

# Martin Shaw

## Curriculum Vitae

### 1 Personal details

Title: Professor  
Date of birth: 30 June 1947  
Nationality: British  
E-mail: mshaw@ibei.org

### 2 Career

*Institut Barcelona d'Estudis Internacionals*  
Research Professor 2011-date (part-time)  
Visiting Professor 2010

*University of Sussex*  
Emeritus Professor, 2012-date  
Honorary Research Professor, Department of International Relations, 2008-12  
Professor of International Relations and Politics 1995-2008  
Chair of the International Relations and Politics Subject Group 1996-99

*University of Roehampton, London*  
Professorial Fellow in International Relations and Human Rights 2010-21 (part-time)

*University of Hull*  
Professor of Political and International Sociology 1994-95  
Reader in Political and International Sociology 1992-94  
Senior Lecturer in Sociology 1989-92  
Lecturer in Sociology 1972-89  
Head of the Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology 1989, 1992-95  
Director of the Centre for Security Studies, 1989-92

*University of Durham*  
Lecturer in Sociology 1970-72

*London School of Economics*  
Tutor in Sociology 1968-70 (part-time)

### 3 Qualifications

PhD, Sociology of International Relations and War, by published work. University of Hull, 1993

BA Honours, Sociology (First Class). London School of Economics and Political Science, University of London, 1968

Fellow of the Higher Education Academy, 2016

## 4 Publications

### BOOKS

#### Sole-authored

- 2022 *Political Racism: Brexit and Its Aftermath*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Agenda Publishing.
- 2015 *What is Genocide?* Second Edition. Cambridge: Polity, 235 pp.
- 2013 *Genocide and International Relations: Changing Patterns in the Transitions of the Late Modern World*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 238 pp.
- 2007 *What is Genocide?* Cambridge: Polity, 176 pp. (Spanish translation, *Que es el Genocidio?* Buenos Aires: Prometeo Libros, 2015.)
- 2005 *The New Western Way of War: Risk-Transfer War and its Crisis in Iraq*, Cambridge: Polity, 170 pp.  
(Italian translation, *L'Occidente alla Guerra: La tentazione dell'interventismo*, Milano: Università Bocconi Editore, 2006, 231 pp.)
- 2003 *War and Genocide: Organized Killing in Modern Society*. Cambridge: Polity, 244 pp.  
(Korean translation, Seoul: Greenbee Publishing, 2013. Chapter 2 republished in Jens Meierhenrich, ed., *Genocide: A Reader*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.)
- 2000 *Theory of the Global State: Globality as Unfinished Revolution*, Cambridge University Press, 286 pp.  
(Italian translation, *La Rivoluzione Incompiuta: Democrazia e Stato nell'era della Globalità*, with new introduction, Milano: Università Bocconi Editore, 2004, 292 pp.)
- 1996 *Civil Society and Media in Global Crises: Representing Distant Violence*, London: Pinter, viii + 214 pp.  
(Partial German translation, 'Die Repräsentation ferner Konflikte und die globale Zivilgesellschaft', in Ulrich Beck, ed., *Perspektiven der Weltgesellschaft*, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1998, pp. 221-56.)
- 1994 *Global Society and International Relations: Sociological Concepts and Political Perspectives*, Cambridge: Polity, vii + 197 pp.  
(Japanese translation, Tokyo: Minerva Shobo, 1997, vii + 266 pp.)
- 1991 *Post-Military Society: Militarism, Demilitarization and War at the End of the Twentieth Century*, Cambridge: Polity, and Philadelphia: Temple University Press, ix + 216 pp. (Partial Chinese translation, Taiwan, 2002.)
- 1988 *Dialectics of War: An Essay on the Social Theory of War and Peace*, London: Pluto, 168 pp.
- 1975 *Marxism and Social Science: The Roots of Social Knowledge*, London: Pluto, x + 140 pp  
(Spanish translation, *El Marxismo y las Ciencias Sociales: Las Raíces del Conocimiento Social*, Mexico City: Nueva Imagen, 1978, 152 pp.)
- 1974 *Marxism versus Sociology: A Guide to Reading*, London: Pluto, 120 pp.

#### Edited books

- 2005 *Global Activism, Global Media*, with Wilma de Jong and Neil Stammers, London: Pluto and Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- 1999 *Politics and Globalisation: Knowledge, Ethics and Agency*, London: Routledge, x + 229 pp.
- 1991 *State and Society in International Relations*, with Michael Banks, Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, x + 209 pp.
- 1987 *The Sociology of War and Peace*, with Colin Creighton, London: Macmillan and New York: St. Martin's Press, 245 pp.
- 1985 *Marxist Sociology Revisited: Critical Assessments*, London: Macmillan and New York: St. Martin's Press, vii + 268 pp.
- 1984 *War, State and Society*, edited, London: Macmillan and New York: St. Martin's Press, vii + 266 pp.

