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**Daniel H. Deudney: Bounding Power**

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## INTRODUCTION

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### Before Realism and Liberalism

I study power so as to understand the enemy.  
—Stanley Hoffmann<sup>1</sup>

### THE GLOBAL VILLAGE AND THE LIBERAL ASCENT

Globalization is the first, most important fact about the human condition at the threshold of the second millennium. Globalization, the rising levels of interdependence on progressively larger spatial scales, has been the dominant trend in human history during the last five centuries, and it has operated in military, ecological, economic, and cultural dimensions. Over this period, all human political communities, initially isolated or loosely connected, have become more densely and tightly interconnected and subject to various mutual vulnerabilities in a manner previously experienced only on much smaller spatial scales. The creation of this villagelike proximity and density on a global scale has occurred through every means imaginable, from genocidal invasion and enslavement to cooperative exchange and progressive emulation. It has produced massive epidemics, world wars, ecological devastation, and cultural annihilation, as well as large populations of humans more secure, more free, and more prosperous than ever before in history. Looking ahead into the new century, globalization shows every indication of further intensifying as human population burgeons, weapons of mass destruction proliferate, lethal new plagues emerge, ecological destruction accelerates, economies further integrate, and information capacities advance.

In the face of these developments, theorists of international relations and world politics have a decidedly divided posture. On one side, numerous globalist and interdependence theorists have charted these realities for more than a century, and many have pointedly drawn the conclusion that increasingly substantive world governance and government are needed to satisfy basic human interests. On the other side, the still hegemonic tradition of Realist<sup>2</sup> international theory maintains a skeptical stance toward globalist claims about the world and doubts the need or the possibility of establishing robust world governance. Labeling these ambitions utopian or idealistic, Realists emphasize the long historical persistence of the fundamentally anarchic sovereign state system and expect

the future to look much like the past. The Realist view also seems to gain authority from a conceptually rich tradition of theorizing supposedly stretching back to the ancient Greeks and seemingly vindicated repeatedly by the historical record.

The second most important fact about the contemporary human situation is the liberal-democratic ascent, the rise to an historically unprecedented preeminence of the 'free world' composed of the United States of America and its democratic allies. Republics (polities based on political liberty, popular sovereignty, and limited government) have been historically precarious and rare, generally poor, and massively compromised. They now constitute a zone of peace, freedom, and prosperity far greater than any other in history. For most of history republics were confined to small city-states where they were insecure and vulnerable to conquest or internal usurpation, but over the last two centuries they have expanded to continental size through federal union and emerged victorious from the violent total world conflicts of the twentieth century. In contrast, their major despotic and imperial adversaries have failed spectacularly. The American-led 'free world' overcame the reversals of the 1930s and early 1940s, expanded with the reconstruction of Western Europe and parts of East Asia as capitalist, liberal, constitutional, and federal democracies, and has built a dense network of international institutions.<sup>3</sup> This "compound of federations, confederations, and international regimes"<sup>4</sup> now constitutes a political order more like the domestic spheres of earlier republics than the prototypical Realist state system of hierarchies in anarchy.

On the Liberal ascent international theorists also have a decidedly divided posture. Realists tend to view the United States as simply another nation-state and as a particularly successful great power. They tend to dismiss its exceptionalist liberal-democratic ideology as either dangerously naive or disingenuously self-serving.<sup>5</sup> Realists also have difficulty accepting and conceptualizing the Western liberal order as a distinct type of state system. They have little hope for its persistence and expend little effort in thinking about how it might be sustained or augmented. Contemporary Liberal international theory, growing in strength and sophistication along with the expansion of the liberal system, does better, but its treatment is also fragmented, off center, and increasingly in disarray. In contrast to the pessimistic Realist emphasis on historical patterns of recurrence, contemporary Liberalism, particularly American 'neoconservatism,' has tended toward overoptimism, verging on triumphalism and complacency, thus forgetting the arduous circumstances and severe problems faced by early republican polities.<sup>6</sup> International Liberalism's numerous practical agendas of arms control, democracy promotion, international law, human rights, peacekeeping, international organization, and functional problem-solving regimes still labor inappropriately under the

