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THE ENGLISH SCHOOL OF
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND ITS
APPROACH TO EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

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The English school of international relations and its approach to European integration

It is American authors who contributed most to the theory on international relations in the second half of the 20th century. This is true of all the most important conceptual paradigms, including realism, liberalism, world system theory and constructivism¹. The theories of European integration, e.g. neofunctionalism, transactionism and intergovernmental functionalism, were also put forward by American scholars (Ernst Haas, Karl Deutch and Andrew Moravcsik², respectively). This is not to say that there has been no remarkable work in the theoretical field of international relations carried out on European soil. A fine example is the French author Raymond Aron, considered a leading representative of the realist school of international relations. Meanwhile, the United Kingdom had its group of authors, such as Martin Wight, Hedley Bull, C.A.W. Manning and John Vincent, later to be known collectively as the English school of international relations. Today we are witnessing a rising interest in this school of thought, something reflected by the number of academic conferences and publications on its achievements. Attempts are being openly made to

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revamp this school. To do this, it should be made more cohesive, given a European dimension and equipped with a research programme that would be more cognitively attractive³. According to some commentators, this might entail an attempt to integrate Europe's milieu of theorists on international relations in a bid to counterbalance the dominance of American authors.

This article is a presentation and critical analysis of the theoretical achievement of the English school, with particular consideration being paid to its approach to European integration. I shall first present its genesis and the subject matter the authors associated with this school dealt with. I shall discuss the category of international society as contrasted with other forms of international relations (the international system, the world system and the world society). This distinction will be helpful to give the English school its proper place on the map of other theories of international relations. I shall also present two currents within the English school: pluralism and solidarism. A separate issue is the relation between the English school and contemporary theories explaining European integration, namely neofunctionalism and constructivism. I shall also be concerned with the question as to what extent the English school may serve to analyse and explain the process of European integration.

Genesis and area of interest

The English school of international relations dates back to the end of the 1950s, when the British Committee on the Theory of International Relations was convened⁴. The Committee was interested in the studies on relations between states. Its founder, Herbert Butterfield, stated in his letter of 1958 to Martin Wight that the English school's goal was "not to study diplomatic history in the usual sense, nor to discuss current problems, but to identify the basic assumptions that lie behind diplomatic activity, the reasons why a country conducts a certain foreign policy, the ethical premises of international conflict, and the extent to which international studies could be conducted scientifically"⁵.

The participants of the meetings organised by the Committee constituted a mixed environment, consisting of scholars from various disciplines, ones mainly associated with the London School of Economics⁶ and the Foreign Office. In the initial period a lot of time was devoted to methodological issues. The term ‘international theory’ came to be used and attempts were made to gain more credibility for this field of research. In chronological order, Herbert Butterfield, Martin Wight, Adam Watson and Hedley Bull held the chair in the Committee. When Hedley Bull died in 1985, John Vincent was designated to take the chair. However, formal meetings of the Committee were suspended⁷.

The English school drew inspiration from the achievements of the German historiosophic school from the beginnings of the 19th century, especially from the works of A.H.L. Heeren, which assumed that the normative structure of the international community was based on a system of sovereign states bound by ties of interdependency⁸. It also used comparative studies of international systems in various historical periods and in different locations, drawing from the achievements of Arnold Toynbee and his concept of civilisation⁹. It carried out research into international society and in this process it was interested in both contemporary international society and its earlier varieties, especially those of ancient Greece and Italy during the Renaissance. It also dealt with the response of non-European countries to the expansion of European international society. The issue of particular interest was that of the balance of power and the function of power in international society. A different current within the school was concerned with ethics, international law, military interventions, human rights and international regimes. Also Christian thought was used, especially in the initial period, in the construction of foundations for international relations¹⁰.

In their research into the nature of the state, sovereignty and diplomacy, the scholars from the English school treated the academic branch of international relations in a way that was different from the approach adopted by the contemporary representatives of the realist school in the United States. For the realists, international relations were identical with international politics and thus were assumed to belong to the realm of the

political sciences. For the English school, on the other hand, international relations were at a meeting point of several social sciences (political sciences, economics, law, history, sociology) and constituted a separate domain¹¹. Moreover, the representatives of the English school contradicted their contemporaries the behaviourists, whom they accused of simplifying international reality and of adopting an unreal assumption that empirical research could be separated from normative aspects¹². Many authors, especially those belonging to the younger generation, analysed the achievements of the School and the relationship between the English school and other schools of international relations. The person who finally assembled the theorists of international relations under the umbrella of the English school was Barry Buzan¹³.

In a chronological approach, we can distinguish the following four stages of the evolution of the English school of international relations: foundation, consolidation, regeneration and expansion¹⁴. In spite of disputes and controversies, referring in particular to the latter two stages (the problem being both the terminology and the classification of particular authors as belonging to the English school), it may be illuminating to present those stages in the form of a table.

Other authors differentiate between three options within the English school: the structural, the functional and the historical - the latter dealing with, respectively: identification of the structure of the contemporary international society; the functioning and advantages of the institutional structure in existence; and the historical evolution of the structure of international relations¹⁵.

Trialectics of the English school

The liberal tradition, which draws on the one hand from the theory of international law by Hugo Grotius, and on the other from the classical political liberalism of John Locke, puts the English school in opposition both to realism and the idealism of the interwar period. The main authors (like Hedley Bull, Martin Wight and Adam Watson) were sometimes described as

Table 1. *Stages of the English school of international relations*

Stages	Authors and works	Scope of interest
The first stage Foundation 1959 - 1966	Creation of the British Committee on the Theory of International Relations, H. Butterfield, M. Wight, Diplomatic Investigations, C.A.W. Manning, The Nature of International Society	International society as an instrument to theorise on international relations
Second stage Consolidation 1966 - 1977	H. Bull, The Anarchic Society; M. Wight, Systems of States; J. Vincent, Nonintervention and International Order	The nature of Western international society, international society from a historical perspective
Third stage Regeneration 1977 - 1992	H. Bull, M. Watson, The expansion of International Society; J. Vincent, Foreign Policy and Human Rights; J.D.B. Miller, J. Vincent (ed.), Order and Violence: Hedley Bull and International Relations; H. Bull, B. Kingsbury, A. Roberts, Hugo Grotius and International Relations (besides: M. Donelan, J. Mayal, C. Navari)	Historical comparative studies on international society, expansion of international society, the beginnings of reflection on the school's own identity
Fourth stage Expansion 1992 -	Special issue of the 'Millennium', Beyond International Society, B.A. Robertson (ed.), International Society and the Development of International Relations. New generation: B. Buzan, T. Dunne, Knudsen, O. Waever, N. Wheeler	The approach of the English school as opposed to other theories of international relations: realism, theory of regimes, constructivism and globalism

Source: author's compilation on the basis of Barry Buzan: *The English School as a Research Programme*; Tim Dunne: *Inventing International Society - a history of English school*, Macmillan, London 1998; Ole Weaver: "Four Meanings of International Society - a Trans-Atlantic Dialog", in Barbara A. Robertson (ed.): *International Society and the Development of International Relations Theory*, Pinter, London 1998, pp. 80 - 144; Adam Watson: *The British Committee for the Theory of International Politics*; Thomas Diez, Richard Whitman: *Analyzing European Integration, Reflecting on the English school: Scenarios for an Encounter*.

neo-Grotians¹⁶. Their goal was to create a *via media*, a third way between realism and idealism, consisting in the synthesis of the two currents¹⁷.

However, the English school was characterised by a pluralism which resulted from the heterogeneity of international relations. The authors associated with the English school refer to the terminology used by Wight, who isolates three traditions, the three R's - realism, rationalism and revolutionism¹⁸. In Wight's understanding the realist tradition is premised on the conviction that what functions is the system of the balance of power, the struggle for survival and egoism. Realism consists in the acceptance of limitations imposed on states by custom and international law. In contrast, revolutionists believe in the unity of humankind and in their view international society goes beyond the society of states. Bull has described these traditions in a different way: as realism, internationalism and universalism¹⁹. It is appropriate to observe here that Wight's idiosyncratic typology corresponds to the distinction between the international system, international society and the world society/system, as discussed above. These theories refer to other thinkers, considered to be the precursors of particular currents: respectively to Hobbes and Machiavelli, Grotius and Locke and finally to Kant and Marks²⁰. We can present these dependencies in a table²¹:

Table 2. *Tripartite division of international relations theories*²²

Martin Wight	Realism	Racjonalism	Revolutionism
Headley Bull	Realism	Internationalism	Universalism
Form of international relations	International system	international society	the world system/society
Precursors	Hobbes/ Machiavelli	Grotius/ Locke	Kant/ Marks

Source: author's compilation

The English school is situated in the current that was named 'rationalism' by Martin Wight in that it overcomes anarchy through the idea of international society. As Hidemi Suganami aptly observed, "the English

school is seen as a cluster of mainly British contributors to International Relations in the latter part of the 20th century, who broadly subscribed to Rationalism in Wight's sense, as a particularly important way to interpret world politics"²³.

On the other hand, Richard Little maintains that the English school has not treated the three currents: realism, rationalism and revolutionism as contradictory and rival visions of international relations. From the point of view of the English school, a comprehensive understanding of international relations needs to draw from all the three traditions²⁴. Each of them encompasses one third of international reality, or, in a different formulation, the whole of international reality for one third of time. They are traditions rather than coherent theories; three aspects of international relations to which we can resort and whose output we can draw from. Whereas realists concentrate on the political conditions for anarchy, considering anarchy to be an inherent feature of international relations, rationalists prefer to focus their attention on diplomacy and trade on the assumption that those institutions can alleviate the effects of anarchy. Conversely, revolutionists are interested in the process of sovereign states creating a moral and cultural space to counteract anarchy. For Wight, rationalism was a civilising factor, revolutionism was invigorating and realism carried control and discipline. At the same time, his views have evolved from realism through rationalism to revolutionism²⁵. On the other hand, Bull identifies himself to a greater extent with the tradition that derives from Grotius.

This pluralism of traditions which is common to the majority of authors associated with the English school, leads some researchers to the conclusion that those thinkers have not created a coherent theoretical concept and that it is difficult to contradict the school because of the very lack of a coherent and stable set of views. In the words of one of the authors, "Wight's trialectic of international thought is extremely eclectic, not simply because of his refusal to delineate these "traditions" with any philosophical and analytic precision, but also because of his deep personal reluctance either to transcend them, or to locate his own views within the broad parameters of any single one"²⁶. Hence the accusations that the English

school built its nests in its opponents' camps like a cuckoo and then usurped the rights to defend those nests²⁷.

Authors from the English school share the conviction of contemporary liberal institutionalists that contemporary international relations are characterised by abstention from pursuit of national interests by means of the policy of power. Rather, a compromise is sought which takes into consideration interests of other members of the international society. The two currents have in common not only the acceptance of anarchy (which is characteristic also for realists) but primarily the conviction that anarchy need not imply a system of self-help and may lead to attitudes of cooperation (which makes these currents different from realism). Works have been published which imply connections between the English school with its concept of the international society and the theory of regimes²⁸.

In the process of historical reinterpretation, the English school rejects the negative consequences of anarchy like self-help and *Realpolitik*, which are not treated by the School as immanent features of international relations. Bull came to the conclusion that there were two concepts of anarchy. The first, traditional theory means the lack of a world government (legal anarchy) and the second one which exists when states do not constitute a society and remain in a Hobbesian state of war (political anarchy)²⁹. The analogy between international politics and the state of war is a fallacy. Legal anarchy, i.e. the lack of world government, does not need to lead to the state of war because it may be controlled by institutions of international society. At the same time, war does not mean the absence of international society; it is rather its institution, by means of which international law frequently comes into force. Even when international norms are weak and do not cover all matters, it does not mean that they do not exist and that they do not exert influence on the behaviour of states. On the contrary: they increase the certainty of steps taken, exclude misunderstandings and stabilise expectations.

Wight observed the tension between the political order as expressed by the balance of power, the legal order based on the principle of sovereignty and the moral order, based on the principle of self-determination³⁰. The

object of interest for realists was the political order; for rationalists - the legal order; and for revolutionists - the moral order.

