

Joseph MacKay

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Professional Appointments

- 2022-Present Fellow (Senior Lecturer), Department of International Relations, Australian National University, Canberra, Australia
- 2017-21 Research Fellow (Lecturer), Department of International Relations, Australian National University, Canberra, Australia
- 2015-17 Postdoctoral Fellow, Harriman Institute, Columbia University, New York, NY

Education

- 2015 PhD, Political Science, University of Toronto (fields: International Relations, Political Theory)
- 2006 LLM, International Law with International Relations, University of Kent
- 2002 BA, Philosophy and Contemporary Studies, Dalhousie University and the University of King's College

Interests: History of international ordering, history of international thought, hierarchy, empire, historical security, insurgency and counterinsurgency, global reactionary politics, Central and East Asia.

Research

Book

2023. Joseph MacKay. *The Counterinsurgent Imagination: A New Intellectual History*. LSE International Studies. Cambridge University Press (hardcover and paperback).

- Winner, 2023 Oceania Book Prize for International Studies (awarded biennially)
- Reviewed positively in *Small Wars & Insurgencies* (2024)
- Author Meets Critics Roundtable, International Studies Association 2023, Montreal, Canada
- Roundtable at H-Diplo (in process)

Articles in Peer Reviewed Journals

2024. Joseph MacKay and Jamie Levin. "Firearms Analogies and Settler Colonialism in American Nuclear Deterrence Strategy" *Security Dialogue* (conditionally accepted).

2024. Joseph MacKay. "'Making Democracy Safe for the World': Kenneth Waltz on Realism, Democracy, and War" *International Studies Quarterly* 68.3: 1-12.

2022. Joseph MacKay. "Art World Fields and Global Hegemonies" *International Studies Quarterly* 66.3: 1-12

2022. Joseph MacKay. "Kenneth Waltz's Approach to Reading Classic Political Theory and Why It Matters" *International Theory* 14.2: 338-57.

2021. Jamie Levin, Joseph MacKay, Anne Jamison, Abouzar Nasirzadeh, and Anthony Sealey. "A Test of the Democratic Peacekeeping Hypothesis: Coups, Democracy, and Foreign Military Deployments" *Journal of Peace Research* 58.3: 355-67.

2020. Kiran Banerjee and Joseph MacKay. "Communities of Practice, Impression Management, and Great Power Status: Military Observers in the Russo-Japanese War." *European Journal of International Security* 5.3: 274-93.

2019. Joseph MacKay. "Rethinking Hierarchies in East Asian Historical IR." *Journal of Global Security Studies* 4.4: 598-611.
2019. Joseph MacKay. "Legitimation Strategies in International Hierarchies." *International Studies Quarterly* 63.3: 717-25.
2019. Jamie Levin and Joseph MacKay. "Domestic Entanglements: Family, State, Hierarchy, and the Hobbesian State of Nature." *Review of International Studies*. 45.2: 221-38.
2018. Joseph MacKay and Christopher David LaRoche. "Why Is There No Reactionary International Theory?" *International Studies Quarterly* 62.2: 234-44.
2018. Joseph MacKay and Jamie Levin. "A Hegelian Realist Constructivist Account of War, Identity, and State Formation" *Journal of International Relations and Development* 21.1: 75-100.
2017. Joseph MacKay and Christopher David LaRoche. "The Conduct of History in International Relations: Rethinking Philosophy of History in IR Theory." *International Theory* 9.2: 203-36.
2016. Joseph MacKay. "The Nomadic Other: Ontological Security and the Inner Asian Steppe in Historical East Asian International Politics." *Review of International Studies* 42.03: 471-91.
2016. Jamie Levin, Joseph MacKay and Abouzar Nasirzadeh. "Selectorate Theory and the Democratic Peacekeeping Hypothesis: Evidence from Fiji and Bangladesh." *International Peacekeeping* 23.1: 107-32.
2015. Joseph MacKay and Jamie Levin. "Hanging Out in International Politics: Two Kinds of Explanatory Political Ethnography for IR." *International Studies Review* 17.2: 163-88.
2015. Joseph MacKay. "Rethinking the IR Theory of Empire in Late Imperial China." *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* 15.1: 53-69.
2015. Lilach Gilady and Joseph MacKay. "Bringing the Insurgents Back In: Early Wars in British India." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 27.5: 797-817.
2014. Joseph MacKay, Jamie Levin, Gustavo Carvalho, Kristen Cavoukian, and Ross Cuthbert. "Before and After Borders: The Nomadic Challenge to Sovereign Territoriality." *International Politics* 51.1: 101-23.
2013. Joseph MacKay. "Pirate Nations: Maritime Pirates as Escape Societies in Late Imperial China." *Social Science History* 37.4: 551-73.
2013. Joseph MacKay. "International Politics in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Central Asia: Beyond Anarchy in International Relations Theory." *Central Asian Survey* 32.2: 210-24.
2009. Joseph MacKay. "Running Dry: International Law and the Management of Aral Sea Depletion." *Central Asian Survey* 28.1: 17-27.