onus of utopianism. These agendas are not well connected to one another or to a larger conceptualization of Liberal and world governance, and the legacies of progressive internationalism are increasingly under assault. Liberals are also increasingly divided about the appropriateness of establishing international restraints on states, and the liberal democracies of America and Europe are increasingly divided about which parts of the liberal-democratic agenda are most important.<sup>7</sup>

The stakes and divisions over intensifying security globalization and the status of broadly liberal political arrangements are particularly acute concerning nuclear weapons. Marking the effective culmination of five centuries of strategic and military globalization, the discovery of nuclear explosives a half century ago created a material context with unprecedented possibilities for large-scale destruction. In the wake of the attacks of 9/11, the increasing credibility of nonstate actors acquiring and using nuclear or other weapons of mass destruction has further raised both the stakes and the intellectual disarray surrounding security globalization and the fate of free polities.

The response of theorists to these destructive possibilities also has been extremely diverse, ranging from the view that the state system is obsolete and must be replaced by effective world government, through the currently dominant middle view that nuclear deterrence has brought about a revolution in interstate relations, to the still influential view that nuclear weapons are not revolutionary in their implications. Within this diverse matrix of theory and policy, Realist views, while themselves varied, have dominated, displacing into increasing marginality early American and liberal views supporting robust international regulation and vigorous arms control.<sup>8</sup> The attacks of 9/11 and the prospects of nonstate nuclear terrorism have brought new urgency to the old question of the relationship between domestic liberty and international order.

## THE ARGUMENT

Given these discrepancies between these two contemporary realities—intensifying globalization (particularly concerning security) and the liberal-democratic ascent—and their treatment in contemporary international theory, the goal of this book is to rethink the basic traditions and concepts of international theory.<sup>9</sup> I do so by offering an alternative reading of Western security theorizing that aims to alter our conception of our theoretical past in ways potentially useful for our present and future needs. I focus on the main line of Western theorizing about the relations among security-from-violence, material contexts, and types of government.<sup>10</sup> This reading recovers and reconstructs a line of thinking centered around republican-

ism and contextual-materialist geopolitics that emerged in the ancient and modern European Enlightenments. This line of theorizing, which I shall refer to interchangeably as *republican security theory* and *security-restraint republicanism*, has been misunderstood and misappropriated in mainstream, and particularly Realist-centered, accounts of international theory. Central ideas of its main successors—Realism and Liberalism—are incomplete fragments of it. While some parts of this line of argument are central to both contemporary Realism and Liberalism, other parts, some of great importance, have been partially lost and marginalized and the connections between them have nearly vanished. Viewing the original formulations of Western structural-materialist security theory in this way reveals a tradition that was doing in the past precisely what we need to be doing in the present and future, namely, grappling with change in material contexts and the extension of republican government on successively larger scales. The net effect of this argument for contemporary international theory is to diminish Realism as a distinct and intelligible tradition, to expand, deepen, and recenter international Liberalism, and to point the way toward a unified structural-material security theory.

In simple terms, I claim that the main axis of intellectual development in Western structural-materialist security theory is composed of two problematiques which seek to understand the interplay between variations and changes in the material context, security-from-violence, and three arrangements of political authority (anarchical, hierarchical, and republican). The overall republican security project has been to achieve security by simultaneously avoiding the extremes of hierarchy and anarchy over successively larger spaces in response to changes in the material context, particularly changes in violence interdependence. The most essential claim of the first problematique is that anarchy is incompatible with security in situations in which there are high levels of violence interdependence, and that such situations vary across both space and time in intelligible patterns shaped by the interaction of geography and technology. A key claim of the second problematique, largely dropped by more recent Realist formulations, is that the extremes of *both* hierarchy and anarchy are intrinsically incompatible with security owing to the absence of restraint. Republican forms, evolving over time to encompass ever-larger spaces, essentially entail the simultaneous negation of both anarchy and hierarchy through the imposition of mutual restraints. As such, the main axis of Western structural-material security theory is about the interplay between restraints—either material contextual or political structural—and security-from-violence. In short, providing security in a world of bounding power, of leaping violence possibilities, requires changes in the scope and types of bounding power, of socially constructed practices and structures of restraint.