## ARTICLES, BOOK CHAPTERS AND SHORT WORKS

2020 Racial self-interest, Max Weber and the production of racism: the strategy and propaganda of Vote Leave during the Brexit referendum, *Patterns of Prejudice*, 54:4, 347-365, DOI: [10.1080/0031322X.2020.1813959](https://doi.org/10.1080/0031322X.2020.1813959)

2020 'Dilemmas in the Interpretation of Global Conflict in the "Cold War" Period', *Journal of Genocide Research*, 22:3, 422-425, DOI: [10.1080/14623528.2019.1660510](https://doi.org/10.1080/14623528.2019.1660510)

2016 'Genocide in the Contemporary Middle East: A Historical and Comparative Regional Perspective', in Anthony Tirado Chase, ed., *The Routledge Handbook of Human Rights in the Middle East and North Africa*. London: Routledge, 72-82.

2016 (with Amos Goldberg, Thomas Kehoe, A. Dirk Moses, Raz Segal and Gerhard Wolf) "Israel Charny's Attack on the Journal of Genocide Research and its Authors: A Response," *Genocide Studies and Prevention: An International Journal*: Vol. 10: Iss. 2: 3-22. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.5038/1911-9933.10.2.1436>. Available at: <http://scholarcommons.usf.edu/gsp/vol10/iss2/4>.

2015 'Conceptualising and Theorising Antisemitism and Racism: The Structural Context of Israel-Palestine', *Journal of Holy Land and Palestine Studies* 14.2: 149-164.

2014 'Genocide and Mass Atrocities', in Mary Kaldor and Iavor Rangelov, eds, *Handbook of Global Security Policy*, 145-59. London: Wiley-Blackwell.

2013 'The Concept of Genocide: What Are We Preventing?' in Bert Ingelaere, Stephan Parmentier, Jacques Haers and Barbara Segart, eds, *Genocide, Risk and Resilience: An Interdisciplinary Approach*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

'Palestine and Genocide: An International Historical Perspective Revisited', *Holy Land Studies*, 12, 1, 1-8.

'Understanding Today's Genocides: The Snare of Analogy', *Global Dialogue*, 15, 1.

'Genocide', in Jeff Manza, ed, *Oxford Bibliographies in Sociology*. New York: Oxford University Press.

2012 'Twenty-First Century Militarism: A Historical-Sociological Framework', in Anna Stavrianakis and Jan Selby, eds, *Militarism and International Relations: Political Economy, Security, Theory*, London: Routledge, 19-32.

'From Comparative to International Genocide Studies: The International Production of Genocide in Twentieth-Century Europe', *European Journal of International Relations*, 18, 4, 645-68. (Awarded prize for Best Article in *EJIR*, 2010-13, at the Warsaw conference of the Standing Group on International Relations, 2013.)

2011

'Britain and Genocide: Historical and Contemporary Parameters of National Responsibility', *Review of International Studies*, 37, 5, 2417-38.

'Darfur: Counter-Insurgency, Forced Displacement and Genocide', *British Journal of Sociology*.

'Shifting the Foundations of Genocide Research', *Journal of Genocide Research*, 13, 2, 111-16.

2010 'Palestine in an International Historical Perspective on Genocide', *Holy Land Studies*, 9, 1, pp. 1-24.

'The question of genocide in Palestine, 1948: a debate between Martin Shaw and Omer Bartov', *Journal of Genocide Research*, 12, 3 & 4, 243-259.

2010 'Sociology and Genocide' in A. Dirk Moses and D. Bloxham, eds, *The Oxford Handbook of Genocide Studies*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 142-62.

2009 'Genocide in the Global Age', in Bryan S. Wilson, ed., *The Routledge Handbook of Globalisation Studies*, London: Routledge, pp. 312-27.

'Conceptual and Theoretical Frameworks for Organised Violence', *International Journal of Conflict and Violence*, 3 (1) 2009, pp. 97-106, <http://www.ijcv.org/docs/2009/shaw.pdf>

2007 'When war is not war: Western and terrorist ways of war in the era of global surveillance warfare', in Richard Keeble and Sarah Maltby, eds, *Communicating War*, London: Arima, pp. 130-40.

'The Political Structure of a Global World: The Role of the United States', in Bruce Mazlish, Nayan Chanda and Kenneth Weisbrode, eds, *The Paradox of a Global USA*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, pp. 16-30.

'The general hybridity of war and genocide', *Journal of Genocide Research*, 9, 3, 2007, 461-73.

2006 'War', in Philipp Oswalt and Tim Rieniets, eds, *Atlas of Shrinking Cities/Atlas der Schrumpfenden Städte*, Berlin: Kulturstiftung des Bundes, pp. 52-53.

'The Sources of Social Power and the Sociology of Genocide', *Sociology*, 40, 1, 177-83.

2005 'Die neue westliche Kriegführung und ihre Krise', *Das Argument*, 47, 5/6, 93-100 (translated by Julian Müller).

'Rethinking Peace, Security and Human Rights for a Global Age', in Fabian Globalisation Group, *Just World: A Fabian Manifesto*, London: Zed, 73-78.

