

Introduction and acknowledgements

This volume is the second part of the undertaking aimed at familiarizing Polish readers, especially those studying international relations and interested in the discipline, with its most important texts. Volume I, published in 2018, includes 29 texts written between the interwar period and 1989. It was the inception time of the science of international relations as an independent, academic area of research. It was that period that saw the formation of its main theoretical approaches, namely realism, liberalism, and marxism (in the Western version), usually based on earlier traditions of political philosophy. Realism was the dominant theory that described the security issues of the Cold War era. In turn, the dynamic development of liberalism which started in the 1970s was a response to the emerging crises and hardships, especially in the area of international political economy. Marxism in the science of international relations had limited range in the West in terms of the number of researchers, but at the same time, it has left behind a legacy that cannot be ignored. The 1980s, in turn, saw the debut of constructivism, which reached international relations from a different discipline: sociology. The first volume of the anthology contains texts representing all these approaches, selected in multi-stage consultations that have broadly involved the Polish community of scholars from the most important Polish universities. We write in more detail about the selection made in the *Introduction* to volume I.

The choice of texts for the second volume was even more demanding. Primarily, it is because the shorter the perspective, the less clear the canon becomes. It is certainly more difficult to determine which texts and authors will go down in the history of the discipline over time. Secondly, the last thirty years in the history of international relations science have been a time of unprecedented development, both quantitative and qualitative. By the latter, we primarily mean the enormous pluralism of theoretical and methodological approaches. The new research perspectives

broadened the area of research, posed new questions, and introduced new concepts and new inspirations from very different fields of knowledge. Various methodologies also developed, ranging from increasingly sophisticated quantitative methods to the popularization of qualitative methods of discourse analysis and practice analysis. It was also a time of dynamic institutional development; new scientific journals were created (often established by representatives of new research approaches) and new professional organizations were founded. The number of scientific conferences grew year by year, and the largest of them were attended by constantly growing numbers of researchers, also from countries that had been previously absent or underrepresented in mainstream research on international relations.

This development is reflected in the anthology by the number of articles that have been published in journals: out of 40 texts included here, as many as 30 are articles, of which 10 come from the "International Organization". The second place is occupied by "International Security" (4 texts), and the third by the "European Journal of International Relations" (3 texts). Two texts originate from the "Millennium: Journal of International Studies", and the remaining 11 represent 11 different journals.

How did we make this choice? This time, due to the aforementioned pluralism and the much more difficult identification of texts crucial for the development of our discipline after 1989, we turned for help to several outstanding researchers from Poland and around the world who represent various research trends. Suggestions were sent by: Mateusz Filary-Szczepanik, Edward Halizak, Inanna Hamati-Ataya, Karina Jędrzejowska, Xymena Kurowska, John Mearsheimer, Krzysztof Pelc, and Tomasz Pugacewicz. We have also added our own suggestions to these proposals. In this way, a set of 108 texts was created, which, thanks to the kind and meticulous help of our graduates: Gabriela Będkowska and Kamil Smogorzewski, were checked for the number of citations in Web of Science and Publish or Perish. For obvious reasons, the newest texts have a much smaller number of citations than those created, for example, in the early 1990s; thus, we could not rely on this criterion alone. Each of us, therefore, undertook the editorial task of removing up to 15 items from this list. Then, we asked our researcher friends for help in their further elimination. It was mainly about identifying the texts by acclaimed authors that have had the greatest impact on the development of the discipline. This process of selecting the key texts was necessary as we wanted the anthology to show as many different voices as possible. We were additionally supported in this process by Łukasz Fijałkowski, Dorota Heidrich, Magdalena Kozub-Karkut, Karina Marczuk, and Anna Solarz. After confronting the results of these discussions with the content of syllabuses and reading lists for the basic subjects of our discipline conducted in the world's leading universities, the list was reduced to 70 items. By definition, it did not include widely known and cited books in the field of broadly understood

international relations that have already been published in Polish, i.e. Joseph Nye's *Soft Power*, Samuel Huntington's *Clash of Civilizations*, Alexander Wendt's *Social Theory of International Politics*, Henry Kissinger's *Diplomacy*, Francis Fukuyama's *End of History*, and Zbigniew Brzeziński's *Grand Chessboard*.

