

4. Morality is not applicable to international relations

- Realist: The attempt to apply morality is irresponsible and idealistic.

- The only guide for state policy is to ensure survival of its own country and citizens.

Don't expose citizens and military for some higher goal (private morality).

- Political ends may require leaders to act in ways that may not be necessarily morally right.

Situational ethics = defined in situation leader finds himself. Good leader works in assumption of maximising state power and ensuring security. All states are the same in this regard: act in their own interests.

5. The role of theory is both explanatory and prescriptive

- Theory is supposed to uncover how the world is

- For realists: Theories do have a political function: their work is aimed at helping state leaders understand the international system, identify their options and choose their policies

I. The American and the English Schools Compared

A. Points of agreement

- Both agree on the main realist points: **states main actors** that function in states of anarchy, motivated by national interest and security, maximising power, states are sovereign.

Balances of power are a good way of creating order and maintaining peace.

B. Areas of difference

1. 'International system' vs. 'international society'

English School : Hedley Bull: 'A system of states (or international system) is formed when two or more states have sufficient contact between them, and have sufficient impact on one another's decisions... to make the behaviour of each a necessary element in the calculations of the other. A society of states (or international society) exists when a group of states, conscious of certain common interests and common values, forms 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 in the working of common institutions.'

2. State sovereignty vs. human rights: normative considerations in foreign policy

American: Human rights should not be an issue, see it as liberal utopianism which disturbs sovereignty principle

English: See human rights and sovereignty as equal to each other, agrees to respect independence but the notion of international society is also based on individual human beings that make the state

3. The approach to theory: the problem of 'positivism'

American: Realism is based on IR and human behaviour function like the natural world, have some laws and regularities. AR based on assumption that knowledge can be neutral, there is an outside that exists separately of the individual studying that knowledge.

English: Skeptical of these assumptions. have argued in favour of a more intuitive and historical approach of IR. Human issues cannot be studied in ways that are scientific and neutral. Every answer will be affected by the situation and will essentially be historical or contextual.

English Realism: Anarchical nature is not deterministic - we can form international society in which we can implement a certain degree of order in the anarchical world.