2004 'New wars of the city: "urbicide" and "genocide"' in Steve Graham, ed., *Cities, War, and Terrorism*, Oxford: Blackwell, 141-53.

'Internationalisation of the state', in Wolfgang Fritz Haug, ed., *Historisch-kritisches Wörterbuch des Marxismus*, Berlin.

'Risk-transfer Militarism and the Legitimacy of War after Iraq', in *Foreign Policy in Focus Policy Report*, June 30, 2004, <http://presentdanger.irc-online.org/papers/0406militarism.html>;

(1) republished as Paul Eden and Therese O'Donnell, eds, *September 11, 2001: A Turning-Point in International and Domestic Law?*, Ardsley, NY: Transnational Publishers, 2005, 127-48;

(2) translated as 'Militarismo de transferencia de riesgo y la legalidad de la guerra tras Irak', translation of, in *Relaciones Internacionales* (Madrid), 3, October 2005,

<http://www.relacionesinternacionales.info/RRII/N3/artshaw3.htm>.

(3) translated by Kai Hebel as „Risikotransfer-Militarismus“ und die Relegitimierung des Krieges in der Weltgesellschaft', in Thorsten Bonacker and Christoph Weller, ed., *Konflikte der Weltgesellschaft: Akteure – Strukturen - Dynamiken*, Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 151-74.

2003 'Strategy and Slaughter', *Review of International Studies*, 29, 2, 2003, 269-78.

'Global Politics After the Cold War' in Mary Hawkesworth and Maurice Kogan, editors, *Routledge Encyclopedia of Government and Politics*, Second edition, London: Routledge.

'The Global Transformation of the Social Sciences', in Mary Kaldor, Helmut Anheier and Marlies Glasius, eds, *Global Civil Society Yearbook 2003*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 35-44.

2002 'Risk-transfer militarism, small massacres and the historic legitimacy of war', *International Relations*, 17, 3, 343-60.

'The Unfinished Global Revolution: Intellectuals and the New Politics of International Relations', *Review of International Studies*, 27, 1, 1-21

'The Historical Transition of Our Times: The Question of Globality in Historical Sociology', in John Hobson and Steve Hobden, eds, *Historical Sociology and International Relations*, 82-88, and in *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, XIV, 2, 2001, 273-89

'Post-Imperial and Quasi-Imperial: State and Empire in the Global Era', *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 31, 2, 327-36.

'Ten Challenges to Anti-War Politics', *Radical Philosophy* 111, 11-19.

2001 'Democracy and Peace in the Global Revolution', in Tarak Barkawi and Mark Laffey, eds., *Democracy, Liberalism and War: Rethinking the Democratic Peace Debate*, Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 173-92.

'Global society' in the *Routledge Encyclopaedia of Political Economy*, London: Routledge, 606-07.

Review article, 'War and humanitarian emergencies', *Journal of Development Studies*, 17, 5, 154-59.

'Media and Public Opinion in International Relations', in Brigitte Nacos and Robert Shapiro, eds., *Decision-Making in a Glass House: Media, Public Opinion and American and European Foreign Policy*, Boulder, Co.: Rowman and Littlefield, pp. 27-40.

2000 'The development of the "common-risk" society: a theoretical overview' in Jürgen Kuhlmann and Jean Callaghan (eds.) *Military and Society in 21st Century Europe*, Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, pp. 13-26 (simultaneous Russian edition, Moscow: Nauchnaya Kniga, 2000; reprinted in *Society*, 38, 6, September-October 2001, 7-15.

'Historical sociology and global transformation', in Ronen Palan (ed.) *New Theories of the Global Political Economy*, London: Routledge, 229-41.

'The State of International Relations', in Sarah Owen Vandersluis (ed.), *The State and Identity Construction in International Relations*, London: Macmillan, pp. 7-30.

1999 'Global Voices: Civil Society and the Media in Global Crises', in Timothy Dunne and Nicholas J Wheeler, eds., *Human Rights in Global Politics*, Cambridge University Press, pp. 214-32

'War and Society', in John W Chambers II, ed., *The Oxford Companion to American Military History*, New York: Oxford University Press

(review article) 'The Political Meaning of Global Change', *International Politics*, 36, 429-34.

'Civil Society' in Lester Kurtz, ed., *Encyclopaedia of Violence, Peace and Conflict*, San Diego: Academic Press, pp. 269-78

'The Kosovan War, 1998-99: State, War and Genocide in the Global Revolution', *Sociological Research Online*, <http://www.socresonline.org.uk> (reprinted in *Papers in Social Theory* 5, Warwick/Sussex, 2000).

'War and Globality: The Role and Character of War in the Global Transition' in Ho-Won Jeong, ed., *The New Agenda for Peace Research*, Reading: Ashgate, pp. 61-80, translated as

(1) 'Guerre et globalité: le rôle et le caractère de la guerre à l'intérieur de la transition globale' (translated) in Pierre Hassner and Roland Marchal, eds, *Guerres et sociétés: Etat et violence après la Guerre Froide*. Paris: Editions Karthala, 49-75.