In the later period, elements of the revolutionist tradition appeared in the works of the English school. Immanuel Wallerstein's world system theory has been the most inspiring theory for the contemporary authors of the English school³¹. These two schools have in common the appreciation of the significance of world history for international relations. As Buzan and Little maintain, "most of the interest in world history that does exist in IR is the result of its successful colonisation by the world systems school deriving from the work of Wallerstein"³². The holistic and interdisciplinary approach, characteristic for contemporary authors from the English school, is inspired by world system theory.

It needs to be stressed, however, that the English school, though aware of the great explanatory potential of the world system model, does not share a number of its assumptions, e.g. that the political and military sectors of the world system are secondary (epiphenomenal) occurrences. It also accuses world system theory of ignoring interactions between actors, leaves certain regions of the Earth outside the scope of interest (geographical limitations) and that it concentrates excessively on the period after 1500 at the expense of former periods (chronological limitation)³³.

The category of international society

The central category for the English school of international relations is that of international society. The point of departure is the assumption that, in the 'unfixed' international system, states pursue their own interests, whereas in the situation where they are bound by dependencies and norms, they can create an international society where they consider each other's mutual interests. Such an international society is made up of sovereign states, which means that they are independent from outside subjects and have full and exclusive competence in internal affairs, including the shaping and implementation of foreign policy.

For the authors associated with the English school of international relations there is a clear difference in meaning between the concepts of the international system, international society and world society³⁴. The international system assumes the existence of certain contacts, as a result of which states in their decision-making process consider the interests and the potential behaviour of other states. This in turn influences decisions taken by other participants in the system. In other words, a certain level of interaction is achieved, with the behaviour of every participant becoming an element in calculations in the decision-making process of others.

In its narrower meaning, the international system is the anarchic system in the realist approach³⁵. It is characterised by the lack of an institution above sovereign states that would regulate relations between them. Here conflict is dominant and states pursue their interests by means of the policy of power (*Realpolitik*). Norms and international law have no significant influence on relations between states.

On the other hand, the concept of 'international society' means a society of states that are aware of common interests and values. Relations between these countries are regulated by certain principles, such as mutual recognition of independence, observance of agreements and limitations on the use of force. According to the definition by Bull and Watson, international society is "a group of states (or, more generally, a group of independent political communities) which not merely form a system, in the sense that the behaviour of each is a necessary factor in the calculations of the others, but also have established by dialogue and consent common rules and institutions for the conduct of their relations, and recognise their common interest in maintaining these arrangements"³⁶.

Thus, international society is an association of states which have common goals and common interests in implementing those goals. They have common principles defining behaviours favourable to the implementation of these goals as well as common institutions that help implement those principles. A necessary condition for international society to exist is that common rules of action are accepted and all its participants - statesmen, political leaders, diplomats - share the same fundamental

opinions regarding the nature of the system, its actors and their behaviour³⁷. In international society, states are perceived 'as parts of a greater whole'³⁸.

Meanwhile, the world society model rejects the perception of the world through the prism of national states. Instead, it adopts the global level of perception of the world as a whole³⁹. Whereas the international society is based on the political equality of subjects, the fundament of the world society is the functional differentiation within one, all-embracing subject. For world society to be created the existing division of geopolitical spaces into states must be overcome. World society consists directly of particular persons, without the state as the intermediary. Sovereignty that was located at the state level is recreated at the global level, where new relations of loyalty and new identity emerge. Between these two categories there is tension which results from the fact that the development of individual rights as well as the acceptance for external intervention, specific for the world society, undermines the sovereignty of the state, which lies at the foundations of the international society.

The term 'world society' might have yet a different meaning. It may mean the concept of world order relating to the whole human population which acknowledges the existence of common interests, universal norms of behaviour and common institutions as foundations of such an order. Beyond that, it may mean that the subjects of the human population are individual human beings or that universal principles and 'cosmopolitan' values (what is good and proper) hold true for the world as a whole. It may also mean that the possibility is accepted for a universal political organisation to be convened, which, if it were not a form of world government, would definitely go beyond the system of sovereign national states⁴⁰. In the view of some authors, the concept of world society as much as implies the creation of a universal organisation which would control whether norms are adhered to⁴¹.

Looking beyond the tripartite division as introduced by the English school, we can talk about a fourth category: the world system, which will be helpful in the forthcoming discussion. Let us define the world system as a

hierarchical system where state sovereignty is non-existent⁴². In other words, it is a universal empire defined as the “relationship of political control imposed by some political societies over effective sovereignty of other political societies”⁴³. Examples can be the Roman Empire or the Ottoman Empire whose unity was maintained by means of force. The concept of the world system is at the same time close to the concept of a universal monarchy as present in 18th-century thought⁴⁴. In this system there are no common interests, neither are there institutions of international society to be found there. Bull refers to the Marxist stand, according to which “rules serve as instruments, not of the common interests of members of a society, but rather of the special interests of its ruling or dominant members”⁴⁵.

There are then significant differences between the four forms of international relations: the international system, international society, world society and the world system. According to the terminology employed by Bull, it will be the state of nature, the society of states, the cosmopolitan society and the universal empire, respectively⁴⁶. Two criteria which particularly distinguish them are the approach to the sovereignty of states and to conflict or common interests, and, what follows, the significance of norms and institutions as a foundation of international relations.

The international system recognises the sovereignty of states but emphasises the conflicting relations between them; it does not recognise common interests and the significant influence of norms and international law. On the other hand, the idea of international society accepts both the sovereignty of states and the existence of common interests, norms and institutions as a stable foundation for international relations. Meanwhile, the concept of the world society is based on the harmony of interests among people, acceptance of norms and international law, as well as on the recognition that the sovereignty of states is a transitory factor that will be gradually overcome. According to our definition, the world system means that the sovereignty of states is not recognised and that norms and international law do not have great influence. We can present these four forms of international relations thus:

Table 3. *Forms of international relations*

Form of international relations	Sovereignty of nation states	Common norms and institutions
International system	Yes	No
International society	Yes	Yes
World society	No	Yes
World system	No	No

Source: author's compilation

Institutions of international society

According to Bull, the basis for the community of interests of states is the appreciation of peace and predictability of actions, which in turn leads to mutual recognition, to the acceptance of other members of international society as well as to the observance of the principles of non-intervention into internal affairs and inviolability of agreements (*pacta sunt servanda*)⁴⁷. The institutions of international society that lead to international order being observed are: balance of power, international law, the machinery of diplomacy, the system of management of great powers and war⁴⁸. It may come as a surprise that war has been considered an instrument of international society. It is true that war plays a significant role in maintaining order, implementation of international law and maintaining the balance of power, but it has a dual impact: it can just as well be used for contrary aims. Peace is not the most important goal, as it is subject to maintaining the independence of states, this being a condition for the international system. On the other hand, international organisations (the League of Nations, the United Nations), considered to be institutions of international society, have been described as ‘pseudo-institutions’ by Wight and Bull. They produce a lot of documentation and thus provide ample material for studies, diverting scholarly attention from the more important sources of the international order⁴⁹.

The balance of power plays a significant role as it guarantees the independence of states and prevents the international system from becoming a universal empire. According to Bull, the main function of the balance of power is not to maintain peace but to maintain the very system of states⁵⁰. The balance of power gives conditions for other institutions of international society to function properly. This relates also to international law, which consists of a raft of principles defining the behaviour of states, the observance of which contributes to the maintenance of peace. As Lassa Oppenheim stated, “the first and principal moral that can be deduced from the history of the development of the law of nations is that a law of nations can exist only if there be an equilibrium, a balance of power between the members of the family of nations”⁵¹. The main functions of diplomacy are to facilitate communication, negotiate agreements, provide information and prevent conflicts. Meanwhile, great powers play a positive role through their acceptance of responsibility for maintaining peace and stability in the whole international system.

The catalogue of institutions described by Bull is not closed. K.L. Holsti divides institutions of international society into constitutive and procedural ones. The former group includes sovereignty, state, territoriality and international law, whereas the latter one comprises, among other things, diplomacy, free trade (the market) and war. The institutions of international society are changing, undergo transformation and revision, are becoming more complex. Sometimes new institutions emerge and old ones cease to be accepted and disappear, e.g. colonialism⁵². Another example of an institution that played an important role in the early period of international society and now has disappeared is that of dynastic principles⁵³. The institutions of international society make it possible for sovereign states to coexist and they also mediate between the parallel tendencies of particularism and universalism⁵⁴. Within those institutions there is an interplay of interests, dialogue and problem solving. Diplomacy is of great interest because here not only the procedural aspect is crucial, but also the acceptance of the common values indispensable for mutual understanding.

Meanwhile Buzan has observed that the institutions of contemporary international society constitute a hierarchy. We can distinguish primary

institutions, institutions (so to say) of a higher level, and secondary institutions that follow from others. The author has presented this hierarchy in the form of a table, providing adequate examples.

A significant issue for scholars associated with the English school is whether the international society is a product of common culture or rather the result of reaction to international anarchy, understood as the lack of world government, by means of agreements and contracts. In the quest for an answer, they refer to the two concepts of society by Ferdinand Tönnies: *Gemeinschaft* (which emphasises the ties of common culture and traditions) and *Gesellschaft* (which assumes that society is first of all the result of contracts entered into in common interest)⁵⁵. In other words, this is the question whether the international society has emerged in line with the logic of culture (the civilisational model) or according to the logic of anarchy (the functional model). The answer is that international society has emerged under the logic of anarchy, i.e. by means of states recognising strategic and economic interconnectedness and the necessity to cooperate in the international system. It follows that common culture, which can doubtlessly deepen integration, is not a necessary condition for the emergence of international society⁵⁶.

Some authors point to the dual character of the structure of international society. The external circle is the whole human community governed by natural law; the internal circle is the European or Christian community, where positive law is binding, law agreed on between states. In chronological order, international society where positive law is binding is to be found in modern times, whereas international society with natural law existed in the Christian Middle Ages⁵⁷. As Wight put it, “when diplomacy is violent and unscrupulous, international law soars into the regions of natural law; when diplomacy acquires a certain habit of cooperation, international law crawls in the mud of legal positivism”⁵⁸.

Pluralism and solidarism

Within the English school we can distinguish two currents: pluralism and solidarism. They perceive international relations differently⁵⁹. The

Table 4. *Hierarchy of contemporary international institutions*

Primary institutions		Secondary institutions
Master	Derivative	(examples of)
Sovereignty	Non-intervention International law	UN General Assembly, Most regimes, ICJ, ICC
Territoriality		
Diplomacy	Messengers/ diplomats Conferences/ Congresses Multilateralism Diplomatic language Arbitration	UN, Many specific examples..., most IGOs, regimes
Balance of power	Anti-hegemonism Alliances Guarantees Neutrality War Great power management	NATO UN Security Council
Equality between people	Human rights Humanitarian intervention	UNHCR
Colonialism	Right to conquest Inequality of people	
Trade	Market Protectionism Hegemonic stability	GATT/WTO, IBRD, IMF MFN agreements
Nationalism	Self-determination Popular sovereignty Democracy	
Environmental stewardship		CITES, the Kyoto treaty

Source: Barry Buzan, *The Primary Institutions of International Society*, BISA Conference, London, December 2002, p. 20

pluralist trend, represented by Hedley Bull, assumes that international relations are based on interaction and coexistence. Categories such as sovereignty, diplomacy and international law that regulate relations between independent states, are of importance here. Diplomacy plays an important mediating function between the tendency for particularism and universalism, but the tendency for particularism is dominant⁶⁰.

The pluralist concept of international society refers to the positivist tradition of international law delivered by Emmerich Vattel and Lassa Oppenheim. According to that tradition, international law is 'the law between states only and exclusively'⁶¹. The analogy between the state in the international system and an individual in society consists in the circumstance that the existence of an individual precedes the existence of a society. Contemporary nation-states emerged in the wake of the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, and only they could create the normative structure regulating relations between them, i.e., international society. Earlier states may be said to have existed in a normative vacuum⁶².