Two often overlooked facts suggest the value of rereading the main historical axis of security theory as essentially that of republicanism and its fragmentary successors. First, the terms ‘Realism’ and ‘Liberalism’ first appear *during* the nineteenth century, and six of the main ideas now associated with them (for Realism: the anarchy problematique, balance of power, and society of states; for Liberalism: democratic peace, commercial peace, and international institutions) were first formulated *before* the nineteenth century largely within the conceptual idioms of republicanism. Second, almost all the writings from which Realist and Liberal international theory take their main arguments were *written about* the particular problems of a handful of polities (democratic Athens, republican Rome, Renaissance Venice and Florence, and early modern Holland, Britain, and the United States) and were *written by* citizens, inhabitants, or close observers of these polities.<sup>11</sup> Far from being a random selection of polities across Western (let alone global) historical experience, these polities were highly anomalous due to their precocious possession of political liberty, popular sovereignty, and limited government, and several of them had roles within their state systems vastly disproportionate to their size and population. Given these facts, it is easy to entertain the proposition that international security theory originated within the conceptual idioms of these republican polities and to see its overall project as the simultaneous avoidance of the extremes of anarchy and hierarchy. Like the surprise of Molière’s bourgeois gentleman upon learning he had been speaking prose his whole life, international theory is surprised to learn that it has long been unknowingly speaking republicanism.

In the remaining sections of this introduction, I unpack more fully my claim that the main ideas recognized as central to contemporary Realist and Liberal international theory are republican in origin, explore the conceptual parameters of this ‘republicanism,’ specify the role of material contextual variables in these arguments, outline the nature and limits of interpretative rereadings, and summarize the subsequent chapters.

### THE ‘REALIST TRADITION’ AND REPUBLICANISM

To appreciate the value of recovering and reconstructing the structural-materialist security arguments of ancient and early modern republican theory, it is useful to begin with an examination of the commanding heights in the diverse landscape of contemporary international relations theory. There are far more international theorists than ever before, and the lines between different schools and arguments are often blurred. Despite this expansion and blending, the most widely used way to refer to the major clusters of arguments is as *traditions*, three of which are most

established and developed—Realism, Liberalism, and Marxism.<sup>12</sup> There is also wide agreement that Realism, despite continued assaults and criticisms, remains the most compelling, even hegemonic tradition, particularly concerning security.<sup>13</sup> Realism is itself diverse, encompassing social science arguments, policy-relevant analysis, and a canonical body of earlier theorists, and there are many debates among Realists.<sup>14</sup>

The construction of Realism as a tradition of international theory has largely been in the ‘American social science’ of international relations, fashioned during the second half of the ‘American Century.’<sup>15</sup> But the essential conceptual building blocks of this enterprise were derived from earlier European thought and largely brought by European émigrés. Realism’s rise and contours have been heavily shaped by its aspiration to guide American foreign policy better than indigenous American ‘idealism.’<sup>16</sup> Realism’s intellectual hegemony is buttressed by its sense of itself as a tradition of practice and theory stretching back to Thucydides in Greek antiquity and claiming many of the leading figures in Western political thought.<sup>17</sup> Reinforcing this hegemony, non-Realists largely define themselves through their attacks on Realism. Although Realists are not a majority of contemporary international theorists, the field (particularly concerning security) resembles a wheel with Realism at the hub and its competitors situated on spokes radiating out from it.