Thanks to the kind help of Edward Halizak, Karina Jędrzejowska, and Sylwia Para, we sent the compiled list in the form of an online survey to all members of the Polish Society for International Studies with a request to select a maximum of 20 items. Thirty-five people responded to the survey: Agnieszka Aleksy-Szucsich, Szymon Bachrynowski, Alicja Curanović, Łukasz Fijałkowski, Mateusz Filary-Szczepanik, Weronika Garbacz, Artur Gruszczak, Dorota Heidrich, Aleksandra Jarczewska, Aleksandra Jaskólska, Karina Jędrzejowska, Katarzyna Kačka, Magdalena Kozub-Karkut, Tomasz Kubin, Wiesław Lizak, Kamil Ławniczak, Karina Marczuk, Wojciech Michnik, Justyna Nakonieczna-Bartosiewicz, Anita Oberda-Monkiewicz, Tomasz Pawłuszko, Andrzej Polus, Tomasz Pugacewicz, Anna Solarz, Elżbieta Stadtmüller, Damian Szacawa, Adrian Szumski, Łukasz Wordliczek, Anna Wróbel, Iwona Wyciechowska, Agata Ziętek, and Karol Żakowski. We would like to kindly thank them for their time. Separate thanks go to Paulina Gwoździewicz-Matan, who brought through the idea of translating excerpts from Helen Milner's book by providing us with the only copy in Poland (sic!), located in the collection of the University of Silesia Library in Katowice.

After all these consultations, it turned out that by no means can we close the second volume of the anthology in 30 texts! However, thanks to the understanding and financial support of the Dean of the Faculty of Political Science and International Studies of the University of Warsaw, Daniel Przastek, we were able to increase the number of items to 40. The second volume of the anthology is, in fact, entirely financed by the Faculty. For that, we would like to extend thanks to the Dean's office and all those who supported us in negotiating copyright prices. First of all, to Krzysztof Pelc and the editors of "International Organization", Jon Pevehouse and Erik Voeten, thanks to whom we purchased the rights to the entire pool of texts from this journal for a symbolic price. We thank David Mainwaring for helping to extend these preferential rates to other texts published by Cambridge University Press. The publishers: Oxford University Press, Cornell University Press, University of California Press, and Rowman & Littlefield also showed understanding and great kindness. We also thank researchers Beate Jahn and Justin Rosenberg for their support in contacts with publishers. Separate thanks go to Cynthia Enloe, who not only immediately agreed to resign from the payment for the right to translate a chapter of her book, but also facilitated our contact with her publisher, as well as expressed her heartfelt support for our anthology project.

Thanks to the kindness of the members of the Dean's office, who recognized the importance of this project for our entire community, we could also invite researchers

from outside the University of Warsaw to participate in the adventure of translating. The anthology is therefore thoroughly pluralistic, as the translators represent a total of 18 academic centers: Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University in Warsaw, the Center for Eastern Studies, Collegium Civitas, Ignatianum Academy, Jagiellonian University, Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin, Military University of Land Forces in Wrocław, Polish Academy of Sciences, Polish Naval Academy, University of Gdańsk, University of Jan Kochanowski in Kielce, University of Łódź, University of Mikołaj Copernicus in Toruń, University of Opole, University of Szczecin, University of Warsaw, and University of Wrocław. This group is dominated by women (22 to 17), and in terms of academic degrees, translations were performed by 19 doctors, 15 habilitated doctors, and 4 Ph.D. students. Therefore, the difficult task of translation was undertaken by experienced researchers who are well versed in the specificity of the language of the science of international relations, and who are usually specialists in the research area of the text they translate.

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Looking at the last three decades of international relations (IR) studies, it is hard not to notice the clear growth of the percentage of researchers who questioned the existence of a science that is objective, uninvolved in the circumstances of its inception, and entirely independent of the researcher's position. After 1989, there has been a very dynamic development of critical theories in IR, particularly in the most important trends of this approach, i.e. postcolonial critique and feminist critique (but not only). It was also a time of a significant rise in the percentage of women among the leading researchers of international relations, as well as an increasingly clear voice from outside the West, mainly from the so-called global South. It is thus symptomatic that the second volume of the anthology opens with a text written by Cynthia Enloe, who stresses that international relations should be asked feminist questions. The fact that this work belongs to the canon is evidenced by a special session that was devoted to it at the International Studies Association (ISA) conference in 2021. Its author is not alone in this volume: nearly half of the 40 texts (17) were written by female researchers. This is a visible and fundamental change from the first stage of the reflection in IR until 1989 (in the first volume of the anthology, there was only one text written by a woman, Susan Strange).