The statement that only sovereign states can become members of the international society is of fundamental importance. For it implies that the state takes an ontological precedence over international society: statehood precedes internationality and is a necessary condition for the international society to emerge. The international society itself goes beyond the interests of its members and is therefore to some extent ignored⁶³. As Wight maintained, "the doctrine that the state is the ultimate unit of political society entails the doctrine that there is no wider society to embrace states"⁶⁴. Not natural law, but rather custom and treaties are the source of law.

According to Bull, there are three kinds (levels) of principles defining international society. Firstly, normative constitutive principles define the main ordering principle; for international society it is sovereignty. Secondly, the principles of coexistence define minimum conditions for a society to exist, such as limitation of violence, establishment of ownership rights, stability of treaties (*pacta sunt servanda*). On this level, institutions of international society, like diplomacy, international law and the balance of

power play an important role. Thirdly, principles regulating cooperation in various spheres (politics, strategy, economics, society) recommend behaviour appropriate for the implementation of the goals of international society. An example of the principles regulating cooperation are treaties in the field of arms control, trade, finance and environmental regimes, and the entirety of the United Nations. The above approach reflects a rational, contractual, principle-based concept of international society. Meanwhile, Buzan points out that the first and second level (constitutive and coexistence) principles are appropriate for the pluralist approach, whereas the more advanced third level principles recommending particular actions are typical of the solidarist position⁶⁵.

In the pluralist approach, the scope of the international society is narrow, it encompasses agreements on non-intervention in internal affairs and the care of maintaining international order in the anarchist system, and common identity and culture are not a necessary condition for the international society to emerge.

As far as the division used in normative theories is concerned, pluralism is closer to communitarianism that assumes that rights and duties of particular persons are rooted in historically shaped societies, i.e. states⁶⁶. Faced with humanitarian intervention, pluralism takes a restrictionist stand, according to which such intervention is considered illegal⁶⁷. International society is treated in an instrumental way - as a counterbalance for chaos and disorder. On the other hand, the development of world society can be a threat to international society. An appropriate way to ensure safety is collective defence - i.e., an alliance whose organisational principle is that of allying states against an external threat.

Wight notices the close ties between pluralism and realism in that they accept the assumption that the core of sovereignty is to cultivate differences and distinctive features. Significant differences between the pluralist current within the English school's tradition and realism consist, meanwhile, in the perception of the role of international law and the problem to what extent sovereign states observe agreements reached. For

the followers of the English school international law takes a central place in international politics, whereas for the realists this is an insignificant factor⁶⁸.

The solidarist current, represented by Martin Wight, assumes solidarity of states in the introduction of international law and universal standards of behaviour. In this approach international society is a political society, one broader than the society of states. Whereas in the case of pluralism the dominant tendency was particularism, in the case of solidarism it is universalism.

Solidarism refers to the tradition of international law as natural law, delivered by Hersch Lauterpacht. Grotius not only interpreted his contemporary system of national states but also created the system of law and ethics that set out standards for the development of world politics⁶⁹. So international law is not only the law between states but also 'the will of the international community'⁷⁰. From the point of view of normative theories it is then a cosmopolitan approach that assumes that international society consists of particular persons. Despite being represented by states, they are subject to the common concept of morality. The basis of the international community is the community of culture and civilisation.

Solidarism recognises universal norms and principles to be autonomic sources of international law and the distinctive feature is the statement that 'the international law in force does not result solely from the principles agreed on by the states, but also from those on which international society as a whole achieved solidarity or consensus even when this consent has then been withdrawn by certain countries'⁷¹. So the normative foundations of international society are ethical universalism and the idea of unity.

Solidarists assume that the subjects of international law are not only states, but also - directly - individuals. States are obliged to respect human rights, which, in the words of Vincent, "are the rights that everyone has, and every one equally, by the virtue of their humanity"⁷². Fundamental rights existing within human rights can be subject to derogation under no circumstances⁷³. If a government is unable to ensure that the human rights of its citizens are observed, this very fact can be reason for considering such

a government illegal. We can therefore observe a steady development of human rights over the years. This process has been especially intensive since the end of the Second World War⁷⁴. In the words of one of the authors, “international rules relating to human rights, to the rights of peoples and minorities, to an expanding range of economic and environmental issues impinge very deeply on the domestic organisation of society”⁷⁵. International society is more expansive and comes closer to world society in that it accepts transnational elements⁷⁶. The existence of world society, be it to a minimum extent, is at the same time the condition for international society’s existence.

Solidarism is closer to revolutionism because it assumes that sovereignty does not only mean independence, but also allows for various levels of convergence, e.g. in the process of European integration⁷⁷. In this approach the scope of international society is potentially broader because it not only concerns common norms for limitation on the use of force, but also the universal civilisational standards in the relation between the state and its citizens. Moreover, solidarism takes a more interventionist position in the situation when it is necessary to maintain international and internal order. It refers to the concept of the just war and allows for the cooperation of states in restoring international law, in particular in the form of humanitarian intervention, which it considers to be legal⁷⁸. One of the important events for solidarism is the creation of the International Criminal Court and the attitude of particular countries toward this initiative⁷⁹. In the field of security, solidarism supports a universal system of collective security, organised on the principle of solidarity against a potential aggressor, without *a priori* deciding who is a friend and who is a foe⁸⁰. The basic elements of a pluralistic and a solidarist international society can be summarised thus:

To sum up, the theoretical assumptions of the English school are very broad and extend beyond the framework of rationalism; in the pluralistic variant they come closer to realism, and in the solidarist variant - to revolutionism. In this context, it is appropriate to ask to what extent the English school is coherent in its theoretical assumptions. We can observe

Table 5. *Pluralistic and solidarist concept of international society*

	Pluralism	Solidarism
Leading authors	H. Bull	M. Wight
Subjects of international relations	States (exclusivism)	States and individuals (inclusivism)
Organisational idea	Particularism	Universalism
Normative approach	Communitarianism	Cosmopolitanism
Concept of international society	Contractual, functional	Cultural, civilisational
Scope of international society	Narrow, maintaining order in the anarchic order, non-intervention into internal affairs, instrumentalism	Broad, common culture and norms in the relations state-citizens, human rights, transnationalism, expansiveness
Concept of sovereignty	Cultivation of differences	Allowing convergence (European integration)
International law	Exclusively between states	Will of international society
Sources of law	Positive law, custom and treaties (E. Vattel, L. Oppenheim)	Natural law, universal norms (H. Lauterpacht)
Principles of international society	Constitutive and coexistence principles (first and second level)	Regulating cooperation, promoting a particular behaviour (third level)
Humanitarian intervention	Inadmissible, illegal	Admissible, legal
Basis of security	Collective defence (alliance)	Collective security

Source: Own compilation

the tension between the two currents, which Bull pointed out, the tension consisting in the circumstance that the spreading of solidarist elements, typical of the world society (such as the fact that individuals are directly subject to international law), would undermine “the whole principle, that

mankind should be organised as a society of sovereign states”⁸¹. Within the English school there are also voices that the conflict between pluralism and solidarism has been settled in favour of the latter, which is more open to changes and transformations in world politics, is normatively more progressive and is better methodologically rooted⁸².

So, should we treat the English school of international relations as one theory of international relations, or should we rather talk of an irreversible split into two theories? This question in fact addresses the distance between pluralism and solidarism. To answer it, we need to state the distance between pluralism and realism on the one hand and between solidarism and cosmopolitanism - on the other. It arouses no controversies that the borderline between realism and pluralism is the recognition of the influence of norms, law and institutions on international relations. It may be more problematic to define the border between solidarism and cosmopolitanism. Can we say that it is the recognition of sovereignty of states as the foundation of international relations?

Buzan refers to those thoughts of Kant which concern the theory of democratic peace and the process of assimilation of states (homogeneity). International law should be based on a federation of free states that “would not have to be a state consisting of nations”⁸³. Moreover, he comes to the conclusion that pluralism and solidarism are much more “defining ends of a spectrum rather than inherently contradictory ideas”⁸⁴. Pluralism defines the international society, where the influence of norms, law and institutions is relatively insignificant: it is limited to providing the framework for coexistence, rivalry and management of common problems, such as arms control and environmental protection. Solidarism, on the other hand, defines international society in which the influence of norms, law and institutions is significant; it is not limited to ensuring peaceful coexistence of states but it establishes a framework for cooperation in many fields. In the solidarist approach, international society is ‘thicker’. It refers to common values (e.g. observing human rights), which need not be connected with limiting sovereignty; in fact, it can be the realisation of sovereignty. Buzan maintains that as long as one does not insist that

persons have rights next to or above states, there is no contradiction between the development of human rights and sovereignty⁸⁵. So in Buzan's view, solidarism does not mean limiting the sovereignty of states and crossing the border towards a world society.

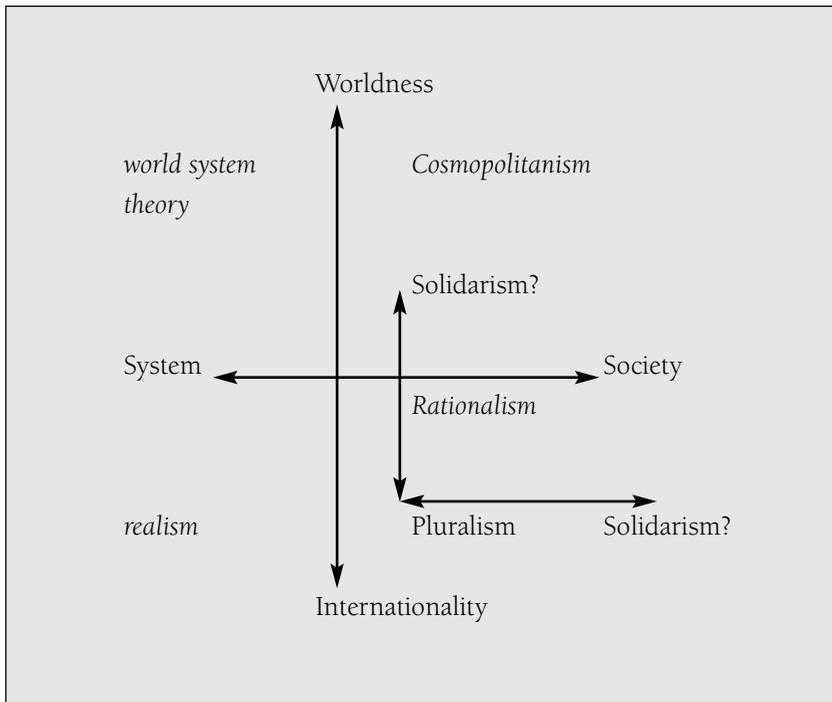
This is not the only way of interpreting Kant's thought. Although the non-institutionalised association of nations is not identical with the world state (the principle of sovereignty excludes the possibility of becoming subject to such a state)⁸⁶, in Kant we also find concepts which point to the need of going beyond the idea of sovereignty and of creating a state of nations (*civitas gentium*), where people would be subject to public rules of coercion⁸⁷. Bull also noticed in Kant universalist motives which showed that the essence of international politics is only ostensibly the relations between states and in fact it is the transnational ties between individuals in the universal human community. In the universalist position moral "imperatives enjoin not coexistence and co-operation among states but rather the overthrow of the system of states and its replacement by a cosmopolitan society"⁸⁸. Even if it does not exist at present, human community potentially exists; when it materialises, it will abolish the system of sovereign states. But Bull, a follower of the tradition derived from Grotius, put coexistence of states on the first place, before the creation of human community.

Let us then place the pluralist and solidarist currents along the axes: system - society and internationality - worldness. System is characterised by anarchy, conflict and the balance of power, whereas society is characterised by community of interests and cooperation. Meanwhile, internationality is characterised by the recognition of sovereignty of states, whereas worldness is regulated by the relations of subjecting, hierarchy and the lack of sovereignty. This dualism can be presented in the adjacent picture (Picture 1).