(2) 'El papel y el carácter de la guerra en la transición global' (translated) in Eduardo Andrés, Sandoval Forero and Robinson Salazar Pérez, eds, *América Latina: Conflicto, Violencia y Paz en el Siglo XXI*, Mexico City: Librosenred, 2003, 15-44.

'The Global Revolution and the Challenge of the Twenty-First Century: From International Relations to Global Politics' in Stephen Chan and Jarrod Wiener, eds., *Twentieth Century International History*, London: IB Taurus, pp. 191-210

'Globality as a revolutionary transformation' in Martin Shaw, ed., *Politics and Globalisation*, London: Routledge.

1998 'The Historical Sociology of the Future', *Review of International Political Economy*, 5, 2, pp 322-27.

1997 'The Theoretical Challenge of Global Society' in Sreberny-Mohammadi, Winseck, McKenna, Boyd-Barrett, eds., *Media in Global Context*, London: Edward Arnold, reprinted in John Beynon and David Dunkerley, eds., *Globalization: The Reader*, London: Athlone Press, 2000, pp 61-64  
'Conscription and Citizenship' in Anthony Giddens, ed., *Sociology: Introductory Readings*, Cambridge: Polity

- 'The State of Globalization: towards a theory of state transformation', *Review of International Political Economy*, 4, 3, Autumn, pp 497-513, reprinted in Neil Brenner, Bob Jessop, Martin Jones and Gordon MacLeod, eds, *State/Space: A Reader*, Oxford: Blackwell, 2003, and (abridged) as 'Theorizing the Emergent Global State', in Richard Little and Michael Smith, eds, *Perspectives on World Politics*, Third Edition, London: Taylor and Francis, 2005.
- 'Globalization and post-military democracy', in Anthony McGrew, ed., *The Transformation of Democracy*, Cambridge: Polity Press, pp. 26-48.
- 'From Public Issues to Private Troubles', in Chet Ballard, Jon Gubbay and Christopher Middleton, eds., *A Student's Companion to Sociology*, Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 31-38.
- 'Nueva guerras urbanas' ('new wars of the city'), *Dos, dos: revista sobre las ciudades*, 2, Valladolid, Spain, pp 67-75, reproduced in *The Urban Operations Journal*, <http://www.urbanoperations.com/shaw.htm>, 2003.
- 'Past Wars and Present Conflicts: From the Second World War to the Gulf', in Martin Lunn and Ken Evans, eds., *War and Memory in the Twentieth Century*, Leamington Spa: Berg, 191-205.
- 1996 'Nova Varnostna Razprava in Družbene Spremembe' (The New Security Debate and Social Transformations), translated by Marjan Malesic, in Malesic, ed., *Razvoj Obramboslovne Misli*, Ljubljana: University of Ljubljana Faculty of Social Sciences, 13-32.
- 1995 'Military, State and Society in the 21st Century: challenges of the Fragmentary Peace', in Harold Gillman and Detlef Herold, eds., *Democratic and Civil Control over Armed Forces*, Rome: NATO Defense College, 55-68.
- 1994 *The Global State and the Politics of Intervention*, London: Centre for the Study of Global Governance, London School of Economics, 15 pp.
- 'Civil Society and Global Politics: Beyond a Social Movements Approach', *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 23, 3, Winter, 647-68.
- 'Self-determination: Comments on Subaidi', in D.A.C. Freestone, ed., *Self-determination: A Symposium*, Hull: University of Hull Law School.
- 'Churches and War: Surveys of Attitudes during the Gulf Conflict' (with Roy Carr-Hill), in Peter G. Forster, ed., *Contemporary Mainstream Christianity*, Aldershot: Gower.
- 'Theses on a Post-Military Europe: Conscription, Citizenship and Militarism after the Cold War', in Chris Rootes and Howard Davis, eds., *A New Europe: Social Change and Political Transformation*, London: UCL Press, pp. 55-71.
- 'Towards a Global Policy for Labour', *Renewal: A Journal of Labour Politics*, 2, 1, pp. 30-9.
- 1993 'The failure of international law in its wider context: comments on Rehman', in D.A.C. Freestone, ed., *Humanitarian Intervention in Former Yugoslavia*, University of Hull European Community Research Unit, 2 pp.
- '"There is no such thing as society": beyond individualism and statism in international security studies', *Review of International Studies*, 19, 2, April, pp. 159-76
- 'The Denial of Death' (with Roy Carr-Hill), *Peace Review*, 5:1, pp. 35-41.
- 1992 'Global society and global responsibility: the theoretical, analytical and practical limits of international society', *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 21, 3, Winter, pp 421-34 (republished in Rick Fawns and Jeremy Larkins, eds., *International Society After the Cold War: Anarchy and Order Reconsidered*, Macmillan, 1996).
- 'Public Opinion and Media War Coverage in Britain', in Hamid Mowlana, George W. Gerbner and Herbert Schiller, eds., *Triumph of the Image: The Media's War in the Persian Gulf. A Global Perspective*, Boulder, Colorado: Westview (with Roy Carr-Hill).
- 1991 'Mass Media and Attitudes to the Gulf War in Britain' in Michael Morgan, ed., 'The Media and the Gulf War', special issue of *The Electronic Journal of Communication/La Revue Electronique de Communication*, Montreal (with Roy Carr-Hill).

