

Contents

Acknowledgements	xi
Introduction	1
The Myth of 1648	1
The Core Theoretical Argument	7
Structure of the Argument	8
1 Origins and Evolution of the Modern States-System: The Debate in International Relations Theory	13
1 Introduction: From Structure to History	13
2 Structural Neorealism	14
Kenneth Waltz: History as Perennial Structure	14
3 Historicizing Realism	16
1 Robert Gilpin: Systems Change as Rational Choice	16
2 Stephen Krasner: Undermining "Westphalia, Reinstating Anarchy	26
4 Historicizing Constructivism	27
John Gerard Ruggie: Property Rights, Epistemes, Contingency	28
5 Neo-Evolutionary Historical Sociology	32
Hendrik Spruyt: Social Coalitions, Institutional Variations, and Neo-Evolutionary Selection	32
6 Neo-Marxist IR Theory	39
Justin Rosenberg: Modernity as 'Structural Discontinuity' and Modernity as Process	39

7 Conclusion: Towards a New Theory of the Making of Modern International Relations	42
2 A Theory of Geopolitical Relations in the European Middle Ages	46
1 Introduction	46
2 The Relation between the Economic and the Political in Feudal Society	49
1 Weber versus Marx: Type of Domination versus Extra-Economic Compulsion	49
2 From the Logic of Production to the Logic of Exploitation	53
3 The Structure—Agent Problem in Feudal Terms	57
1 Lordship as Conditional Property (Structure)	57
2 Contradictory Strategies of Reproduction (Agency)	59
3 A 'Culture of War' based upon Political Accumulation	61
4 A Phenomenology of Medieval 'International' Institutions	61
1 The Parcellized Sovereignty of the 'Medieval State'	61
2 The Political Economy of Medieval Territory and Frontiers	65
3 War and Peace: Medieval Feuding as Legal Redress	67
5 Feudal 'International Systems': Beyond Anarchy and Hierarchy	69
1 Banal, Domestic, and Landlordship	70
2 Conditional Hierarchy, Personalized Anarchy, Territorial Anarchy	70
6 Conclusion: Geopolitical Systems as Social Systems	73
3 The Medieval Making of a Multi-Actor Europe	76
1 Introduction: From Hierarchy to Anarchy	76
2 The Carolingian Empire	80
1 The Patrimonial Nature of the Frankish State	80
2 Frankish Dual Social Property Relations	81
3 Frankish 'Political Accumulation'	83

3 Explaining the Transition from Imperial Hierarchy to Feudal Anarchy	84
1 The Demise of the Carolingian Empire	84
2 The 'Feudal Revolution' of the Year 1000 and the Rise of the Banal Regime	86
4 A New Mode of Exploitation	88
1 Predatory Lordship and the Rise of Serfdom	88
2 Military Innovations and the Origins of the Knightly Class	89
3 Changes in Noble Proprietary Consciousness and the Making of Noble Excess Cadets	90
4 Conquest of Nature — Conquest of People	91
5 Post-Crisis Feudal Expansion as Geopolitical Accumulation (Eleventh to Fourteenth Centuries)	95
Excursus — Demographic Growth and the Urban Revival	95
1 Patterns of Expansion: Socially Combined and Geographically Uneven Development	97
2 The Spanish <i>Reconquista</i>	99
3 The German <i>Ostsiedlung</i>	101
4 The Papal Revolution and the Crusades	102
5 The Norman Conquest and Unitary English State Formation	104
6 France: from the Capetian 'Domain State' to Royal Consolidation	107
6 Conclusion: The Medieval Making of a Multi-Actor Europe	109
4 Transitions and Non-Transitions to Modernity:	
A Critique of Rival Paradigms	116
1 Introduction: The Rise of the West?	116
2 The Geopolitical Competition Model	117
1 The Military Logic of State Formation	118
Excursus — Michael Mann: Theoretical Pluralism, Historical Contingencies	121
2 Modernity? Which Modernity? A Critique of the Geopolitical Competition Model	122
3 The Demographic Model	127