For Buzan, pluralism and solidarism are not mutually exclusive concepts but rather the ends of one spectrum, not very distant from one another. The spectrum goes along the axis system - society without crossing the border towards world society⁸⁹. It is shown by the horizontal

arrow which points to the ‘thickening’ of norms so that international society becomes ‘thicker’ and the sovereignty of states becomes ‘surrounded’ with norms and institutions of international society. In this process states are becoming similar to one another from the point of view of structure. This process happens on the level of the state and not of the international system, which remains anarchical.

Picture 1. *Variants of the pluralism-solidarism spectrum*



Source: author's own compilation

On the other hand, the pluralism-solidarism spectrum can be perceived as going along the axis that indicates the changes in the sovereignty of states. In this approach, the explanation of processes in international relations only by means of changes on the level of states is incomplete; changes on the level of the international system are necessary. This view is

reflected in the vertical arrow which places solidarism on the side of world society. This is then a qualitative change which entails the limitation of the sovereignty of states in favour of an organisation of a universal character. The differences between pluralism and solidarism presented above correspond to this view.

The English school vs. constructivism

The process of the emerging of constructivism as a separate theory in the United States and the process of building awareness of the separate character of the English school went on in a parallel manner in the second half of the 90s. Both schools faced the challenge of rationalist theories and they both emphasise the social character of international relations⁹⁰. Constructivism, taking as the point of departure the change of identity and interests as a result of interactions in a broader institutional environment, which consists of norms and discursive structures, seems to be well suited to explain the processes of European integration⁹¹.

We need to take note of the diversity and the many currents of constructivism. Ernst Haas, considering the applicability of constructivism for research on European integration, defines constructivism very broadly, distinguishing within this trend three currents. These are, firstly, the system school (Alexander Wendt, David Dessler), which derives interests from the identity of actors conditioned by the function they fulfil in the global system. The author sees the affinity of this current with such representatives of the English school as Hedley Bull, Anthony Giddens and Barry Buzan. Secondly, the school of 'norms and culture' (Friedrich Kratochwil, John Meyer), which assumes that interests are the result of cultural conditioning. They determine the norms rooted in international society that influence collective choices. Thirdly, the school of 'soft rationalism' (Peter Katzenstein, Emmanuel Adler, Peter Haas) that maintains that the interests of the authors depend on the way political causality is understood. This influences the way of defining interests whose source is both inside and outside of national states. This is precisely the current that is close to neofunctionalism⁹².

According to the furthest-reaching opinions, the English school should be viewed as an example of constructivism⁹³. Also Wendt locates the English school among constructivist theories, at the same time pointing out that “the English school does not explicitly address state identity formation, but does treat the international system as a society governed by shared norms (...)”⁹⁴. The works by the authors of the School, for example those of Charles Manning (especially *The Nature of International Society*) are examples of constructivism with the reservation that they were published before this current established itself. In their understanding the international society is not an objective fact (the result of the structure), but a social structure (the result of a process), which emerged by means of repetitive, ritualised practices which - to use the language of constructivists - changed the structure of intersubjective knowledge. The process of social learning is of particular significance as well as the specific interdependency consisting in the circumstance that international society is shaped by states, but also the other way round: states are shaped by international society. So states establish the international society that in turn influences their own identity⁹⁵. Buzan points this out maintaining that “the basic idea of the international society is thus quite simple: just as human beings as individuals live in societies which they both shape and are shaped by, so also states live in an international society which they shape and are shaped by”⁹⁶.

The convergence of assumptions between the English school and constructivism can be found in the field of the theory of human nature and basic human needs. Both schools concentrate on the state and its role in the international system and they view the relation between structure and agent in a similar way. They both explain changes in international relations through the prism of culture; as a consequence they accept that the structure shapes states but does not finally determine them, leaving room for the improvement in the quality of international environment.

However, we can also perceive the differences between the two currents, which are visible in their approach to history: the English school is deeply interested in the historical evolution of the international society, whereas in the works of constructivists a historical approach is absent. Moreover, the

According to this criterion, the English school is close to constructivism. However, according to other criteria, the distances on the axis are larger, which emboldens Waever to conclude that the English school is closer to classical realism and poststructuralism than to constructivism⁹⁹. The confrontation of classical realism and poststructuralism on the basis of the number of criteria fulfilled, regardless of their importance and meaning, is highly debatable. Some authors point out that emphasising differences between the English school and constructivism aims at strengthening the former's position as a separate school. However, in the case in point Waever seems to be stressing the importance of poststructuralism, seeking to incorporate it into the development project of the English school¹⁰⁰.

We also need to agree with the views that the two theories complement each other well: constructivism is better at explaining reasons for various situations, whereas the English school is better at explaining change and considers ethical problems more broadly. Constructivism could be enriched with the normative approach of the English school, whereas the sociological foundations of this normative approach would be strengthened through the inclusion of constructivist concepts of communicative action and holistic approach, which question the separation of the international society from the world society, thus overcoming the dichotomous division into pluralism and solidarism¹⁰¹.

The relation of the English school to European integration

The English school was not interested, especially in the initial period, in European integration. European integration was perceived as a phenomenon of local dimensions (territorially limited) that was happening only in the economic field and with no significant impact on the crucial political sphere (functionally limited), happening in the concrete period in the second half of the 20th century (chronologically limited). As a consequence, it was viewed as having no significant impact on the structure of the international society. The universalist, multifunctional and historical approach of the English school explains why insufficient attention was

given to European integration. Also the circumstance that the United Kingdom was not involved in the process of European integration from the very beginning had an influence on the theorists of international relations in that country as their scholarly interests differed from those of their colleagues on the Continent.

Bull was the first to give the name of neomedievalism to the future structure of world politics that could replace the system of sovereign states. At the same time, however, he stated that the model in which the concept of solidarity would cease to be applied, though theoretically possible, was neither probable nor desirable¹⁰². The result of European integration can be such transformation of the system, in which there will be simply fewer states in the system, but those states will be stronger, although the essence of the mechanisms governing the anarchic system will not be changed¹⁰³. Thus, authors related to European studies accused the representatives of the English school of failing to notice that the European Union had a significant transformation potential and that it “transcends the state system to develop a system of governance in which a separation of a clear hierarchical order inside, and an anarchical order outside, no longer holds”¹⁰⁴.

The representatives of the English school also view the European Union as a civilian power which has no ambitions of playing a significant role in the military domain. This is of great significance for the reception of the European Union by other members of the international society. However, Bull maintains that in the longer term the European Union will not be able to maintain its status of a civilian power¹⁰⁵. Meanwhile, Ian Manners sees the European Union as a normative power and the decisive factor here is not the possibility of resorting to force, but the fact of promoting certain norms in foreign policy – not particular economic and military interests¹⁰⁶.

Recently the view has been aired that the English school needs to tackle the subject of European integration and that the School's assumptions might be useful to this analysis. It is because the European Union can be viewed as a regional international society which is based in a broader international society. It is at the same the most hierarchical society; the level

of hierarchisation being measured with the level of implementation of norms and principles agreed on at the centre. The further we move from the centre, the lower is the level of hierarchisation in this sense (the acceptance for principles decreases) and implementation is ensured to a growing extent by institutions on a state level.

We can also view the European Union as a society where elements of international and world society coexist and rival one another, bearing in mind that 'worldness' in European studies is called 'supranationality'. It is significant that the discourse of the international society, close to the pluralist current, is based on particularism, the intergovernmental scenario of integration and institutions where the governments of member countries have the decisive voice, e.g. the EU Council. This is true also of the fields where decisions are taken unanimously, e.g. foreign and security policy and cooperation in the field of justice and internal affairs. Meanwhile, the discourse of the world (transnational) society, close to the solidarist current, centres around universalistic ideas, the federalist scenario of integration and such institutions as the European Commission and the European Parliament. It concerns economic cooperation within the first pillar (as embodied by the common currency), the concept of European citizenship as well as of the European military forces. The fundamental elements of international society and world (transnational) society in the European Union can be presented in a table.

According to the representatives of the English school, the elements characteristic of world society, present in European discourse (universalist and solidarist values) have made it possible for the 'thick' international society to emerge. They participate in the process of construction of European actors' identity and are strengthened and reproduced by those authors. However, the co-occurrence of the international society and the world society has the potential of destroying international society, understood as a society of independent states. As noted by Thomas Diez and Richard Whitman, who analysed the introduction of European citizenship in the Maastricht Treaty, the results of the Danish referendum of 1992, and the boycott of the far-right FPÖ Austrian government, the discourse of the world

Table 6. *International society and world (transnational) society in the European Union*

	International society (pluralism)	World/ transnational society (solidarism)
Concept	Particularism, subsidiarity	Universalism, supranationality
Scenario of integration	Intergovernmental	Federal
Representative institutions	Council of the European Union	the European Commission, the European Parliament
Instruments	Unanimity, the right to veto	Europeanisation, the euro, European Union citizenship
Scope	2nd and 3rd pillar, foreign and security policy, justice and internal affairs	1st pillar, economic sphere

Source: author's compilation

society on the one hand made it possible to deepen international society, and on the other hand it threatened the very foundations of international society. The presence of the two discourses in the European Union enables the actors to represent views that are not necessarily in accord with one another. At the same time a project of the European Union as the centre of a particular form of international society would not be possible without an appropriate discourse of the world society¹⁰⁷. A proper balancing of international society and world society in the European Union is at present the European Convention's responsibility¹⁰⁸.

The English school is particularly well suited to venture comparisons between the European international society and other international societies. To use the categories developed by the English school, we can distinguish three different dimensions that are characterised by a different level ('thickness') of the international society and the participation of the world society (in categories of discourse and not in categories of substance). Firstly, the international system of the European Union that has a 'thick' international society and a well developed world society. This system is in a

way a regionally limited emanation of the world society. For the participation in the ‘centre’, i.e. the ‘thick’ international society, it is imperative not so much to be formal members of the European Union as to identify oneself with its aims and interests and to be prepared to accept the rules binding in the EU. Secondly, the international system of the whole Europe, where the international and the world society are less developed. The European international society after the Second World War was strengthened by the Conventions of the Council of Europe and the decisions of the CSCE. Thirdly, the global international system in which occurs the basic international society and only a rudimentary world society. The global international society, regulated by the UN, is much ‘thinner’ than the European international society as far as norms and self-identification are concerned¹⁰⁹. The borders between these spheres are not stable but rather fuzzy and changing. We can present those societies mentioned above on a graph.

Picture 3. *Co-occurrence of the European Union, European and global international society*



Source: author's compilation

One of the fundamental questions is about the process of the international society of the European Union's emergence. As we showed before, Buzan, taking as his point of departure Kant's theory of democratic peace, maintains that this process is the result of homogeneity and convergence of subjects. States are becoming similar to one another in the field of accepted values and internal law, and with the spread of this assimilating process it comes to the 'thickening' of the international society and to the movement from pluralism towards solidarism. The European Union is 'a pretty advanced example of conscious convergence and many pressures and tensions within it are the result of a permanent need to adjust to this process'¹¹⁰.

At some point, however, the possibilities of 'thickening' international society through the creation of further norms at the state level come to an end. The essence of the process of European integration does not consist solely in assimilation, in the 'thickening' of the international society as a result of creation of new norms and the ensuring of implementation thereof by the institutions of particular states. It is also the delegation of competencies (i.e. portions of sovereignty) to the supranational level. In other words, a new quality appears when states move beyond the principles of coexistence and pursue coordinated policies to implement supranational values. Furthermore, we can talk of supranationality when three conditions are fulfilled: some European institutions are independent from member states, some competencies are transferred to the organisation and legal norms are directly binding¹¹¹.

The process of law proclamation and the process of law enforcement monitoring in the European Union takes place to a growing extent on the supranational level. A state is obliged to directly apply European Union law, which has priority over national law. In consequence, the direct influence of the community law on the citizens and the enterprises of the Community makes national courts no longer sovereign in the field within the scope of the Treaties, and national parliaments are no longer sovereign in proclaiming law in those fields¹¹². The norm-creating character of European Communities has as its result that through the binding of member states with a thick net of legal norms the process of European integration becomes to some extent irreversible.

Thus, European integration happens as a result of norm creation and states becoming similar to one another, as well as the transfer of competencies to supranational institutions. In the initial period the first process was dominant, and it occurred at the state level. Thereafter the second process – the strengthening of supranational institutions – grew in significance. The explanation of European integration only through the first factor would be incomplete.