- Public Opinion, Media and Violence: Attitudes to the Gulf War in a Local Population* (with Roy Carr-Hill), Hull: Hull University Gulf War Project, 42 pp..
- 'State Theory and the Post-Cold War World' and 'Total War and the Theory of the State' in Shaw and Banks, eds, *State and Society in International Relations*, Hemel Hempstead: Harvester-Wheatsheaf.
- 1990 'Strategy and Social Process: lessons from strategic studies', *Sociology*, 24, 3, August, pp 465-73 (extract republished in David Morgan and Liz Stanley, eds, *Debates in Sociology*, Manchester: MUP, 1994).
- 'From Total War to Democratic Peace: exterminism and historical pacifism', in H. Kaye and K. McClelland, eds, *E.P. Thompson: Critical Debates*, Cambridge: Polity, 233-51.
- 1989 'War and the Nation-State', in D. Held and J. Thompson, eds., *Social Theory of Modern Societies: Anthony Giddens and his Critics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 'Ideen über Krieg und Militarisierung in der Gesellschaftstheorie des Späten Zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts', translated by H. Joas, in H. Joas and H. Steiner, eds., *Machtpolitischer Realismus und Pazifistische Utopie: Krieg und Frieden in der Geschichte der Sozialwissenschaften*, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 283-308.
- 'Great Britain', in Philip G Altbach, ed., *Student Political Activism: An International Reference Handbook*, Westport: Conn., Greenwood, 237-48.
- 1988 'The Real Sociology of War: A reply to Roger Scruton', *British Journal of Sociology*, XXXIX, 4, December, 615-8.
- 'The End of Regimentation: Socialism's Second Chance', *Detente: A quarterly journal devoted to understanding the Soviet Union*, 13, 14-16.
- 'In Defence of "Historical Pacifism"', *European Nuclear Disarmament Journal*, October-January, pp 34-5.
- 1987 'Marxism, War and Peace in Britain, 1895-1945', in Richard Taylor and Nigel Young, eds., *Campaigns for Peace: Peace movements in Britain in the twentieth century*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 49-72.
- 'Introduction' and 'The Rise and Fall of the Military-Democratic State: Britain 1940-85', in C. Creighton and M. Shaw, eds., *The Sociology of War and Peace*, London: Macmillan, 1-13 and 143-58.
- 1986 *The Student Movements of the 1960s: A view from the 1980s*, Hull: Hull University Occasional Papers in Sociology and Social Anthropology, No. 2, 36 pp.
- 1985 'Sociology and the Crisis of Marxism', in Shaw, ed., *Marxist Sociology Revisited: Critical Assessments*, London: Macmillan, 1-20.
- 'Marxism, the State and Politics', in Shaw, ed., *Marxist Sociology Revisited: Critical Assessments*, London: Macmillan, 246-68.
- 1984 'Marxism and the Problem of Law and Order in Britain', in P. Norton, ed., *Law and Order in British Politics*, Aldershot: Gower, 179-92.
- 'War: The End of the Dialectic?', *Journal of Area Studies*, 9, 1-4.
- 'War and Social Theory' and 'War, Imperialism and the State System: A critique of orthodox Marxism for the 1980s' in Shaw, ed., *War, State and Society*, London: Macmillan, 1-24 and 47-60.
- 1982 Review article of Jacoby, *Dialectic of Defeat* and Gouldner, *The Two Marxisms, Theory, Culture and Society*, 1, 2, Autumn, 120-3.
- 1981 *Socialism and Militarism*, Nottingham: Spokesman, 34 pp.

1979 'The Social Roots of Statistical Knowledge' (with Ian Miles) in J. Irvine, I. Miles and J. Evans, eds., *Demystifying Social Statistics*, London: Pluto, 27-38.

1978 'The Making of a Party? The International Socialists 1965-76', *The Socialist Register 1978*, London: Merlin, 100-45.

1976 'New Empirical Marxisms', *Sociology*, 10, 3, September, 519-23.

1974 'The Theory of the State and Politics: A central paradox of Marxism', *Economy and Society*, 3, 4, November, 429-50.

1971 'The Coming Crisis of Radical Sociology', *New Left Review* 70, November-December; reprinted in R Blackburn, ed., *Ideology in Social Science*, London: Fontana, 1972, 33-44.

1971-72 'Understanding Sociology', *The Spokesman*, 19-20, December-January, 61-65.

1968 'Christianity and Marxism', *Slant*, 19, February-March, 3-10.