Chapters in Edited Volumes

2020. Jamie Levin and Joseph MacKay. "Introduction: Nomad-State Relationships in International Relations" in Jamie Levin, ed., *Nomad-State Relationships in International Relations: Before and After Borders*. London: Palgrave: 1-18.
2020. Joseph MacKay. "Imperial Chinese Relations with Nomadic Groups" in Jamie Levin, ed., *Nomad-State Relationships in International Relations: Before and After Borders*. London: Palgrave: 197-216.

Entries in Reference Works

2023. Joseph MacKay "Kenneth N. Waltz" in Meera Sabaratnam, ed., *Critiquing the Canon: International Relations Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/hepl/9780191980961.003.0003>

2021. Joseph MacKay and Christopher David LaRoche. "Theories and Philosophies of History in International Relations" in Benjamin de Carvalho, Julia Costa Lopez, and Halvard Leira, eds., *The Routledge Handbook of Historical International Relations*. London: Routledge: 17-26.

2020. Joseph MacKay and Christopher David LaRoche. "Historical Theories of International Relations." *Oxford Reference Encyclopedia of International Studies*.
<http://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190846626.013.535>

2016. Joseph MacKay and Jamie Levin. "Immersive Politics and the Ethnographic Encounter: Anthropology and Political Science" in Simon Coleman, Susan B. Hyatt, Ann Kingsolver, eds., *The Routledge Companion to Contemporary Anthropology*. London: Routledge: 439-55.

Book Reviews

Forthcoming. Joseph MacKay. Review of *The World Imagined: Collective Beliefs and Political Order in the Sinocentric, Islamic and Southeast Asian International Societies* by Hendrik Spruyt. H-Diplo Roundtable.

2023. Joseph MacKay. Review of *Empires of Eurasia: How Imperial Legacies Shape International Security* by Jeffrey Mankoff. *E-International Relations*. <http://www.e-ir.info/2023/01/12/review-empires-of-eurasia/>

2020. Joseph MacKay. Review of *The Steppe Tradition in International Relations: Russians, Turks and European State Building 4000 BCE–2018 CE* by Iver B. Neumann and Einar Wigen. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 33.6: 944-949. [for Guicciardini Prize forum].

2019. Joseph MacKay. Review of *Social Practices of Rule-Making in World Politics* by Mark Raymond, *Scientific Cosmology and International Order* by Bentley B. Allan, and *World Ordering: A Social Theory of Cognitive Evolution* by Emanuel Adler. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 33.3: 452-61.

Public and Online Writing

2022. Joseph MacKay. "Learning to Forget Lessons from Counterinsurgency." *Inkstick Media*.
<http://inkstickmedia.com/learning-to-forget-lessons-from-counterinsurgency/>

2018. Joseph MacKay and Christopher David LaRoche. "Reactionary World Politics." *The Duck of Minerva*.
<http://www.duckofminerva.com/2018/03/reactionary-world-politics.html>

Works in Progress

Book project in progress: Joseph MacKay, *Reactionary Worlds: Right-Wing Visions of Global Order*.

This book reconstructs the modern, western history of international thought on the reactionary right. Contra common assumptions, the right and far right have long advanced distinctive visions of world ordering. I build a historical account of them through profiles of major reactionary international theorists—beginning with Joseph de Maistre, perhaps the foremost francophone critic of the French Revolution, and ending with Samuel Huntington, the chief recent proponent of civilizational analysis in world politics. The project contributes to knowledge of reactionary international theory, past and present, and to the theoretical orientations of reactionary practices in contemporary global politics.