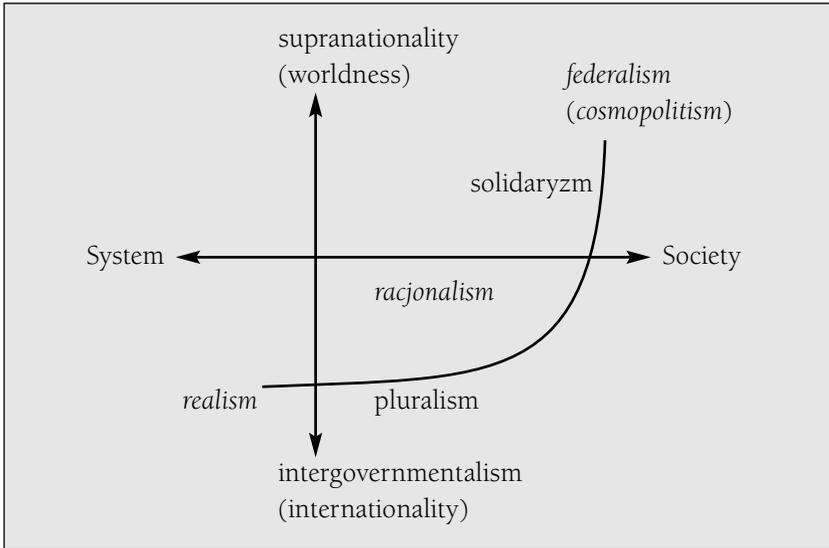
The point of departure is the anarchic system of national states. As a result of the emergence of norms and states becoming similar to one another there appears an international society in the pluralist version. Then the international society ‘thickens’ to such an extent that its further growth as a result of processes inspired at the state level is impossible. For integration to proceed further, the border must be crossed in the direction of the world society and supranationality. This is because acting on the state level is insufficient and it is necessary to act on the international level. In this approach solidarism, unlike in Buzan’s model, is above the line dividing internationality from worldness (supranationality). The equivalent of cosmopolitanism in the European discourse is federalism. This process can be pictured on a graph.

The English school vs. neofunctionalism

Neofunctionalism and the English school developed in a parallel way, without intermingling¹¹³. According to neofunctionalism, integration happens as a result of a change in loyalties and expectations as well as the shift in political activity of actors in particular states towards the new centre, whose institutions have jurisdiction over national states¹¹⁴. European institutions take over from national states part of their rights in legislative, executive and judicial branches, and as a consequence national states lose their competencies in a growing number of fields.

We can discern some similarities between these currents: they both approach realism with reserve (neofunctionalism to a greater extent), reject idealism and are eurocentric (albeit to a different degree). There are, however,

Picture 4. *The evolution of the international society of the European Union*



Source: author's compilation

crucial differences, too. The differences are connected with the object of interest (integration and the formation of international society), the level of analysis (global and regional dimension), a different perception of actors (states and interest groups) and other instruments of action (institutions and international organisations)¹¹⁵. These differences can be shown in a table.

There are initiatives to embark on cooperation and to combine the efforts of neofunctionalism and - a broader approach - of European studies and the English school. Both currents, which complement each other, could benefit from this cooperation. The English school does not appreciate the significance of European integration, whereas European studies do not discern the historical process of the emergence of the European international society. Buzan maintains that European studies are almost wholly empirical and without any depth, such that a marriage with the English school could provide this depth. So, building a bridge between foreign international relations theories and European studies would be extremely desirable. The attractiveness of the English school for European

Table 7. *Differences between the English school and neofunctionalism The English school*

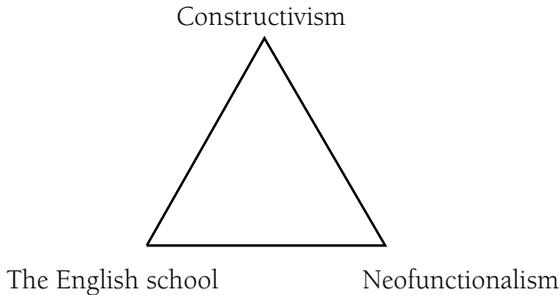
	The English school	Neofunctionalism
Object of interest	Formation of the international society	Process of European integration
Level of analysis	System, global dimension	Subsystem, regional (European) dimension
Actors	States (horizontal pluralism)	Interest groups, political parties, NGOs, (vertical pluralism)
Instruments of action	Institutions (balance of power, diplomacy, international law)	International organisations (especially the European Union)

Source: Own compilation on the basis of Knud Erik Jorgensen, Blind Dating: The English school Meets European Integration, BISA Conference 18-20 December 2000, University of Bradford, pp. 7-10

studies also consists in the circumstance that they belong to different categories of theories. The English school is a general theory, whereas European studies can be described as a subsystem in that they concentrate on a specific issue. However, Jorgensen states that from the perspective of European studies, the English school is state-centred and quasi-realist, and its methodological pluralism and philosophical scepticism are of limited attractiveness. It would be more creative to cooperate with comparative studies, governance studies, liberal theories or to use constructivist epistemology. The author poses the question about added value which can be achieved through the cooperation of the two currents¹¹⁶.

Other authors point out that it would be beneficial to undertake a synthesis of the English school, neofunctionalism and constructivism¹¹⁷. These theories potentially constitute the ‘golden triangle’.

Picture 5. The golden triangle: constructivism, the English school, neofunctionalism



Source: Knud Erik Jørgensen, *Blind Dating: The English school Meets European Integration*, BISA Conference 18-20 December 2000, University of Bradford, p. 3

However, we must not treat the theories that constitute the apexes of the triangle in an equal way: the base of the triangle is the English school - neofunctionalism and constructivism is a favourable environment. In this way a constructive theory of European integration could emerge¹¹⁸. There are also views that the English school may become a bridge for bringing all theories of international relations and European studies together.

The significance of the English school

The significance of the English school is not based on producing a particular research method, but in considering many disciplines (history, international law and political philosophy) and also in posing fundamental questions about the possibility of a social order between states and societies, the nature of power, the development of political community, functions of norms and institutions, and the nature of change¹¹⁹. We need to agree with the authors who maintain that the English school constitutes a transition period between the old and the new world. Knud Jørgensen maintains that “the potential of the ES [English school] include first of all an acknowledgement of its identity as a distinct form of knowledge

somewhere between older academic traditions (like History, Sociology etc.) and the other distinct form of knowledge that is called social or, more narrowly, political science”¹²⁰.

Doubtlessly, the English school can count to its credit that through a different interpretation of the historical evolution of international society and through a different perception of political thought it has presented an interpretation of international relations that is alternative to realism. Whereas realists accepted a permanent form of the international system, the authors of the English school pointed out that in the course of history there existed various forms of the international system, that this form changed from independent states to centralised empires, sometimes taking the form of international society¹²¹. Thanks to this observation we find it easier to accept that over the course of history there were many forms of international system, that the existing system of national states is not definitive and that it may be thus subject to change in the future¹²².

The English school is at the same time less English than it might seem. It is altogether European in that it shares common assumptions with authors such as Raymond Aron, Michele Merle or Luigi Bonante¹²³. The fact that international relations were perceived differently by Europeans and Americans was also due to the different geopolitical situation of European states and the United States. This may explain why American scientists are more interested in the politics of power, whereas European authors from the English school concentrate on the moral aspects of the current and future development of the international arena¹²⁴.

There are also voices that challenge the usefulness of the English school for the analysis of European integration. They point out that the institutions distinguished by the School are not proper instruments for the analysis of the European Union. For example the balance of power, considered by Bull to be one of the most important institutions of international society, cannot be now applied in Europe, where the integration mechanisms counteracts the creation of contradictory coalitions that emerged in the interwar period. The process of European integration ensures that there is one European centre, constructed along

the principles of a net rather than a hierarchy. Also the significance of power is different: should we measure it by the economy and military force or by the number of votes in the Council?

In the European Union, diplomacy also has a different meaning. It involves more and more often negotiation processes and the procedures of agreeing on and presenting positions, at the expense of the traditional function of conflict alleviation. International law also requires consideration of the development of European Union law, of its relation to national laws and international law and of the function of the European Court of Justice. There is the need to recognise *acquis communautaire* as an institution of the international society and to define the role of the Charter of Fundamental Rights and the future EU Constitution. The European Union is also an example of the strengthening of an international organisation as an institution of international society to such an extent that the term of pseudo-institution, applied by the creators of the English school, has become inadequate¹²⁵. A qualitative transcending of the formula of international society has, as a result, that the European Union does not lend itself easily to an appropriate assessment by authors hailing from the English school.

Initiatives aimed at the renewal of the English school of international relations are accompanied by an attempt to formulate a new research programme. According to Buzan, the object of research should be the tension between the levels of the international society (global, subregional, regional level), classification of types of the international society (imperial, Westphalian, medieval), war and the balance of power in international society, history of international society, ethics, international law, intervention vs. international society, and the school's self-reflection. The relation of the English school to constructivism needs to be explained here. A question comes to mind whether constructivism - through assuming that the identities and interests of the subjects on the international arena are the result of the social process - does not explain many phenomena on the international arena (including the process of European integration) in a more satisfying way.

In the scope of European integration the suggestions relate to the increase in interest in the European Union as an implemented example of the most developed international society. In the comparative dimension potential questions relate to the development in time of the world society and international society in the European Union, the ways of balancing those societies, especially in particular spheres such as trade and human rights. From the research perspective, it would be interesting to compare the discourse of the international society and the world society in space and to define the differences between the European Union and other international systems, also broken down into particular spheres. Other potential questions relate to benefits drawn by actors from the discourse of the world society and the international society as well as the practices employed in this process, including ways, in which the values of the international society and the world society are employed by particular actors to expand their own understanding of the world inside and outside of the international society of the European Union¹²⁶.

From among the suggested directions for research, it seems especially important to explain the relations between the world society and international society¹²⁷. It is in fact a question of whether the development of world society poses a threat to international society through undermining the national state or whether it strengthens international society, giving it a common normative structure upon which it will continue to develop. This shows the tension between the pluralist and solidarist view of the international society, which is identified with the founders of the school, Hedley Bull and Martin Wight. This tension is difficult to overcome because pluralism, emphasising separateness, leads to realism, whereas solidarism, allowing for integration, goes towards revolutionism¹²⁸. In this situation, maintaining the coherence of the school's paradigm might prove difficult to achieve.