1967 'Socialism: class struggle or intellectual movement?', *Slant*, 16, August-September, 3-7.

1966-67 'Class, movement and party: A reply to Penrose', *Slant*, 12, December-January, 10-11.

1966 'Class, movement, party', *Slant*, 10, August-September, 3-9.

## **5 Conference Papers and Invited Lectures**

2016 'Contemporary Western Wars: Strategy, Risk Economy and Civilian Harm', lecture, Institute of International Relations, University of Warsaw.

2013 'Violence Against "Political" and "Class" Enemies and Modern Genocide', Workshop, Genocide Studies and Spain, Barcelona.

'On Mutability', graduation address, Institut Barcelona d'Estudis Internacionals, Barcelona.

2012 'Iran: Geopolitics, Democracy - and War?', IBEI public lecture, Caixa Forum, Barcelona.

'Understanding Targeted Violence Against Civilians: The 'Genocide' and 'Civil War' Paradigms and the Hybrid Character of Conflict', conference on Armed Conflict in Comparative Perspective, University College, Galway.

2011 'The Arab Revolutions and Global Democratic Transformation', public lecture, CatalunyaCaixa, Barcelona.

'Concluding Remarks', How Does Terrorism End? workshop, Institut Barcelona d'Estudis Internacionals, Barcelona.

'The concept of genocide: what are we preventing?', University of Antwerp workshop on Preventing Genocide

'Understanding Targeted Violence Against Civilians: The 'Genocide' and 'Civil War' Paradigms and the Hybrid Character of Conflict', European University Institute, Florence, workshop on New Directions in Genocide Research.



Concluding remarks, How Does Terrorism End?, workshop, Institut Barcelona d'Estudis Internacionals, Barcelona.

2010 'Britain and Genocide: Historical and Contemporary Parameters of National Responsibility', Annual War Studies Lecture, King's College, University of London.

'Individual and group violations in war and genocide: relationships between human rights, legal and historical-sociological perspectives', Contested Boundaries: Contested Rights symposium, Roehampton University, London

2009 'Partition and Genocide in Twentieth-Century History', Opening address, Workshop on Partitions in 20th Century Global History, University of Sydney Institute of Social Sciences, Australia.

'The International Relations of Genocide', seminar paper, University of Sydney Department of Government; University of Melbourne; University of Queensland Politics and International Studies.

'Conceptual Frameworks for War and Militarism', plenary paper, Conference on Contemporary Militarism, University of Sussex, Brighton.

'The Limits of Comparative Genocide Studies', and panel on genocide in Africa, International Network of Genocide Scholars, Sheffield.

2008 'Provoking Genocide', Institut Barcelona d'Estudis Internacionals, Barcelona, Spain.

2007 Panel on my book *What is Genocide?*, International Association of Genocide Scholars, Sarajevo, Bosnia.

'Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide', International Association of Genocide Scholars, Sarajevo, Bosnia.

'The Prevalence of Genocide' (lecture), Sheffield University Centre for Genocide Research

2004 'Globality and the state', *Political Concepts beyond the Nation State*, Danish Political Theory Network, Copenhagen.

2003 'The political structure of a global world: the role of the United States', *The United States in a Global Historical Perspective*, Yale University Center for Globalization Studies.

'The Challenge of the Post-9/11 Wars' (keynote lecture), Peace Studies Association of Japan, Yokohama.

'Regressive globality: global theory in the age of George W. Bush' (lecture), London School of Economics.

'War and genocide: the legitimacy of armed force', Jon Lopategui Memorial Lecture, Kingston University.

'Connections of war and genocide: the political context', *The Memory of Genocide in World Politics*, Cambridge International Studies Association.

'There is no 'capitalist state', only modern states still driven by 'military-political' relations of violence', panel, 'The Future of the Capitalist State: Putting Bob Jessop in His Place?', British International Studies Association.

2002 'Risk-transfer militarism, small massacres and mediated war', *Communicating Conflict: War and Media after 11 September 2001*, NYU-London/Goldsmiths/Leeds symposium, London, and also at Michael Nicholson Memorial Symposium, Sussex.

2000 'War and Globality: The Role and Character of War in the Global Transition', colloquium, *La guerre entre le local et le global*, Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Internationales, Université de Paris: Sciences-Po, Paris.

Commentary on Michael Mann's Wiles Lectures, *Imposing Labels on Ages*, Queens University, Belfast.

1999 'The Unfinished Global Revolution: Social Theory and Political Practice in the Historical Transition of Our Times', conference on *Historical Sociology and International Relations*, Dept of International Politics, University of Wales, Aberystwyth.

'Media and Humanitarian Intervention: From Kurdistan to Kosova', Jean Monnet Workshop on *Media and Conflict in Former-Yugoslavia*, Sussex European Institute.

'Post-military citizenship in the context of the global transition', conference on *Redefining Society-Military Relations from Vancouver to Vladivostok*, University of Birmingham/ESRC/UK Ministry of Defence & FCO.