The first step in seeing beyond the Realist-dominated landscape of international theory, particularly concerning security, is to look more closely at the ways in which Realism constitutes itself as a tradition. Despite the claim of Realist international theory to be of great and distinguished antiquity, it is important to remember that the word ‘international’ and the labels for the three main contemporary traditions—Realism, Liberalism, and Marxism—were all coined in the nineteenth century.<sup>18</sup> Thus the construction of Realism and Liberalism as international traditions has been largely the projection of the categories, concerns, and divisions of the theoretical landscape of the recent past onto the distant past. This reading creates an odd pattern of incomplete appropriation, misappropriation, and nonappropriation of earlier lines of argument. Earlier theorists certainly made arguments that are similar to contemporary Realist claims, but these arguments were formulated in different conceptual languages and were parts of larger arguments substantially different from contemporary Realist claims. To begin to see how this is so, it is useful to examine three rather odd and unsatisfactory features of the contemporary formulation of Realism as a tradition.

First, consider four of the leading stars in the Realist ancestral firmament: Thucydides, Niccolò Machiavelli, Thomas Hobbes, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau. As many critics have observed, Realist readings do violence to the complexity and uniqueness of each of these writers.<sup>19</sup> Less

noticed, however, is a more important political fact: all four theorists, each in different ways, held strong political allegiances to particular republican or protoliberal polities, and the focus of their writings was the security problems faced by such polities. Thucydides was not simply a disinterested chronicler of the Peloponnesian War writing for all time, but was a follower of Pericles and a general of democratic Athens.<sup>20</sup> Machiavelli, despite his ironic legacy of inspiration to modern absolutist monarchical state-builders, was an active citizen and tireless public servant in the turbulent Florentine Republic, and his main work sought to inspire emulation of the Roman Republic.<sup>21</sup> Hobbes, while fearful of the discord he associated with republican politics, was a strong proto liberal in that he based his entire program of political renewal upon a concern for individual security.<sup>22</sup> And Rousseau, the devoted (if errant) son of the republican city-state of Geneva, was first and foremost an advocate and theorist of strong democracy and traditional republican virtue against the oppressions and corruptions of large modern despotic monarchies. Each of these theorists was more pessimistic than contemporary Liberals about the human political prospect, but each wrote with a measure of optimism that their advances in knowledge could lead to at least modest amelioration of human miseries. Thus, to the extent these four theorists are understood as ‘founders of Realism,’ their ‘Realism’ emerged from reflections on the security of republican, democratic, and liberal polities.

Second, Realists have been remarkably uninterested in reading and remembering the actual founders of a distinctly Realist tradition, the German theorists of the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Not only did the actual term ‘realpolitik’ emerge here, but the elaborate and strong power political theories of German national statism, *Machtpolitik*, and *Geopolitik* produced by figures such as Johann Gottfried Herder, Johann Gottlieb Fichte, G.W.F. Hegel, Henrich von Trietschke, Friedrich Meinecke, Friedrich Ratzel, Otto Hintze, Karl Haushofer, Max Weber, and Carl Schmitt—to mention only the most prominent—remain the richest cluster of pure and strong Realist thinking.<sup>23</sup> All advocates, with varying degrees of enthusiasm, of German imperial expansion and strong authoritarian government, their large body of work finds virtually no mention in the contemporary Realist construction of itself as a tradition.<sup>24</sup>

Third, remembering the German theorists of the Second Empire and Third Reich points to another problem in Realism’s claim to be a hegemonic theory of international politics, particularly concerning security: the neglect of domestic hierarchy as a security threat. ‘Death by government,’ political murder by the strong hierarchies of twentieth-century totalitarian despotism (most notably Hitler’s Germany, Stalin’s Russia, Mao’s China, and their many lesser imitators), cumulatively killed as many—if not more—of their own hapless subjects as did their foreign

aggressions.<sup>25</sup> Yet the topic of hierarchy as a threat to security is oddly absent from Realist international theory and its subfield of ‘security studies.’ This exclusion has the effect of expelling from the security story one of the greatest extended accomplishments of republican and Liberal theory and practice—the restraint of domestic hierarchy as a security threat over progressively larger spaces. This omission also renders the republican and Liberal program of simultaneously ameliorating and avoiding both hierarchy and anarchy far more utopian than it has actually been.