Joseph MacKay and Christopher David LaRoche. "Last Things: Narrative Endings in International Theory and History" (for *European Journal of International Relations* special issue on Theory and History).

Joseph MacKay. "Present at the Reaction: Joseph de Maistre and Right-Wing International Thought."

Joseph MacKay. "Culture as Infrastructure: Reading Culture and Civilization(s) with Adda B. Bozeman."

Joseph MacKay. "Imperial Expansion as Cartelization: Competition and Collusion in European Colonialism."

Joseph MacKay. "Nomads, IR Theory, and the Geopolitical Imagination."

Joseph MacKay. "What We Talk About When We Talk About Russian Imperialism."

Joseph MacKay. "Cosmos Politics: Interplanetary Empire in Postwar German Political Thought."

Conference Participation

Selected Presentations

2024. Joseph MacKay. "Present at the Reaction: Joseph de Maistre and Right-Wing International Thought." European International Studies Association, Lille, France.

2024. Joseph MacKay. "Culture as Infrastructure: Reading Culture and Civilization(s) with Adda B. Bozeman." International Studies Association, San Francisco, CA.

2023. Joseph MacKay. "Global Ordering, Knowledge Production, and Counterinsurgency." Oceanic Conference in International Studies, Melbourne.

2023. Christopher David LaRoche and Joseph MacKay. "Future Nostalgia: Reactionary World Ordering and Disordering." British International Studies Association, Annual Conference, Glasgow.

2023. Joseph MacKay. "Visualizing the Sovereign: Court Portraiture, Power, and Statemaking in Early Modern Europe." International Studies Association, Montreal, Canada.

2022. Joseph MacKay. "Realism and the Politics of Exile." European International Studies Association, Pan-European Conference, Athens.

2022. Joseph MacKay. "Cosmos Politics: Interplanetary Empire in Postwar German Political Thought." European International Studies Association, Pan-European Conference, Athens.

2021. Joseph MacKay. "Cosmos Politics: The Interplanetary Imaginary in Postwar European Political Thought." International Studies Association, Northeast. Online.

2021. Lucas Dolan, Christopher David LaRoche, Joseph MacKay. "Right-Wing Irredentism and the Limits of the 'Conflicting Nationalisms' Thesis." International Studies Association. Online.

2020. Joseph MacKay and Jamie Levin. "Pistols at Dawn, Five Minutes to Midnight: Firearms Analogies and American Nuclear Strategy." International Studies Association, Northeast. Online.

2019. Joseph MacKay and Christopher David LaRoche. "Reaction in Concert: Conservative Populism, Status Dissatisfaction, and International Realignment." International Studies Association & Central and East European International Studies Association, Belgrade, Serbia.

2019. Joseph MacKay. "'Making Democracy Safe for the World': Kenneth Waltz on American Democracy and Intervention." British International Studies Association, London, UK.

2019. Joseph MacKay. "Empire in Concert: Competition and Collusion in European Colonial Expansion." International Studies Association, Toronto, Canada.

2018. Joseph MacKay. "Empire in Concert: Competition and Collusion in European Colonial Expansion." International Studies Association, Northeast, Baltimore, MD.

2018. Joseph MacKay. "Cartographies of Global Order: Mapmaking as Worldmaking in Global Early Modernity." International Political Science Association, Brisbane, AU.

2017. Kiran Banerjee and Joseph MacKay. "Military Attaches in World Politics: The Case of the Russo-Japanese War." Social Science History Association, Montreal, QC.

2017. Joseph MacKay. "World Making in World Politics: 'Global Early Modernity' as Epistemic Crisis." International Studies Association, Baltimore, MD.