1998 'Media and Public Opinion in International Relations', Conference on *Media, Public Opinion and US and European Foreign Policy*, Columbia University, New York.

'Democracy and Peace in the Global Revolution', SSRC-sponsored symposium on *Democratic Peace*, Minneapolis.

'War and Globality', opening address, and 'The New Politics of War', paper, conference on *Globalisation, the State and Violence*, Review of International Political Economy/Sussex University conference, Sussex.

1997 'Ten Theses on Globality' and 'Culture In and Beyond the Cold War', British International Studies Association, Leeds.

'The State of Globalisation', Symposium: *The Future of the State*, Southampton University.

1996 'The Global Revolution in the Social Sciences: Concepts and Perspectives' (opening lecture of a series on *Globalisation*), Open University, Milton Keynes.

'Post-Military Society, Media and Violence' (lecture), Military and Society Foundation, Den Haag, Netherlands.

'The State of Globalisation', Seminar on *Globalisation*, Universities of Nijmegen and Wageningen, Netherlands.

'Mass Media and Global Violence', *Bosnia by Television* conference, War Studies, King's College, London.

'The State of International Relations', *Millennium* conference, LSE.

'The Development of Common Risk Societies: A Theoretical Overview', International Research Project on *The Military in Common Risk Societies*, Garmisch-Partenkirchen, Germany.

'The Global Revolution in the Social Sciences: The Globalisation of State Power as a Defining Issue', International conference on *Directions of Contemporary Capitalism*, Sussex.

1995 'New Concepts of Security', Conference on *International Relations in Europe*, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia

'Global Voices', Conference on *Human Rights, Human Wrongs*, University of Wales, Aberystwyth.

'Challenges of the Fragmentary Peace', Inaugural Lecture, University of Hull.

1994 'Military, State and Society in the 21st Century: Challenges of the Fragmenting Global Peace', International Research Seminar on *Euro-Atlantic Security: Democratic and Civil Control over Military Forces*, NATO Defence College, Rome.

'Analysing the fragmentary peace: new challenges for the sociology of war and militarism', Seminar on the *Sociology of War*, Triangular Universities' Security Seminar, Duke University, N Carolina, USA.

'The Global State', Seminar on International Society and Humanitarian Intervention, Ford Foundation project on *Rethinking the Bases of International Order*, LSE.

1993 'The Global State and the Politics of Intervention', British International Studies Association, University of Warwick.

'Distant Violence and Global Responsibility: Agenda for a sociology of international politics', Presidential Symposium, *Developments in Sociology*, British Sociological Association, University of Essex.

1992 'The New Politics of Peace', Conference on *Open Europe*, Edinburgh.

'Post-Military Society', Conference on *A Post-Military Economy?*, Coventry Polytechnic.

'A Post-Military Europe? Conscription, Citizenship and Militarism in East and West', British Sociological Association, Canterbury.

'The British Left and the Gulf War', conference on *The Left and the History of War*, Manchester.

1991 'The Concept of Security: Sociological theory and international relations', British International Studies Association, Annual Conference

'War and Post-Military Society: Attitudes to the Gulf War in Britain', Biennial Conference of the Inter-University Seminar on Armed Forces and Society (USA), Baltimore, Maryland, USA

'Mass Media and Attitudes to the Gulf War in Britain', 2nd Conference on Elections, Parties and Public Opinion in Britain, Political Studies Association, Worcester College, Oxford

'Civil Society, Social Movements and Nation-States; The International Order from the Second Cold War to the Gulf', ESRC International Conference on *Structural Change in the West: The Nation-State and International Order*, Emmanuel College, Cambridge.

'Mass Media and Public Opinion on the Gulf War', International Association for Mass Communications Research, Conference on *News Media and International Conflict*, Istanbul, Turkey.

'Deconstructing Public Opinion on the Gulf War', British Sociological Association Annual Conference, Manchester.

1989 Contribution to Symposium, 'What is Strategic Studies?', Royal Institute of International Affairs, Chatham House

1986 'Total War and the Social Theory of the State', International Studies Association (USA), Annual Conference, Anaheim, California, USA.

1985 'The Rise and Fall of the Military-Democratic State', British Sociological Association Annual Conference, Hull.

'The Problem of the Military-Democratic State', International symposium on *The Warfare-Welfare State*, King's College, Cambridge.

1981 'War, Imperialism and the State System', Conference on *War, State and Society*, Hull.

1980 'The Future of the British Left', Annual Conference of *Critique: Journal of Soviet and Socialist Studies*, London

1977 'Hegemony and Politics', British Sociological Association Annual Conference, Sheffield

1977 'Marxism and Culture', Conference on *Sociology of Culture*, Hull

Record of papers before 1977 not available.