The intimate unacknowledged relationship between contemporary Realist and earlier republican thought also emerges from a reflection on the origins of some of the main ideas of contemporary Realism. Despite its diversity, three of the ‘high poles’ in the Realist tent are *anarchy*, the *balance of power*, and *international society*, which taken together constitute an immensely powerful and well-developed image of international politics.<sup>26</sup> The first polar notion, often referred to as the ‘anarchy problematique,’ is that interstate politics is an anarchy (in the sense of lacking authoritative government) in which states are forced to secure themselves by their own devices. As an ‘ordering principle’ of state systems, anarchy is held to evoke a set of behaviors and dynamics (such as the security dilemma, balancing, and alliances) that give international politics a distinctive and often warlike character, in contrast to politics inside states, which is said to be authoritatively and hierarchically ordered. The second polar idea is balance of power, about which Kenneth Waltz, the founder of neorealism, observes that “if there is any distinctively political theory of international politics, balance-of-power is it.”<sup>27</sup> For states in anarchy, security and the preservation of the plural political order of the anarchic state system is held to depend upon a favorable distribution or balance of power, and the ability of states to maintain it. The third polar idea, international society, most developed by the ‘English School,’ maintains that international systems can also possess a distinctive society with system-level institutions, most notably sovereignty, diplomacy, and international law, which operate to moderate interstate relations.<sup>28</sup>

One does not have to dig very deeply to unearth the republican origins of these three polar ideas. The anarchy problematique is straightforwardly derived from the thought of early modern thinkers, most notably Hobbes and Rousseau.<sup>29</sup> The first emergence of the balance of power and international society as arrangements for the preservation of plurality and restraint on power occurs, as we shall see at length (in chapter 5), in the early modern characterization of Europe as a whole as a ‘republic.’ These features of state systems are first systematically conceptualized by analogy with city-state republics. Looking at the overall contemporary ‘Realist tradition’ it seems clear that “contemporary realists have invented a past and call it a tradition.”<sup>30</sup> And so too have Liberals, albeit in different ways.

## THE 'LIBERAL TRADITION' AND REPUBLICANISM

Among the many challenges to Realism, perhaps the most substantial has come from Liberalism. Moving to dispel the dismissive Realist labels of 'idealist' and 'utopian,' Liberal theorists have moved beyond primarily offering schemes to change the world for the better and begun providing a variety of concepts useful for understanding and explaining aspects of the world as it actually is. They have also begun to construct a tradition through the recovery and reinterpretation of earlier theorists and writers. Despite many strengths and accomplishments, contemporary Liberal international theory has fallen short of overthrowing Realism's intellectual hegemony, particularly concerning security. In part this shortfall is attributable to the fact that Realism seems to capture so much of history as well as aspects of contemporary world politics. More fundamentally, however, the Liberal challenge has fallen short because it has not yet advanced a line of argument that more compellingly addresses the major issues of security, structure, and power that animate Realism.

Contemporary Liberal international theory is also extensive and diverse. As is the case with Realism, contemporary Liberal international theory encompasses social science arguments, policy-relevant analysis, and interpretations of earlier theorists. On the social science side, Liberal international theorists have been especially enthusiastic participants in the scientific and methodological ferment of the 'behavioral revolution.'<sup>31</sup> Despite aspirations toward common methodology and cumulation of knowledge, contemporary Liberal international theory has produced a bewildering proliferation of new concepts, theories, and schools: Functionalism, neofunctionalism, pluralistic security communities, pluralism, integration, transnational relations, preferred world orders, interdependence, complex interdependence, democratic peace, regimes, and cooperation—to mention only some of the most prominent and extensively developed.<sup>32</sup> This theoretical situation is paralleled by a great diversity of practical agendas regarding democracy promotion, international organizations, international regimes, international law, arms control, and human rights.

