periphery.

Chapters 5 and 6 highlight the post-Cold War era, the end of colonialism, and the second establishment of intellectual specialization. Here, the chapter examines the continuity and discontinuity from the world before 1945. After 1945, the term “bipolarity” emerged, and the United States and Russia became the two greatest military powers, competing ideologically between liberal democratic capitalism and totalitarian communist economics over who would dominate the future of modernity.

The world witnessed the collapse of colonialism between the North and the South, which in turn defined a third world outside the structure of the non-aligned binary narrative. However, the rest of the story of the activation of the center and the marginalization of the periphery remains, but the rest of the periphery plays an active role in the game of global politics. In addition to the emergence of nuclear weapons, the extraordinary destructive power of nuclear weapons had a significant impact within the center and gave rise to the logic of the defense dilemma and the need to avoid war. This produced a unipolar world and a race for economic globalization, human rights, and international political economy. We will seek to examine this story in Chapter 7.

which attempted to cover the period from the end of the Cold War, i.e., the post-1989 unipolar world – globalization and the rise of the rest, through the economic crisis of 2008 and the pace of transition towards the second modified version of the post-Western global international community, as Russia's recovery under Putin's rule since 2000 was sufficient to enable it to assert itself within its territory and fight against the United States and the West through the steps it began in 2014 when it invaded part of Ukraine and secured the Crimean Peninsula in coordination with Russian-backed separatists in eastern Ukraine. In addition to transforming itself into a strategic partnership with China as a key form of its international relations, all of these were part of a pattern that signaled the emergence of a post-Western era.

While on the subject of China, the authors describe it as the mysterious stranger that did not fit into the bipolar or Third World paradigm. As soon as it recovered, its rapid and steady economic growth quickly enabled it to challenge the United States both materially and politically. The United States absorbed this illiberal rise, but tensions over Taiwan remained a constant feature, as did the United States' interactions with Japan and South Korea. Japan is attempting to revive the Trans-Pacific Partnership without the United States, and may follow in the footsteps of Britain and France in acquiring its own nuclear weapons. However, the September 11 attacks triggered a significant and lasting increase in terrorism studies, a field that had been somewhat marginal until the late 1990s. The global war on terrorism has placed non-state actors at the center of traditional thinking about military security.

This was known as the “sponsoring states” approach, and this logic supported the major interventions led by the United States in Afghanistan and Iraq. What has been presented tends to break down the boundaries between domestic and international security.

In the penultimate chapter, the researchers put forward reasonable assumptions about the future of the seven structural features of the global international community, namely the global economy, the distribution of power, the nature of the major powers, scientific knowledge and technology, and shared destinies (the global market, climate change, disease control, and protection of the planet from space rocks). The researchers summarized the future by presenting a crystal ball that shows a detailed picture of the post-Western global international community.

The tenth and final chapter outlines the main conclusions of this book, the most important of which is that most theories of international relations, with the

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notable exception of postcolonial theory, remain Western-centric, and that the field of international relations continues to be characterized by multiple dimensions of Western hegemony, represented by: European centrality, false globalism, racism, separation, and the breakdown of the effectiveness of non-Arab states, regional institutions, and civil society actors in contributing to the global system.

Here, the authors propose several approaches to the field of international relations in order to keep the discipline in line with the post-Western world order, the most important of which are hegemony and diversity, because if the field of international relations remains Western, it will become increasingly narrow-minded and out of step with the emerging post-war world order.

The authors conclude the chapter by highlighting certain caveats and risks associated with the field of global international relations that require further attention and discussion. The following are particularly noteworthy:

1. The risk of focusing exclusively or primarily on the strongest and most resource-rich non-Western countries, such as India, China, Brazil, South Africa, and Turkey, should be avoided.
2. The possibility of repeating or reproducing Western ideas with minor modifications should be avoided.
3. The difficulty of studying all nations, civilizations, and regional issues within a single framework should be avoided.
4. The risk of making international relations too broad, which reduces its analytical value and makes theory building difficult.
5. The aspiration to build a common narrative and the pursuit of ending exclusion may distract the field of international relations from other, more specific forms of exclusion, such as gender, race, etc.