2016. Joseph MacKay. "Constructivism and Rule-Following Skepticism in IR Theory." International Studies Association, Northeast, Baltimore, MD.
2016. Joseph MacKay. "Varieties of Imperial Legitimacy: The Case of Russia." Central and East European International Studies Association, Annual Conference Ljubljana, Slovenia.
2016. Joseph MacKay. "Facts, Values, and International Politics: Constructivist Limits and Moral Possibility in IR." International Studies Association, Atlanta, GA.
2015. Joseph MacKay. "Whose Empire? What Legitimacy? Comparing the Imperial Forms of America and China." International Studies Association, Northeast, Providence, RI.
2015. Joseph MacKay. "Learning, Complexity, and Collaboration in US Army Field Manual 3-24." American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA.
2014. Joseph MacKay. "Legitimizing the Empire: Varieties of Imperialism in Historical East Asia." American Political Science Association, Washington, DC.
2014. Joseph MacKay and Christopher David LaRoche. "An Insecurity Community of Practice: "Rogue State" Alliance Formation in a Unipolar World." International Studies Association, Toronto, ON.
2013. Joseph MacKay and Christopher David LaRoche. "The Problem of History in International Relations Theory." International Studies Association, Northeast, Providence, RI.
2012. Joseph MacKay. "Three Models of Foreign Policy Learning in Counterinsurgency: David Galula in Algeria." Humboldt Colloquium, Toronto, ON.
2012. Joseph MacKay. "Three Models of Foreign Policy Learning in Counterinsurgency: C. E. Callwell and the Boer War." Midwestern Political Science Association. Chicago, IL.
2010. Joseph MacKay. "Beyond Anarchy and Hierarchy: The New Structuralism and the International Politics of Post-Silk Road Central Asia." Central Eurasian Studies Society Annual Conference, East Lansing, MI.
2010. Lilach Gilady and Joseph MacKay. "War and Theft on the High Seas: Pirates as Tricksters in International Politics." International Studies Association, New Orleans, LA.
2009. Joseph MacKay, Gustavo Calvalho, Kristen Cavoukian, Ross Cuthbert and Jamie Levin. "The Nomadic Challenge to the Westphalian State System." American Political Science Association, Toronto, ON.
2009. Joseph MacKay and Lilach Gilady. "Blind-Spots of States: Asymmetrical Warfare, Non-State Actors, and State-Likeness in British India." International Studies Association, New York.

Roundtable Participant

2023. Author Meets Critics Roundtable for Joseph MacKay, *The Counterinsurgent Imagination*.
2018. "Whose Turn Is It? Historical and Temporal Developments in IR." International Studies Association, Northeast, Baltimore, MD (co-organizer).
2018. "Reactionary World Politics." International Studies Association, San Francisco, CA (co-organizer).
2018. "Qualitatively Different? Problems and Approaches in Non-Positivist Research Presentation." International Studies Association, San Francisco, CA.

Panel Chair or Discussant

- European International Studies Association, Pan-European Conference, (2022, 2024)
ISA & Central and East European International Studies Association Joint Conference (2019, 2024)
International Studies Association Annual Conference (2011, 2019, 2023, 2024)

American Political Science Association Annual Meeting (2018)
Northeast Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies Conference (2017)
Association for the Study of Nationalities Annual Convention (2016, 2017)
Central Eurasian Studies Society Annual Conference (2010, 2015)

Workshop Presentations and Participation

2024. ECR workshop senior discussant: “Clash of civilizations? The return of cultural geopolitics and its challenge to liberal hegemony.” European International Studies Association, Lille, France.

2024. Joseph MacKay. “‘Cosmologists of Waste’: Reading Garbage with Don DeLillo at the End of History.” Waste, Wasteworlds, and Worldmaking, at the European Workshops in International Studies, Istanbul, Turkey.

2024. Joseph MacKay. “Reaction and the History of International Thought.” Reactionary Critiques and the Liberal International Order workshop. Rijeka, Croatia.

2023. Joseph MacKay. “Global Ordering, Knowledge Production, and Counterinsurgency.” Knowledge and Global Ordering workshop, Gothenburg.

2022. Joseph MacKay. “Global Security Ordering.” Global Orders: Past and Present workshop, hosted at Australian National University, Canberra.

2022. Joseph MacKay. “Nomads, IR Theory, and the Geopolitical Imagination.” Nomads and International Relations Workshop, University of Cambridge, UK.

2011. Joseph MacKay. “Pirate Citizenship: Political Identity and Maritime Piracy in Early Modern China.” East Asian Perspectives on Politics workshop, Tokyo, Japan.