Both male and female scientists from outside the West, of course, have presented a variety of approaches, not necessarily critical theories. The latter, however, pointed out primarily that the knowledge about the functioning of the social world at the macro level – as international relations study the interactions of large social groups – cannot be produced by small groups of similar people (usually middle-aged

white men working for top universities in the United States), who make up only a small part of a diverse world, spanning seven continents and 7.5 billion people. Thus, the inclusion of new groups of researchers, representing a different view of world politics, is certainly one of the most important processes that have taken place in the last thirty years.

The emergence and development of critical theory did not mean a crisis of the other approaches in IR. Various types of liberal tradition developed very dynamically, especially neoliberal institutionalism, which used increasingly sophisticated quantitative methodologies. However, above all, it was the heyday of constructivism, which in the 1990s and early 2000s became (as shown by the TRIP¹ research) the most widely represented theory of international relations among researchers, with constructivist Alexander Wendt growing up in the international rankings created by the representatives of our discipline to be the most inspiring researcher, outclassing the previous strong leaders: the realist Kenneth Waltz and the representative of liberalism Robert Keohane. The popularity of these characters, often seen as icons of three important traditions, is a good illustration of the “fashions” and trends of the discipline.

In contrast, the development of realism was the least dynamic at that time. Sometimes this was even regarded as a crisis of this approach, visible in the lack of new conceptual ideas and new important discoveries. This is not an entirely fair assessment, however, as a new trend appeared in this group of approaches: neoclassical realism. Certainly, however, the dynamics of the development of realism were smaller than that of liberalism, constructivism, and critical theories. Nevertheless, it had a strong following and, what is more, it influenced the epistemic communities of non-academic security experts. Finally, it is worth noting that after these three decades of a certain slowdown, realism returned to the game with the crisis of the post-Cold-War international order, caused by the rise of Chinese power and the growing assertiveness of this state, both in the field of security and in the international political economy. It is thus symptomatic that volume II of the anthology ends with the text of two realists, Henry Farrell and Abraham Newman, who use the typical liberal notion of interdependence to show new dimensions of “power politics” within the networks of interdependencies.

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The key stage of work on the anthology took place in 2020, which was world-widely marked by the COVID-19 pandemic. It also influenced our actions very

¹ Teaching, Research and International Policy (<https://trip.wm.edu/>).

strongly. We had to cancel the workshops and integration meeting for translators scheduled for April 2020. Many publishing houses, from which the copyrights were to be obtained, have temporarily suspended or ceased their activities. The first few months of the pandemic were a period of uncertainty before we gradually got used to the new academic modes of conduct. This resulted in the extension of work: many of us had to combine unchanged academic duties with childcare, help with online lessons, and care for our loved ones who were locked down in quarantine or sick. Many of us contracted the coronavirus and fought the effects of the infection. Some have lost their loved ones. During the work on the second volume, the editor, Anna Kędziorek, passed away, who had been accompanying us during most of the activities and jointly celebrating the publication of volume I during its promotion at the University of Warsaw. It was with great sadness and regret that we received the news of her death.

Continuing our efforts in such difficult conditions would not be possible without a committed and professional team at the University of Warsaw Press. We were supported in this undertaking by Beata Jankowiak-Konik, the director; Ewa Wyszynska, the editor; and Anna Raiter-Rosińska. The scrupulous language editing was undertaken by Aleksandra Zych and Elżbieta Morawska. The editorial review was written by Roman Bäcker. We would like to thank Edward Halizak, Wojciech Kostecki, Natalia Letki, Teresa Łoś-Nowak, and Anna Visvizi for writing a commentary on the sides of the book cover. Last but not least, we would like to sincerely thank Emilia Tlaga, who is the secretary of the Department of Policy Research Methodology at the Faculty of Political Sciences and International Studies of the University of Warsaw, of which we are both members, and Tymoteusz Kraski for supporting our activities from the formal side.

Therefore, we present to you the effect of over two years of work of a vast team of people with whom we had the honor and pleasure to work in very difficult times. We believe that our joint effort has a profound meaning and that this publication will allow the community of students and researchers of international relations in Poland to analyze the complex reality of contemporary international relations with greater precision, attention, and reflection. Thank you and we look forward to meeting you all again and having heated debates in the university campus spaces!