## **6 Conferences, Workshops and Panels Organised**

2013 Workshop, Genocide Studies and Spain, on behalf of the *Journal of Genocide Research*, Barcelona.

2010 International Network of Genocide Scholars, Annual Conference, chair of organisers.

2008 Symposium on Genocide Research, Sussex University, chair of organisers.

1998 British International Studies Association, Sussex, chair of local organizers.

*Globalisation, the State and Violence*, Review of International Political Economy/Sussex University conference, Sussex, chair of organising committee.

1992 'The New Europe', British Sociological Association Annual Conference, University of Kent at Canterbury: convenor, panel on *Militarism and Society*.

1985 *War, Violence and Social Change*, Annual Conference of the British Sociological Association, Hull, Convenor, Conference Committee.

1981 *War, State and Society*, Hull, convenor.

1977 *Culture and Society*, Hull, co-convenor, with Michele Barrett.

## **7 Consultant, External Examiner and Assessor**

2008 Consultant, ESRC Meta-Review, International Relations and Security Research Challenge.

2007 Member, Commissioning Panel, ESRC Research Centres Competition

2002-4 Member, Commissioning Panel, ESRC Research Programme on Security Challenges.

2002 Member, Review Panel, ESRC Research Centre for the Study of Globalisation and Regionalisation, University of Warwick.

External Assessor, Appointments Committee, Department of Politics, SOAS, University of London.

2002-date Specialist Adviser to the School Promotions Committee, Department of International Relations, LSE.

2000-4 External Examiner (MA), DESTIN, LSE

1996 Consultant, George C Marshall Center for Security Studies, Garmsich-Partenkirchen, Germany: Project on Military in Common-Risk Societies

1995-96 Consultant, Open University, Faculty of Social Sciences: Project on Democracy and Globalisation

1993-94, 1995-96 Member, International Screening Committee, SSRC-MacArthur Post-Doctoral Fellowships on International Peace and Security, Social Science Research Council, New York.

1979-84 External examiner, Sociology, Middlesex Polytechnic.

External Examiner, PhDs, in Belgium, Italy and Australia as well as UK.

## **8 Editorial Boards**

2005- Member, International Advisory Board, *Journal of Genocide Research*.

2002- Member, International Advisory Board, *International Relations*.

2000-4 Founder and editor, [www.theglobalsite.ac.uk](http://www.theglobalsite.ac.uk)

1997-2001 Member, Editorial Board, *Review of International Studies*.

1997- Member, Editorial Board, *Peace and Conflict Studies*.

1997- Member, International Advisory Board, *Global Media - Global Culture*.

1996-2001 Member, International Advisory Board, *Review of International Political Economy*.

1996- Member, International Advisory Board, *Global Society*.

1994- Member, Editorial Advisory Board, Political Studies Association, *Studies on Marxism*.

1994- Member, Editorial Advisory Board, *Renewal: Journal of Labour Politics*.

1986, 1989, 1993, 1995, 1996, 1998 Member, Editorial Advisory Board, *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*.

## **10 Research Grants and Fellowships**

2010 Ministerio de Ciencia y Innovacion (Spain), Subprograma de Estancias de Movilidad de Profesores y Investigadores Extranjeros en Centros Españoles, €10,000.

2004-5 Economic and Social Research Council, Fellowship, Understanding Armed Violence Against Civilians: Genocide and Risk Transfer War, £158,000

2003 Centro Militare di Studi Strategici, Rome, Risk Theory and the Sociology of Contemporary Warfare, €18,000

2002 British Academy grant, £2000, for conference on Media representation of Islamic societies and war (chair of organising committee).

2000 Leverhulme Research Fellowship, project on Theory of War, £7750

1991 Gulf War Project, Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust, £5,500

1991 Gulf War Project, Cadbury Charitable Trust, £600

## **11 Prize**

2013 Best Article in *European Journal of International Relations*, 2010-13, awarded at the Warsaw conference of the Standing Group on International Relations, for 'From Comparative to International Genocide Studies: The International Production of Genocide in Twentieth-Century Europe', *European Journal of International Relations*, 18, 4, 645-68.

## **12 University Offices**

1997-2006 Member, Senate, University of Sussex

1996-99 Chair of International Relations and Politics Subject Group (Head of Department),  
University of Sussex

1989, 1992-95 Head of Department of Sociology and Anthropology, University of  
Hull

1989-92 Director, Centre for Defence and Disarmament Studies (renamed Centre for Security  
Studies during term), University of Hull

1977-79, 1989, 1992-95 Member, Senate, University of Hull

## **14 Research Students**

### **Completed DPhils**

2017 Michael Nwankpa, Development and Counter-Insurgency in Nigeria: Comparing the Boko  
Haram and Niger Delta Cases

2011 Andrei Gomez-Suarez, The genocide of the Union Patriotica in Colombia

2009 Sabrina Edwards, European political and cultural identity

2007 Jeppe Strandsbjerg, Sovereignty and cartography

2002 Yuichi Aiko, World government reconsidered

Gregory Kent, Media coverage of the war in Bosnia

David Mekelberg, Media in international relations

Graham Pollock, Civil society and nation

2000 Catherine Eschle, Democratic, feminist and global political theory