Translated from the Polish by Agnieszka Bolczyńska

Endnotes:

- 1 One of the most eminent representatives of realism is Hans Morgenthau, of neorealism – Kenneth Waltz, of liberal institutionalism – Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye, of the world system theory – Immanuel Wallerstein, of constructivism – Alexander Wendt.
- 2 See especially Ernst Haas: *The Uniting Europe*, Stanford University Press 1958, Karl Deutch et al.: *Political Community and the North Atlantic Area*, Princeton University Press 1957, Andrew Moravcsik: *The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht*, UCL Press, London 1998.
- 3 A special internet site www.ukc.ac.uk/politics/englishschool has been set up, administered by Barry Buzan. Papers, programme texts, research projects and the bibliography of the school's scientific output can be found there. Regular scientific conferences are held under the umbrella of the British International Studies Association (BISA). Permanent working groups have emerged: diplomacy (Paul Sharp, Iver B. Neuman, Geoffrey Wiseman), the English school vs. the European Union (Thomas Diez, Richard Whitman, Ian Manners), history of the international community (Andrea K. Riemer, Yannis A. Stivachtis), law, ethics and foreign policy (Nicolas Wheeler, Andrew Hurrell, Tim Dunne) and the theory of the English school (Charles Jones, Richard Little, John Williams).
- 4 The Committee was initially financed by the American Rockefeller Foundation. It covered the costs of the weekend meetings that were organised three times a year, usually in Peterhouse College, Cambridge. It is interesting that the term 'English school' was used for the first time only in the early 1980s. See Richard E. Jones: *The English School of International Relations: A Case for Closure*, 'Review of International Studies', vol. 7 (1981), No. 1, pp. 1-13.
- 5 Adam Watson: *The British Committee for the Theory of International Politics*, 1998, p. 1. For this text and most articles and papers referred to here see www.ukc.ac.uk/politics/englishschool.
- 6 The chair for international relations was led in the years 1930-1962 by Charles Manning, who has contributed to foreign relations being recognised as an independent scientific discipline in the United Kingdom. Also Martin Bull and Hedley Bull worked at the LSE. For a broader picture, see Hidemi Suganami: *C.A.W. Manning and the Study of International Relations*, 'Review of International Studies', vol. 27, No. 1 (2001) and David Long: *Interdisciplinarity and the English School of International Relations*. Paper presented at the ISA Annual Convention, New Orleans, March 25-27, 2002.
- 7 *Ibid.* See also Barry Buzan: *The English school as a Research Programme*, Paper for the BISA Conference, Manchester, December 1999, published also as *The English School: an unexploited resource in International Relations*, 'Review of International Studies', No. 27 (2001), pp. 471-488; Barry Buzan: *The English school: A Bibliography*, 2000. Tim Dunne presents the history of the English school: *Inventing International Society: A History of the English School*, Macmillan, London 1998. For the English school in Polish literature see Stanisław Bielen: *Geneza i rozwój nauki o stosunkach międzynarodowych w Wielkiej Brytanii*,

- 'Stosunki Międzynarodowe', vol. 4 (1987), pp. 93-114; Józef Kukulka: *Teoria stosunków międzynarodowych*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar, Warsaw 2000, pp. 72-74.
- 8 Especially A.H.L. Heeren: *Manual of the History of the Political System of Europe and its Colonies, from its Formation at the Close of the Fifteenth Century to its Reestablishment upon the Fall of Napoleon*, Oxford D.A. Talboys 1834. See also Edward Keene: *Beyond the Anarchical Society: Grotius, Colonialism and Order in World Politics*, Cambridge University Press 2002, pp. 22-23.
 - 9 See A. Nuri Yurdusev: *Civilisations and International Systems: Toynbee, Wight and Bull*. British International Studies Association, 27th Annual Conference, London School of Economics, December 16-18, 2002.
 - 10 See Charles Jones: *Christian Realism and the Foundations of the English School*. Paper at the 4th Pan-European International Relations Conference, 8-10 September 2001, University of Kent at Canterbury; Sean Molloy: *Bridging Realism and Christianity in the International Thought of Martin Wight*. Paper at 4th Pan-European International Relations Conference, 8-10 September 2001, University of Kent at Canterbury.
 - 11 Hans Morgenthau maintained that "for theoretical purposes international relations are identical with international politics..." and that 'a theory of international politics is but a specific instance of a general theory of politics', Hans Morgenthau: *The Nature and Limits of a Theory of International Relations*, in W.T.R. Fox (ed.): *Theoretical Aspects of International Relations*. University of Notre Dame Press 1959, p. 15. Meanwhile, Martin Wight states that "if the political theory is the tradition of speculation about the state, then international theory may be supposed to be a tradition of speculation about a society of states, or the family of nations, or the international community", Martin Wight: *Why Is There No International Theory?*, in Martin Wight, Herbert Butterfield (eds.), *Diplomatic Investigations*, London: George Allen and Unwin, 1960, p. 30.
 - 12 See especially Hedley Bull: *International Theory: The Case for a Classical Approach*, 'World Politics', vol. 18, No. 3 (April 1966), pp. 361 - 377; Martin Griffiths: *Realism, Idealism and International Politics. A Reinterpretation*. Routledge, London and New York 1992, Chapter 7 (Hedley Bull: *Theory as Tradition*), pp. 130 - 154.
 - 13 In one of his interviews Barry Buzan speaks of his involvement in the English school in the following way: "So by the early 1990s - having worked my way through neo-realism and understood what its shortcomings were - the English School drifted into my focus as something which offered the possibility of explaining things which the frame I was using couldn't explain. I was working with Ole Waever and Richard Little, both of whom had also noticed its potential, and it moved steadily from the periphery to the centre of our intellectual conversations. It seemed to provide a much better answer than that being given by regime theories, or neo-liberal institutionalists, or International Political Economy folk, or whatever. It had that nice connection to the Realist core but yet moved beyond it and to open up lots of other possibilities". See *Big Picture, Interview with Barry Buzan*, 'CDS Bulletin', vol. 8, No. 2, Summer 2001, Centre for the Study of Democracy.
 - 14 Thomas Diez, Richard Whitman: *Analysing European Integration, Reflecting on the English School: Scenarios for an Encounter*, COPRI-Working Paper 21 (2000), p. 3.

- 15 The structural option was represented by C.A.W. Manning: *The Nature of International Society*; A. James, *Sovereign Statehood*; H. Bull : *The Anarchical Society*, part 1 and 2. The functional option was represented by Hedley Bull: *The Anarchical Society*, part 2 and 3; R.J. Vincent: *Non-Intervention and International Order and Human Rights and International Relations*. The historical option was represented by M. Wight: *Systems of States*; H. Bull, A. Watson; *The Expansion of International Society*; Hidemi Suganami: *Alexander Wendt and the English School*, BISA, 12 November 2000, p. 3.
- 16 Claire A. Cutler: *The 'Grotian Tradition' in International Relations...*, *op.cit.*, p. 41. Joao Marques de Almeida maintains that "Grotius's thought is the most important case to show the difference of treatment of past political thinkers between realism and the English school. Contrary to Morgenthau's assessment of the Dutch thinker as an idealist, Wight and Bull considered him to be the founding father of the rationalist tradition of international theory" (Joao Marques de Almeida: *Challenging Realism by Returning to History: The British Committee's Contribution to IR Forty Years On*. Paper presented to BISA Annual Conference, 20-22 December 1999, University of Manchester, p. 12).
- 17 M. Forsyth points out that this way consisted in the rejection of extremes. It suggested to the 'realists' that there appeared and there should appear moral limitations concerning states. To the 'universalists' it said that the political system of states did not need to be badly perceived or rejected. It was a double negation rather than something positive (M. Forsyth: *The Classical Theory of International Relations*, 'Political Studies', vol. 26, No. 3, September 1978, p. 413).
- 18 Martin Wight: *International Theory: the Three Traditions*, Leicester University Press 1991; Claire A. Cutler: *The 'Grotian Tradition' in International Relations*, 'Review of International Studies', vol. 17 (1991), No. 1, pp. 41 - 65.
- 19 Hedley Bull: *The Anarchical Society*, *op. cit.*, p. 24.
- 20 Wight differentiates between two versions of revolutionism: American Kantism and Soviet Marxism. The former corresponds to the world society and the latter - to the world system. In both cases the sovereignty of states is overcome. Kant is a thinker in the current of the world society, whereas Marx' thought is within the current of the world system.
- 21 This tripartite division could be continued. Alexander Wendt distinguishes three cultures that lie at the foundations of the traditions above: Hobbesian culture of enmity, Lockean culture of rivalry and Kantian culture of friendship. On the other hand, James Rosenau lists three levels of analysis: state-centrism, multi-centrism and global-centrism (the correspondence between the international society and multi-centrism is not complete in this case). Meanwhile, Andrew Linklater sees the connection between the particular currents and the various methodological approaches: positivism, hermeneutics and critical theory (the correspondence is not complete in this case, either). See Alexander Wendt: *Social Theory of International Politics*, Cambridge University Press 1999; James N. Rosenau: *Turbulence in World Politics. A Theory of Change and Continuity*. Princeton University Press, New Jersey 1990; Andrew Linklater: *Beyond Realism and Marxism: Critical Theory and International Relations*, Macmillan, London 1990.

- 22 Compilation on the basis of: Martin Wight: *International Theory: the Three Traditions* (ed. Gabriele Wight, Brian Porter, Leicester University Press, 1991); Barry Buzan: *The English School as a Research Programme*, *op. cit.*, p. 5; Richard Little: *International Relations and Large-Scale Historical Change*, in A.J.R. Groom, Margot Light: *Contemporary International Relations: A Guide to Theory*. Pinter, London 1994, pp. 15-16; Richard Little: *The English School's Contribution to the Study of International Relations...*, *op. cit.*
- 23 Hidemi Suganami: *Alexander Wendt and the English School...*, *op. cit.*, p. 2.
- 24 Richard Little: *The English School's Contribution to the Study of International Relations...*, *op. cit.* p. 3. See also Martin Griffiths: *Realism, Idealism and International Politics...*, *op. cit.*, p. 160.
- 25 Martin Wight: *International Theory: the Three Traditions...*, *op. cit.*, p. 262.
- 26 Martin Griffiths: *Realism, Idealism and International Politics. A Reinterpretation*. Routledge, London and New York 1992, p. 142. Martin Wight wrote that he found all three ways present in his thinking (Martin Wight: *An anatomy of international thought*, 'Review of International Studies', vol. 13, No. 3, July 1987, p. 227).
- 27 Richard Little: *The English School's Contribution to the Study of International Relations...*, *op. cit.*, p. 2.
- 28 Andrew Hurrell: *International Society and the study of regimes: a reflective approach*, in: Volker Rottberger (ed.): *Regime Theory and International Relations*, Oxford University Press 1993.
- 29 Hedley Bull: *Society and Anarchy in International Relations*, in Der Derian (ed.): *International Theory: Critical Investigations*. Macmillan, London 1995, p. 75.
- 30 Martin Wight: *Western Values in International Relations*, in: Herbert Butterfield, Martin Wight (ed.), *Diplomatic Investigations*. Allen and Unwin, London 1966, p. 106.
- 31 This theory adopts the approach of the French Annals school that historical analysis should not be limited to superficial events but also take into account processes and structures existing for a longer period of time. It takes from Marxism that the means of production determines political and economic relations. According to Wallerstein, around 1500 the world economy emerges that functions thanks to the process of interception by the centre of surplus produced at the periphery. The role of the system stabiliser is played by half-peripheries. The characteristic feature of the world economy that makes it different from an empire is the lack of an integrated political centre since many states have sufficient power to retain independence. See especially Immanuel Wallerstein: *The Modern World System*, vol. 1, Academic Press, New York 1974.
- 32 Barry Buzan, Richard Little: *International Systems in World History. Remaking the Study of International Relations*. Oxford University Press 2000, p. 3; see also Barry Buzan, Richard Little: *Why International Relations Have Failed as an Intellectual Project and What to Do About It*, 'Millennium', vol. 30, No. 1 (2001).
- 33 Barry Buzan, Richard Little: *International Systems in World History*, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-9. The authors undertake a review of international systems from the perspective of the whole world history, not limiting oneself to the post-Westphalian period. It gives them the opportunity of comparing different systems occurring in history, starting from the