4 The Commercialization Model	129
1 <i>Le Monde Braudelien: Le Capitalisme Depuis Toujours</i>	129
Excursus — Giovanni Arrighi: Westphalia Under Dutch Hegemony	133
2 A Critique of the Commercialization Model	137
5 Capitalism, the Modern State, and the Modern States-System: Solutions and Problems	139
1 Capitalism as a Relation of Production	139
2 Capitalism and the Modern State	142
3 Capitalism and the Modern States-System	144
5 <i>L'État, c'est moi!</i>: The Logic of Absolutist State Formation	151
1 Introduction: Idealizing Absolutism	151
2 Debating Absolutism: Transition or Non-Transition?	153
1 The Traditional State-Centred Interpretation: The State as Rational Actor	153
2 The Revisionist Society-Centred Critique	155
3 The Orthodox Marxist Interpretation: The Equilibrist—Transitional Paradigm	157
Excursus - Perry Anderson's Subterranean Transition to Capitalism	158
4 Political Marxists and the Critique of the 'Bourgeois Paradigm'	165
3 The Development and Nature of French Absolutism	167
1 The Transition from Feudalism to Absolutism	168
2 Absolutist Sovereignty as Proprietary Kingship	171
3 Office Venality as Alienation of State Property	173
4 Political Institutions in Early Modern France	177
5 <i>Legibus Solutus?</i>	179
6 The Costs and Consequences of War	181
7 The Military Constitution of the Old Regime	184
4 Conclusion: The Modernizing Limits of Absolutism	189
6 The Early Modern International Political Economy: Mercantilism and Maritime Empire-Building	197
1 Introduction: The 'Long Sixteenth Century' and Mercantilism	197

2 Theoretical Premises: Mercantilism as Commercial Capitalism	198
3 The Class Character of Sea-Borne Trade and its Geopolitical Implications	201
4 Did Mercantilism Promote Capitalism?	205
5 Closed Trading States: Uniform Economic Territories?	209
6 Conclusion: The 'Wealth of the State' versus the 'Wealth of the Nation'	210
7 Demystifying the Westphalian States-System	215
1 Introduction: Theorizing the Constitution, Operation, and Transformation of Geopolitical Systems	215
2 Structure and Agency in the Westphalian Order	218
1 Structure: the Absolutist State, Property Relations, and Economic Non-Development	219
2 Agency: Political and Geopolitical Strategies of Accumulation	220
3 Westphalian Geopolitical Relations: Foreign Policy as Dynastic Family Business	222
1 <i>Monarchia Universalis</i> : Parity or Ranking?	223
2 'States' Marrying 'States': Dynastic Unions and Wars of Succession	225
3 Dynastic Rules of Succession as Public International Law	227
4 Circulating Territories, Circulating Princes	230
5 Dynastic Predatory Equilibrium and the Balance of Power	233
1 Dynastic Equilibrium qua Territorial Compensations	233
2 The Case of the Polish Partitions: Balancing or Compensatory Equilibrium?	236
6 Demystifying the Peace of Westphalia	238
1 Proprietary Dynasticism versus Sovereignty	238
2 Restoration versus Modernity	239

3 Dynastic Collective Security System versus the Balance of Power	243
7 Conclusion: The End of 1648	245
8 Towards the Modern States-System: International Relations from Absolutism to Capitalism	249
1 Introduction: From 'Structural Discontinuity' to a 'Mixed-Case' Scenario	249
2 The Transition from Feudalism to Capitalism in England	250
3 The Glorious Revolution and Modern Sovereignty	252
4 British Uniqueness: Capitalism, Modern Sovereignty, and Active Balancing	256
5 Geopolitically Combined and Socially Uneven Development	262
Conclusion: The Dialectic of International Relations	271
Bibliography	276
Index	297