This theoretical explosion has produced the great fragmentation of Liberal theory, creating uncertainty about the relationship among these new conceptual vocabularies and theories, and about their novelty or superiority to earlier Liberal arguments, with the result that contemporary Liberal international theory appears to be less than the sum of its parts. Even more fundamentally, however, the main drift of this polymorphous tide has been away from a direct challenge to Realism: away from security-from-violence and toward nonsecurity issue areas (notably economics and

environment); away from political structure and toward process; and away from material variables and toward norms, common understandings, and other ideational factors.<sup>33</sup> Lacking Liberal arguments that directly and effectively address the pivotal Realist arguments about security, structure, and material context, Liberals often cast their arguments as adjunct or special case modifications of Realism.<sup>34</sup>

Despite this diversity and these tendencies, the Liberal theoretical tent, particularly regarding security, also has three tall poles: *democratic peace*, *commercial peace*, and *international institutions*, which together constitute the most intellectually potent elements in the Liberal camp.<sup>35</sup> The first polar idea, democratic peace, holds that democracies will not make war against other democracies, due to domestic structural or normative restraints, and has been labeled “as close as anything we have to an empirical law in international relations.”<sup>36</sup> The second polar idea, commercial peace, holds that rising levels of international economic interdependence through trade will tend to produce peace among states by raising the cost of war to irrational levels and by providing an alternative to conquest as a path for national gain. Contemporary international Liberalism’s third polar idea, international institutions, holds that the presence of various forms of international organizations, law, and regimes (extending beyond the traditional institutions of the society of states) moderates interstate relations and that Liberal states have a particular affinity for such institutions.

The origins of these three Liberal polar ideas is also straightforwardly republican and often attributed to republican theorists cast as ‘early liberals.’ Democratic peace is widely attributed to Immanuel Kant, who spoke of ‘republics’ and specifically condemned majoritarian democracy without restraints as despotic.<sup>37</sup> The idea of commercial peace makes its appearance in early modern thought, particularly Montesquieu, and is commonly attributed by Liberals to Adam Smith, Jeremy Bentham, and Richard Cobden. Similarly, the idea of international institutions, cast as various forms of unions, leagues, and federal arrangements, is a staple of early modern republican thought. Recent readings of these early modern theorists, most prominently by Michael Doyle, have created a fuller sense of a ‘tradition’ of Liberal, or ‘neoclassical Liberal,’ theorizing with deeper roots and greater authority and have provided an important step toward unity and historical depth in contemporary Liberal international theory.<sup>38</sup>

These readings are compelling as far as they go, but as a mining of the past to add pedigree and depth to contemporary international Liberalism’s three polar ideas, they miss central issues of early republican security theorizing and neglect several substantial bodies of pivotal literature. As with the Realist reading, the Liberal projection of current concerns on the past produces an odd pattern of incomplete appropriation, misappropriation, and nonappropriation of earlier lines of argument. Earlier theorists

certainly made arguments that are substantively similar to contemporary Liberal claims, but these arguments were formulated in different conceptual languages and were parts of larger arguments different from contemporary Liberal claims. To see how this is so, it is useful to examine four unsatisfactory features of the contemporary formulation of international Liberalism as a tradition.