- Sumerian system of city-states 3500 B.C., through ancient Greece, the Roman empire, the Middle Ages and modernity. The authors prove in this way that the international system can take many forms.
- 34 It is also illuminating to consider the meaning of the term 'international', which was used for the first time by Jeremy Bentham to distinguish internal law and international law. The latter regulated relations between nations, i.e. states as these concepts were synonyms at that time. International relations were then relations between states.
- 35 Martin Wight distinguishes the international system of sovereign states from the suzerain system where one state dominates another. An example of such a system can be the dominance of the communist system, dominated by the Soviet Union. Martin Wight: *Systems of States*, Leicester University Press 1977, Chapter 1.
- 36 Hedley Bull, Adam Watson (ed.), *The Expansion of International Society*, Oxford University Press 1984, p. 1. Meanwhile, according to the classical definition by Hedley Bull "a *society of states* (or international society) exists when a group of states, conscious of certain common interests and values, form a society in the sense that they conceive themselves to be bound by a common set of rules in their relations with one another and share in the working of common institutions" (Hedley Bull: *The Anarchical Society...*, *op. cit.*, p. 13).
- 37 Stephen D. Krasner: *Compromising Westphalia*, 'International Security', vol. 20 (1995), No. 3, pp. 115-151.
- 38 Martin Wight: *Western Values in International Relations*, in *Diplomatic Investigations*, *op. cit.*, p. 95.
- 39 In English there are two terms: world society and world community. As a rule, the word 'community' refers to a greater extent to the notion of common interests and common values. It is also related to the Christian current within the English school. See Chris Brown: *International Political Theory and the Idea of World Community*, in: Ken Booth, Steve Smith (ed.): *International Relations Theory Today*. Cambridge 1995.
- 40 Joao Marques de Almeida: *Challenging Realism by Returning to History...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-7.
- 41 Richard Little: *The English School's Contribution to the Study of International Relations*, 1999; Joao Marques de Almeida: *What Republicans Tell Us about International Society*. BISA Annual Conference, 18-20 December 2000, Bradford University.
- 42 The term 'world system' in this case has a different meaning than in Immanuel Wallerstein's writing and among the supporters of the world system theory. The form of the world system can be either a world empire when the political and economic sphere are in harmony or a world economy when there is a discrepancy between these two spheres. See especially Immanuel Wallerstein: *The Modern World System*. Academic Press, New York, 1976.
- 43 Michael Doyle: *Empires*. Cornell University Press, Ithaca 1986, p. 19. For the different meanings of the concept of 'empire' see a broader discussion by Paweł Ziółek: *Idea Imperium*, PWN, Warsaw 1997, pp. 14-15. At the same time it is worth pointing out that within the English school the term 'empire' exists as one of five categories of internal relations (independence, hegemony, suzerainty, dominion and finally empire). The international system is not stable and it evolves in history through these categories in

- accordance with the movement of the pendulum. See Adam Watson, *The Evolution of International Society*. Routledge, London 1992, pp. 13-18.
- 44 Montesquieu identifies four attempts at creating a universal monarchy or an empire over the centuries: by Charlemagne in the eighth and the ninth century, by popes in the later period, by Charles V in the sixteenth century and by Louis XIV at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth century. Montesquieu and, among other persons, David Hume, were opposed to this view and presented a new suggestion instead: that of creating an international *respublica*. The arguments against universal monarchy went as follows: firstly, it is a form of empire, which will never have a political mandate; secondly, if as a result there is peace, it will happen at the expense of political freedoms, which is morally unacceptable; thirdly, any action undertaken by one state to create a world empire is an aggression against other states; fourthly, all states have the right to combine their forces in a just defensive war against a potential tyrant. Joao Marques de Almeida: *What Republicans Tell Us about International Society*, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-13.
- 45 Hedley Bull: *The Anarchical Society: A study of Order in World Politics*. New York 1977, p. 55.
- 46 Hedley Bull: *The Anarchical Society...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-68. In a different place the author uses the terms: 'the state of war', 'the international society' and 'transnational solidarity' (p. 50).
- 47 Erol Hofmans: *Hedley Bull and the Sociology in International Relations Theory; International Society Revisited*. University of Kent at Canterbury, June 2002.
- 48 Hedley Bull, *The Anarchical Society...*, *op. cit.*, p. 74.
- 49 See Hedley Bull: *The Anarchical Society...*, *op. cit.*, p. 14. Andrew Hurrell: *Hedley Bull and the Diplomacy*. Paper for Panel on 'English School and Diplomacy', ISA, March 2002, pp. 5-6; see also Paul Sharp: *The English School, Herbert Butterfield, and Diplomacy*. ISA, March 2002; Iver B. Neuman: *The English School and the Diplomacy: Scholarly Promise Unfulfilled*. Paper presented to the Fourth ECPR IR Standing Group Conference, Canterbury, 14-16 September 2001.
- 50 Hedley Bull: *The Anarchical Society...*, *op. cit.*, p. 107.
- 51 L. Oppenheim: *International Law*. Longmans, London 1905, vol. 1, p. 79, quote after Hedley Bull: *The Anarchical Society...*, *op. cit.*, p. 109.
- 52 K.J. Holsti: *The Institutions of International Politics: Continuity, Change, and Transformation*. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of International Studies Association, New Orleans, March 2002.
- 53 Barry Buzan: *The Primary Institutions of International Society*. BISA Conference, London, December 2002, p. 18.
- 54 The concept of an institution then needs to be understood more broadly than 'international organisation'. Robert Keohane defines institutions as "persistent and connected sets of rules, formal and informal, that prescribe behavioural roles, constrain activity, and shape expectations". Robert Keohane: *Multilateralism: An Agenda for Research*. 'International Journal', No. 45 (Autumn 1990), p.732.
- 55 Ferdinand Tonnies: *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*, Lepizig 1887. See Yannis A. Stivachtis:

- The Enlargement of International Society: Anarchy more than Culture*, Paper at the 4th Pan-European International Relations Conference, Kent, 8-10 September 2001, p. 3.
- 56 Barry Buzan: *From International System to International Society: Structural Realism and Regime Theory Meet the English School*. 'International Organisation', vol. 47 (1993), No. 3, pp. 227-252; Yannis A. Stivachtis: *The Enlargement of International Society: Anarchy more than Culture*, *op. cit.*
- 57 Edwarde Keene: *The dualistic Grotian conception of international society*. BISA Annual Conference, 18-20 December 2000, Bradford University, p. 1.
- 58 Martin Wight: *Why Is There No International Theory?*, in *Diplomatic Investigations*, *op. cit.*, p. 29.
- 59 We can also talk of a tripartite division. For example, Hurrell isolates the minimalist, the pluralist and the solidarist concept of the international society. See Andrew Hurrell: *Society and Anarchy in the 1990s*, in: B.A. Robertson (ed.): *International Society and the Development of International Relations Theory*. Pinter, London 1998, pp. 17-42.
- 60 For the international society perceived as a balance between universalism and particularism see Martin Hall, Christer Jönsson: *The Reproduction of International Society: A View from Comparative History*, Paper at 4th Pan-European International Relations Conference, 8-10 September 2001, University of Kent at Canterbury.
- 61 L. Oppenheim: *International Law*. Longmans, London 1905, vol. 1, Chapter 1, quote after: Hedley Bull: *The Anarchical Society...*, *op. cit.*, p. 145
- 62 Joao Marques de Almeida: *What Republicans Tell Us about International Society...*, *op. cit.*, p. 21.
- 63 Hedley Bull: *The Grotian Conception of International Society* in: Herbert Butterfield, Martin Wight (ed.), *Diplomatic Investigations*, Allen and Unwin, London 1966.
- 64 Martin Wight: *Power politics...*, *op. cit.*, p. 92.
- 65 Barry Buzan: *Rethinking the Solidarist-Pluralist Debate in English School Theory*. ISA Panel 'Solidarity in Anarchy: Advancing the new English School Agenda', New Orleans, March 2002, p. 8.
- 66 For the distinction between communitarianism and cosmopolitanism see Chris Brown: *International Relations Theory: New Normative Approaches*. Harvester Wheatsheaf 1992.
- 67 The supporters of this stand are, among other persons, John Vincent: *Non-Intervention and International Order*. Princeton University Press 1974 and Robert H. Jackson: *Quasi-States: Sovereignty, International Relations and the Third World*. Cambridge University Press 1990. The supporters of illegality of humanitarian intervention emphasise the significance of Article 2 (4) of the United Nations Charter that stipulates that all members refrain from using force against the territorial unity or independence of any state. For the relation between humanitarian intervention and sovereignty see Hidemi Suganami: *Sovereignty, intervention and the English School*. Paper prepared for the 4th Pan-European Conference, Canterbury, 8-10 September 2001.
- 68 Beyond that, pluralists and realists perceive the national interest, the category of the balance of power and the role of super powers in a different way. See Joao Marques de Almeida: *Challenging Realism by Returning to History: The British Committee's Contribution*

- to *IR Forty Years On*. Paper presented to BISA Annual Conference, 20-22 December 1999, University of Manchester, pp. 17-22.
- 69 See Hersch Lauterpacht: *The Grotian Tradition in International Law*. 'British Yearbook of International Law', 1949, pp. 1-53; Joao Marques de Almeida: *Challenging Realism by Returning to History...*, *op. cit.*, p. 16.
- 70 C. Wilfred Jenks: *Law, Freedom and Welfare*. Stevens & Son, London 1963, Chapter 5, quote after: Hedley Bull: *The Anarchical Society...*, *op. cit.*, p. 149.
- 71 Hedley Bull: *The Anarchical Society...*, *op. cit.*, p. 148. The author quotes Richard A. Falk who maintains that "there is discernible a trend from consent to consensus as the basis of international legal obligations' where consensus means 'an overwhelming majority, a convergence of international opinion, a predominance, to something more than a simple majority but something less than unanimity or universality". Richard A. Falk: *The Status of Law in International Society*. Princeton University Press 1970, p. 177, quote after *Anarchical Society...*, *op. cit.*, p. 148.
- 72 John Vincent: *Human Rights and International relations*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1986, p. 13. See also Christian Reus-Smit: *Human Rights and the social construction of sovereignty*, 'Review of International Studies', vol. 27 (2001), pp. 519-538.
- 73 See Ana Gonzales-Palaez: *Basic Rights in International Society*. 'CSD Bulletin', vol. 8, No. 2 (Summer 2001), p. 13.
- 74 Conventions accepted in the field of human rights play an important role in the justification of the solidarist approach. The relevant conventions are: the Universal Charter of Human Rights of 1948, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights of 1966, and the European Convention of Human Rights of 1950.
- 75 Andrew Hurrell: *Keeping history, law and political philosophy firmly within the English School*. 'Review of International Studies', vol. 27 (2001), p. 491.
- 76 Martin Wight: *Power politics...*, *op. cit.*; Joao Marques de Almeida: *What Republicans Tell Us about International Society...*, *op. cit.*, p. 15; Janine Kissolewski: *Norms in international society. English School meets constructivists*. BISA, Bradford, 18-20 December 2000, pp. 4-5.
- 77 Barry Buzan: *The English School as a Research Programme...*, *op. cit.*, p.6. See also Richard Little: *International System, International Society and World Society. A Re-evaluation of the English School*, in: B.A. Robertson (ed.): *International Society and the Development of International Relations Theory*. Pinter, London 1998, p. 15.
- 78 The supporters of legality of humanitarian intervention refer to the decisions of the United Nations Charter concerning the restoration of faith in human rights (preamble), supporting and promoting human rights and fundamental freedoms regardless of race, sex, language or confession (Art. 1.3, Art. 55 c) and the obligation to cooperate with the United Nations for the advancement of those goals (Art. 56). Within the English school the solidarist position towards humanitarian intervention is represented mainly by Nicholas J. Wheeler: *Saving Strangers. Humanitarian Intervention in International Society*. Oxford University Press 2000.
- 79 For the relation of the United States to the ICC see Jason Ralph: *Good International*

