

## Abstracts

*Anna Geis/Harald Müller/Niklas Schörnig*

### **Liberal Democracies and War**

Why Some Fight and Others Don't: Results of a Comparative Content Analysis of Parliamentary Debates

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This article deals with two neglected fields of democratic peace research: How do liberal democracies, that are considered to be peaceful towards one another, justify their wars against non-democracies? How can we explain the varying (non-)participation of democracies in wars? Based on assumptions of social-constructivist foreign policy analysis, the article presents results of a comparative content analysis of parliamentary debates in Australia, Canada, France, Germany, Sweden, United Kingdom and the U.S. in the run-up to three wars (Gulf war 1991, Kosovo war 1999, Iraq war 2003). While macro results for all seven countries are presented, a more detailed investigation highlights results for four countries. Of particular importance are differences in argumentative patterns between the countries but also justifications that are specifically attached to democracies or to liberalism. The article discusses to what extent the three wars can be regarded as »democratic wars« and what the implications are for democratic peace theories.

**Keywords:** democratic peace, democratic war, public discourse, content analysis, norms.

*Dirk Peters/Wolfgang Wagner*

### **Parliamentary Veto or Executive Discretion?**

Explaining Democratic Decision Making Procedures on the Use of Military Force

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This article asks why in some democracies parliaments possess a veto over the deployment of military forces, whereas in other democracies the executive has exclusive discretion over sending military forces abroad. We use a new set of data on 49 democracies from 1989 to 2004 to test five hypotheses. The results show that variation among democracies is primarily due to different degrees of external threat and past experiences of military failure. Moreover, there is usually no parliamentary veto over military deployments in states which follow the British constitutional tradition. In

contrast, processes of democratic transition and the differentiation between parliamentary and presidential systems have no observable impact.

**Keywords:** parliaments, military deployments, democratic peace, war, second image reversed.

*Alexander Kocks*

**Theory of Global Public Goods**

Perspectives and Research Agendas

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By now, the concept of global public goods is omnipresent in the debate on global governance. Despite the common usage of the term there is very little informed and systematic discussion about its theoretical assumptions and implications. This article seeks to provide a state of the art overview of the current research on global public goods and shows that the provision prospects for such goods are better than commonly assumed. In fact, the willingness of governance actors to contribute to these goods depends on a number of different characteristics of the social provision situation. This includes not only the demand-side features, but also the production-side features of the goods themselves, actor and group characteristics as well as conditions of the legal, institutional and social environment. Thus, the very different chances for the provision of global public goods depend on the combination of these features.

**Keywords:** global public goods, collective action problems, global governance, aggregation technology, game theory.

*Peter Niesen*

**Locating International Political Theory within Its Disciplinary History**

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International Political Theory (IPT) is now generally understood to refer to the normative theory of international politics. If IPT is taken to be synonymous with *International Ethics*, the prescriptive theory guiding the behaviour of coercive actors beyond the state, IPT cannot but understand itself as a successor discipline to classical international natural law. This genealogy is evident, e.g. in the revitalisation of just war theory. Even if IPT restricts its focus to the legitimacy of trans-, supra- or international institutions, it cannot always avoid the presumptuousness of making natural law-type prescriptions. Yet, in state-oriented political theory, prescriptive claims only shed their natural law pretensions when embedded into the public use of reason of a democratic collective. With regard to the global level, it is still unclear how a similar decentering of political theory's authority could be accomplished.

**Keywords:** political theory, normative theory, political philosophy, natural law, international relations.

*Nicole Deitelhoff*

**Parallel Universes or Fusion of Horizons?**

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The article argues that the field of International Political Theory (IPT) is emerging in response to empirical developments, transforming global politics into a system of rule or »Herrschaft«. As a response to the altered practice of global politics, IPT can neither be understood as a subfield of International Relations nor of Political Theory. Instead, IPT calls for a pluralization of analytical and theoretical perspectives to meet the normative, conceptual and empirical challenges emerging from the practice of global political rule.

**Keywords:** rule, transformation, international relations, political theory, international political theory.

*Hauke Brunkhorst*

**A Fresh Start – Towards a Critical Theory of International Relations**

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Whereas the realist paradigm of International Political Theory (IPT) is too concrete to cope with the complex reality of modern society for which the reality of world-views, ideas and norms (morals, ethics, legal text books, precedents etc.) itself is a reality within and distinct from the other realms of social reality (power, capital etc.), the normative paradigm is too abstract to cope with the same complex reality of the uncontrollable evolution of power, capital, norms, culture etc. Instead of binding two sinking ships together one should turn to the explanatory and descriptive potential of holistic theories of society. This third paradigm is presented as a return to critical theory, and it is explained what that means with respect to IPT.

**Keywords:** international political theory, critical theory, international relations, realism, holistic theories of society.

*Oliver Kessler*

**International Political Theory as IR's Next Step?**

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In this contribution, I argue that defining the emerging International Political Theory (IPT) as an interface between International Relations (IR) and Political Theory (PT) underestimates the differences between the respective language games. While IR predominantly defines itself as an empirically oriented social science, PT predominantly analyses structure, content, boundaries and normative quality of political concepts. To bring those two modes of knowing and arguing »together« will, as many attempts of inter-disciplinary dialogue beforehand, end up in little more than an exchange of understandings, definitions and categories. On the other hand, the attempt

to capture IR and PT in one conceptual framework ultimately raises the question of semantics and social structures. This means that at the heart of this new IPT, we actually find neither IR nor PT, but, as I argue, social theory (if not even theory of society).

**Keywords:** international relations theory, world society, agent-structure problem, norms, normative theory.

*Antje Wiener*

**Towards the Normative Turn in IR: Triangulation of a Different Kind**

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This article introduces an US-American and a German claim to normativity in International Relations Theory (IR) and then proceeds to critically scrutinise them with regard to their respective approach to democratic governance on a global scale. To do this, it introduces theoretical triangulation as a conceptual tool linking theoretical perspectives rather than methodological approaches. Accordingly, the article interrelates the heuristic approaches of global governance, world society and global constitutionalism, all of which reflect real changes in international relations. The article develops this argument in three further sections: Section two presents the concept of theoretical triangulation. Section three focuses on the substance of the normative turn which both perspectives on normativity call for. And section four scrutinises norms research in IR with reference to their respective normative substance, in order to assess their respective ability to address normativity.

**Keywords:** normativity, contestation, framing, international political theory, triangulation.

*Rainer Forst*

**The Nature and Aims of International Political Theory**

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International Political Theory (IPT) analyses political relations, structures and institutions beyond the state. In particular, it inquires into the justification of such relations and, reflexively speaking, into the institutions and modes of such justifications. For those purposes, it aims at a »reflexive equilibrium« between normative and empirical perspectives and presupposes a realistic account of the relations of power, rule and domination that exist in the spheres beyond the state. Such a »different kind of realism« as compared to classical realism avoids certain shortcomings of current approaches to the justification of international norms. Thus, a critical political theory becomes possible.

**Keywords:** international political theory, normative orders, realism, critical theory, human rights, overlapping consensus.