First, the formulation of neoclassical Liberalism largely neglects earlier republican arguments about security, political structure, and material context. This omission in part reflects the impact of what is widely referred to as the 'republican revival' among political theorists and intellectual historians over the last quarter century.<sup>39</sup> The revivalists advance the view that there is a sharp conceptual divide between republicanism, centered on community and virtue and derived from Aristotle's 'civic humanism,' and Liberalism, centered on individualism and interest. In this narrative, Liberalism slowly emerges in the early modern period and then supplants republicanism by the early-nineteenth century. The focus of the republican revival has been mainly domestic, but the most substantial treatment of republicanism and international theory, provided by Nicholas Onuf, asserts a particularly strong version of the republican-Liberal divide.<sup>40</sup> The emphasis on Kant by neoclassical Liberalism has also reinforced idealist over materialist arguments. As a result, the Enlightenment culmination of republican structural-materialist security theory, Montesquieu's *Spirit of the Laws*, occupies a marginal status in the contemporary formulations of Liberalism as a tradition of international and security theorizing, despite being a continuing epicenter of scholarly analysis.<sup>41</sup> When these security, structural, and material arguments are brought back into the narrative, the primary novelty of early modern thought is not the claim that democracy and commerce have pacific effects, but rather an analysis of the circumstances in which such political forms are compatible with interstate survival.

The three Liberal polar arguments emerge from republican thought, but they are secondary to the one topic that stands out as overwhelmingly central in this body of thought: the Roman Republic. Interpretations of the Roman republican experience are present in virtually every thinker, and are central to most, and here Kant stands out as nearly unique in not addressing it at all. For friends of political liberty, the Roman record was tragically pessimistic. Roman survival in a harshly competitive security environment was achieved through expansion, but expansion created internal imbalances that were nearly universally understood to be the root cause of the violent transformation of the Republic into the monarchical and ultimately despotic principate.<sup>42</sup> It is against this experience that the early moderns defined their problems and measured their innovations.

The third omission, the founding of the United States of America as an alternative to both the hierarchical state and the anarchic state system, follows logically from the second. The Roman experience posed for the American founders the problem that federal union is advanced to solve: how can political freedom be combined with the large size, and hence interstate security, associated with despotically governed empires? The first dozen or so papers of the *Federalist* in many ways mark the culmination of ancient and modern Enlightenment republican security theory. They expound in crystalline clarity the security project of simultaneously avoiding hierarchy and anarchy both internally and externally, and advance federal union as the solution to the debilitating impasse posed by the Roman record. Despite this, the *Federalist* is almost invisible in contemporary formulations of international Liberalism.<sup>43</sup>

Fourth, the neoclassical Liberal narrative oddly jumps from the early-nineteenth century to the present, largely overlooking late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century arguments about the interplay between federal forms and the emerging global-scope security environment produced by the industrial revolution. Here Liberals have largely accepted the conventional view that the strong materialist arguments of fin de siècle ‘social Darwinism’ and ‘geopolitics’ are thoroughly and harshly Realist. As a result many Liberal figures and arguments are omitted from the narratives and attention of international theorists. Most notable are H. G. Wells and John Dewey, who pioneered the reformulation of the earlier static geographic contextual-materialist arguments to deal with a dynamic industrial technological-material context.<sup>44</sup> In sum, neoclassical Liberalism has neglected major parts of republican theory that deal with security, structure, and material-context, topics now largely ceded to Realism.

These significant problems in the contemporary constructions of both Realism and Liberalism as traditions, in combination with the powerful underacknowledged legacies of republicanism in both Realism and Liberalism, indicate the need for a fresh reading of republican security thought on its own terms. It should be emphasized that the purpose of this reconstruction and exegesis is not to challenge the value or accuracy of the six polar concepts of contemporary Realism and Liberalism, but rather to put them in their proper place. Indeed, to the extent that the six polar ideas are judged to be persuasive, a fuller recovery of republicanism becomes appealing. Nor is this reading intended to be a prehistory of Realist and Liberal international theory. Rather, it is a reconstruction and exegesis of the republican security theory from which Realism and Liberalism have found some of their most important arguments. Its primary goal is not to establish that the six polar ideas of Realism and Liberalism derive from republicanism, although the junctures where they emerge are highlighted closely. Nor is the goal to engage the intricate contemporary debates about