- Citizenship? An English School analysis of American policy towards the International Criminal Court.* BISA Annual Conference, London School of Economics, 16-18 December 2002.
- 80 For the distinction between collective security and collective defence see Jacek Czuputowicz: *System czy nieład? Bezpieczeństwo europejskie u progu XXI wieku.* Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Warsaw 1998, pp. 61-76.
- 81 Hedley Bull: *The Anarchical Society...*, *op. cit.*, p. 152.
- 82 John Williams: *Pluralism in a Solidarist Age (or Why Hedley Bull does pluralism no favours).* Paper for Panel 'The Nature of International Society', BISA 27th Conference, LSE, December 2002, p. 3. See also John Williams: *New spaces, new places: solidarism, pluralism and territoriality.* Paper for panel 'Solidarity in Anarchy: Advancing the New English School Agenda' at the ISA Annual Conference, 23-27 March 2002, New Orleans, p. 4.
- 83 Immanuel Kant: *Perpetual Peace*, in: Immanuel Kant, *On History*, Lewis White Beck, ed. And trans., Indianapolis: Bobs-Merrill, 1963. This thought is well illustrated by the following fragment: "For if fortune directs that a powerful and enlightened people can make itself a republic, which by its nature must be inclined to perpetual peace, this gives a fulcrum to the federation with other states so that they may adhere to it and thus secure freedom under the idea of the law of nations. By more and more such associations, the federation may be gradually extended". *Ibid.*
Because when it so fortunately happens that some mighty and educated nation constitutes itself as a republic (which, by the virtue of its nature, tends to eternal peace), it will become the centre of a federal association, around which other states will assemble, to ensure the states, in accordance with the law of nations, the state of freedom and to expand this federation through further connections of this kind' (p. 63).
- 84 Barry Buzan: *Rethinking the Solidarist-Pluralist Debate in the English School Theory.* ISA Panel 'Solidarity in Anarchy: Advancing the new English School Agenda', New Orleans, March 2002, p. 2
- 85 *Ibid.*, p. 6.
- 86 Michael W. Doyle emphasises this aspect: *Liberalism and World Politics Revisited*, in: Charles W. Kegley Jr. (ed.): *Controversies in International Relations Theory. Realism and the Neoliberal Challenge.* St. Martin's Press, New York 1995, pp. 95-103; Michael W. Doyle: *Ways of War and Peace. Realism, Liberalism, Socialism.* W.W. Norton & Company, New York, London 1997, Chapter 8, Internationalism: Kant, pp. 251-300.
- 87 These thoughts are reflected for example in the following fragment: "For states in their relations to each other, there can not be any reasonable way out of the lawless condition which entails only war except that they, like individual men, should give up their savage (lawless) freedom, adjust themselves to the constrain of public law, and thus establish a continuously growing state consisting of various nations (*civitas gentium*), which will ultimately include all the nations of the world". Immanuel Kant: *Perpetual Peace*, *op. cit.* Meanwhile, Mark W. Zacher and Richard A. Matthew maintain that "whether one reads in Kant a future world of cooperative states or some form of world government, it is clear that, like earlier liberals, he accepted strong but gradually diminishing, role for power relations and the use of force". (Mark W. Zacher and Richard A. Matthew: *Liberal*

- International Theory: Common Threads, Divergent Strands*, in: Charles W. Kegley Jr. (ed.): *Controversies in International Relations Theory. Realism and the Neoliberal Challenge*. St. Martin's Press, New York 1995, p. 113).
- 88 Hedley Bull: *The Anarchical Society...*, *op. cit.*, p. 26. The author notices ambiguity in this respect in Kant's thought. The universalist stand was presented by Kant in *The idea of Universal History from a Cosmopolitical Point of View* (1784), whereas the position accepting the international order, whose substitution (Bull's terminology) aim is the association of republican states, in *Perpetual Peace* (1795).
- 89 Ana Gonzalez-Pelaez takes a similar view when she maintains that "though solidarism, unlike cosmopolitanism, does not want to transcend 'organised particularity' (that is, states), it does require moral responsibility from states; it assigns to states the need to act 'as guardians of basic rights everywhere'". Ana Gonzalez-Pelaez: *Basic Rights in International Society*. 'CSD Bulletin', vol. 8, No. 2 (Summer 2001), p. 13.
- 90 Christian Reus-Smit: *Imagining society: constructivism and the English School*. 'British Journal of Politics and International Relations', vol. 4, No. 3 (October 2002), p. 488. The term 'rationalist theories' is used here in the meaning of a common ground for realism, liberalism and institutionalism, in opposition to reflectivism and constructivism and the differentiating factor here is exogeneity/ endogeneity of the identities and interests of actors. See Ole Waever: *Figures of International Thought: introducing persons instead of paradigms*, in: Iver B. Neumann, Ule Waever (ed.): *The Future of International Relations*. Routledge, London 1997, p. 23. See also K.L. Holsti: *America Meets the 'English School': State Interests in International Society*. 'Mershon International Studies Review', vol. 41 (1997), pp. 275-280; Nicolas Onuf: *The Construction of International Society*. 'European Journal of International Law', vol. 5, No. 1.
- 91 Janine Kisssolewski: *Norms in international society. English School meets constructivists*. BISA, Bradford, 18-20 December 2000, p. 7.
- 92 See Ernst B. Haas: *Does Constructivism Subsume Neofunctionalism?*, in: Thomas Christiansen, Knud Eric Jørgensen, Antje Wiener: *The Social Construction of Europe*, SAGE Publications, London 2001, pp. 26-29. Meanwhile, Christian Reus-Smit describes the variant of constructivism as represented by Alexander Wendt as positivist, systemic, state-centric, structuralist and more continuity- than change-oriented. However, many constructivists reject positivism. The author sees the inspiration by sociological institutionalism (Meyer and the Stanford school), by the theory of communicative action (Habermas) and by the theory of knowledge and power (Foucauld). See Christian Reus-Smit: *Imagining society: constructivism and the English School*. *op. cit.*, pp. 487-509. For the relation between constructivism, the English school and the critical theory see Richard Shapcott: *Practical reasoning: Constructivism, Critical Theory and the English School*. Paper for the 4th Pan-European Conference, University of Kent, Canterbury, 8-10 September 2001.
- 93 See especially Timothy Dunne: *The Social Construction of International Society*. 'European Journal of International Relations', vol. 1 (1995), No. 3, pp. 367-389; Timothy Dunne: *Inventing International Society: A history of English School*, Macmillan, London 1998.

- 94 Alexander Wendt: *Social Theory of International Relations*. Cambridge University Press 1999, p. 31.
- 95 Timothy Dunne: *International Society: Theoretical Promises Fulfilled?* 'Cooperation and Conflict', vol. 30, No. 2 (1995), pp. 125-154.
- 96 Barry Buzan: *The English School as a Research Programme...*, *op. cit.*, p. 6.
- 97 See Christian Reus-Smit: *Imagining society: constructivism and the English School...*, *op. cit.* pp. 537-538; Thomas Risse, Stephen C. Ropp, Kathryn Sikkink (ed.): *The Power of Human Rights: International Norms and Domestic Change*. Cambridge University Press 1999.
- 98 Hidemi Suganami: *Alexander Wendt and the English School...*, *op. cit.*
- 99 Ole Wæver: *American Constructivism and the English School*, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-13.
- 100 Knud Erik Jørgensen: *Blind Dating: The English School meets European Integration...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-5.
- 101 Christian Reus-Smit: *Imagining society...*, *op. cit.*, p. 499. Meanwhile, John Williams maintains that "the efforts towards reformulation the English School methodology in a explicitly constructivist way contribute in vital ways to the solidarist ethical agenda" (John Williams: *New spaces, new places: solidarism, pluralism and territoriality*. Paper for panel 'Solidarity in Anarchy: Advancing the New English School Agenda' at the ISA Annual Conference, 23-27 March 2002, New Orleans, p. 4).
- 102 Hedley Bull: *The Anarchical Society...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 254, 264-276; Hidemi Suganami: *Alexander Wendt and the English School...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-12.
- 103 See Martin Griffiths: Hedley Bull: *Theory as Tradition*, in: *Realism, Idealism and International Politics...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 130-154.
- 104 Thomas Diez, Richard Whitman: *Analysing European Integration, Reflecting on the English School: Scenarios for an Encounter...*, *op. cit.*, p. 6. For the supporters of the English school the case of the European Union does not go beyond different possibilities of development of the international system from the point of view of centralisation. See Martin Wight: *Power politics...*, *op. cit.*
- 105 The author refers here to the concept of civilian power by François Duchêne. See Hedley Bull: *Civilian power Europe: a contradiction in terms*. 'Journal of Common Market Studies', vol. 21, No. 1 (1982), pp. 149-170. François Duchêne: *The European Community and the uncertainties of interdependence*, in: M. Kohnstamm, W. Hager (ed.): *A Nation Writ Large? Foreign Policy Problems before the European Community*. Macmillan, Basingstoke 1973, pp. 1-21.
- 106 Ian Manners: *Normative power Europe: the European Union between international and world society*. 'Journal of Common Market Studies', vol. 40, No. 3 (2002). See also Thomas Diez, Richard Whitman: *Comparing Regional International Societies: The Case of Europe*. Paper presented at the ISA Annual Convention, New Orleans, March 2002.
- 107 Thomas Diez, Richard Whitman: *Analysing European Integration, Reflecting on the English School: Scenarios for an Encounter*; 'Journal of Common Market Studies', vol. 40, No. 1 (2002), p. 54.
- 108 For the works of the EU Convention see *Polska w Europie* 4 (42) 2002, Danuta Hübner: "W sprawie przyszłości Unii i Europejczyków", pp. 83-92; Leszek Jesień: "Europejskie

- wyzwania dla Polski”, pp. 93-114; “Konwent - reformy UE - interesy Polski” (discussion notes), pp. 115 - 140.
- 109 Thomas Diez, Richard Whitman: *Analysing European Integration, Reflecting on the English School...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-59.
- 110 Barry Buzan: *Rethinking the Solidarist-Pluralist Debate in English School Theory*. ISA Panel ‘Solidarity in Anarchy: Advancing the new English School Agenda’, New Orleans, March 2002, p. 18. The author lists after Halliday the following factors contributing to homogenisation: normativism (democratic peace), capitalism, scientific development and the spread of technology. See Fred Halliday: *International Society as Homogeneity: Burke, Marx, Fukuyama*. ‘Millennium’, vol. 21, No. 3 (1992), pp. 435 - 61.
- 111 See a broader discussion by Jacek Czaputowicz: *Systemowe implikacje integracji europejskiej - znaczenie dla Polski*, in: Jacek Czaputowicz (ed.): *Integracja europejska. Implikacje dla Polski*. Wydawnictwo WAM, Kraków 1999, pp. 31-38.
- 112 William Wallace: *Less than a Federation, More than a Regime: The Community as a Political System*, in: H. Wallace, W. Wallace, C. Webb (ed.): *Policy-Making in the European Community*. Chichester Wiley 1983, p. 406.
- 113 The main periodical devoted to research on European integration, ‘Journal of Common Market Studies’ was founded in 1962, which is three years after the British Committee on the Theory of International Relations. It did not publish material on the English school and published the writings of authors associated with the school only rarely.
- 114 See Ernst B. Haas: *The Uniting Europe. Political, Social and Economic Forces 1950-1957*. London Stanford 1958, p. 16.
- 115 Knud Erik Jørgensen: *Blind Dating: The English School Meets European Integration*. BISA Conference 18-20 December 2000, University of Bradford, pp. 7-10.
- 116 *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.
- 117 *Ibid.*, p. 15. In the context of European integration for the division of theories see Mark A. Pollack: *International Relations Theory and the European Integration*. Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, EUI Working Papers RSC No. 2000/55; Thomas Christiansen, Knud Eric Jørgensen, Antje Wiener: *The Social Construction of Europe*. SAGE Publications, London, pp. 8-9.
- 118 Knud Erik Jørgensen: *Blind Dating: The English School meets European Integration...*, *op. cit.*
- 119 See Andrew Hurrell: *Keeping history, law and political philosophy firmly within the English School*, ‘Review of International Studies’, vol. 27 (2001), pp. 489-494. The author maintains that the English school provides the adequate framework for the intellectual dialogue between law and politics.
- 120 Knud Erik Jørgensen: *Blind Dating: The English School meets European Integration...*, *op. cit.*, p. 15.
- 121 Joao Marques de Almeida: *Challenging Realism by Returning to History...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-22; Adam Watson: *The evolution of International Society*. Routledge, London 1992, pp. 13-18.
- 122 Thomas Diez, Richard Whitman: *Analysing European Integration, Reflecting on the English School: Scenarios for an Encounter...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-3.
- 123 Richard Little: *The English School’s Contribution to the Study of International Relations...*, *op.*

- cit., p. 17.
- 124 The differences between these two approaches have been presented clearly in Robert Kagan: *Of Paradise and Power. America and Europe in the New World Order*. Alfred A. Knopf, New York 2003.
- 125 Knud Erik Jørgensen: *Blind Dating: The English School Meets European Integration...*, op. cit., p. 13.
- 126 Thomas Diez, Richard Whitman: *Analysing European Integration, Reflecting on the English School: Scenarios for an Encounter...*, op. cit., p. 61.
- 127 Barry Buzan: *The English school as a Research Programme...*, op. cit., pp. 12-19.
- 128 Barry Buzan: *From International System to International Society: Structural Realism and Regime Theory Meet the English School*. 'International Organisation', vol. 47 (1993), No. 3, pp. 227-252.