Invited Talks

2023 Book talk, *The Counterinsurgent Imagination*. Norwegian Institute of International Affairs.
2023 Book talk, *The Counterinsurgent Imagination*. Swedish Institute of International Affairs.

Awards

2023 Oceania Book Prize for International Studies (awarded biennially)
2010 Best Graduate Student Paper, Central Eurasian Studies Society Annual Conference

Teaching

Australian National University

2021-23 Issues and Concepts in International Relations (masters)
2021 Special Topics in International Relations: Pandemic Politics (masters)
2017-20 World Politics (masters)
2020 Radical and Reactionary Ideas in World Politics (masters)
2018 Understanding Peace and Conflict (undergraduate)

Columbia University

2017 Empire in World Politics (masters)
2016 American Decline? Locating the United States in World Order (masters)

University of Toronto (co-instructor)

2014 Introduction to International Relations
2014 Global Issues and Governance

2013 New Security Challenges: Terrorists, Insurgents, Warlords, and Pirates

Teaching Assistant, University of Toronto (selected):

2008-15 International Law
2013-14 Introduction to International Relations
2010-13 Democracy, Dictatorship, War, and Peace (Introduction to Political Science)
2009-10 Global Networks
2010 Qualitative Methods (joint graduate-undergraduate seminar)
2008-09 Introduction to International Relations
2008-09 International Conflict and Conflict Management
2007 Modern Political Theory Part 1

Scholarships and Fellowships

2015-17 Social Science and Humanities Research Council, Postdoctoral Award
2010-11 Social Science and Humanities Research Council, Doctoral Award
2010-11 Ontario Graduate Scholarship (declined)
2009-10 Ontario Graduate Scholarship
2008-09 Ontario Graduate Scholarship

Visiting Positions

2024 Derek Brewster Visiting Fellow, Emmanuel College, Cambridge (Michaelmas term)
2018 Visiting Researcher, Ritsumeikan University, Kyoto, Japan (January-February)

PhD Students

Michael Varnay (primary supervisor/chair, awaiting graduation, ANU)
Nicola Mathieson (associate supervisor, completed 2023, ANU)
James Blackwell (associate supervisor, in progress, ANU)

Service

Departmental Service

2021-22 Higher Degree Research (PhD) Convenor, Department of International Relations, ANU
2019 Master's Thesis Convenor, Department of International Relations, ANU

Award Committee Chair, International Studies Association

2019-20 Joseph Fletcher Prize for Best Edited Book in Historical IR
2019-20 Barbara W. Tuchman Prize for Best Paper in Historical IR by a Graduate Student

Peer Review

International Political Science Review (2024)
Applied Economics Letters (2023)
African Studies (2023)
Oxford University Press (book proposal, 2023)
Bloomsbury Publishing (book proposal, 2023)
Asian Journal of Peacebuilding (2023)
International Organization (2022)
International History Review (2022)
Bristol University Press (2022)
Australian Research Council (grant applications, 2020, 2022)
International Relations (2022 x2)
History of Political Thought (2022)

Palgrave (book proposal, 2022)
International Politics (2022)
Global Studies Quarterly (2022, 2024)
Global Responsibility to Protect (2022)
Issues & Studies - A Social Science Quarterly on China, Taiwan, and East Asian Affairs (2022)
Dynamics of Asymmetric Conflict (2021)
Millennium: Journal of International Studies (2021, 2022, 2024)
Asian Security (2021)
New Perspectives (2020)
International Relations of the Asia-Pacific (2020, 2022)
Global Society (2019, 2020, 2024)
The Chinese Journal of International Politics (2019)
Critical Studies on Terrorism (2019)
European Journal of International Relations (2018, 2021, 2022, 2024)
Journal of Global Security Studies (2018)
Third World Quarterly (2018)
Cooperation and Conflict (2018)
The Sociological Quarterly (2018)
Terrorism and Political Violence (2017)
International Theory (2017, 2018, 2019, 2024)
Review of International Studies (2017, 2018, 2021, 2023)
International Studies Quarterly (2016, 2017, 2019, 2021, 2023, 2024)
Journal of International Relations and Development (2015, 2017, 2022)
International Studies Review (2015, 2018, 2019)
Central Asian Affairs (2015)
Routledge Interventions book series (chapter review, 2013)
Journal of Development Studies (2011)

References available on request.