

International Relations Theory and Regional Transformation

Regional transformation has emerged as a major topic of research during the past few decades, much of it seeking to understand how a region changes into a zone of conflict or cooperation and how and why some regions remain in perpetual conflict. Although all the leading theoretical paradigms of International Relations have something to say about regional order, a comprehensive treatment of this subject is missing from the literature. This book suggests that cross-paradigmatic engagement on regional orders can be valuable if it can generate theoretically innovative, testable propositions and policy-relevant ideas. The book brings together scholars from the dominant IR perspectives aiming to explain the regional order issue through multidimensional and multicausal pathways, and seeking meeting points between them. Using insights from IR theory, the contributors offer policy-relevant ideas which may benefit conflict-ridden regions of the world.

T. V. Paul is Director of the McGill/University of Montreal Centre for International Peace and Security Studies (CIPSS) and James McGill Professor of International Relations in the Department of Political Science at McGill University. He specializes in International Relations, especially international security, regional security, and South Asia.

International Relations Theory and Regional Transformation

Edited by
T. V. Paul



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press & Assessment
 978-1-107-60455-1 — International Relations Theory and Regional Transformation
 Edited by T. V. Paul
 Frontmatter
[More Information](#)



CAMBRIDGE
 UNIVERSITY PRESS

Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8EA, United Kingdom
 One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA
 477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
 314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025, India
 103 Penang Road, #05–06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of Cambridge University Press & Assessment, a department of the University of Cambridge.

We share the University's mission to contribute to society through the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org
 Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107604551

© Cambridge University Press & Assessment 2012

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press & Assessment.

First published 2012

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication data

Paul, T. V.

International relations theory and regional transformation / T. V. Paul.

p. cm.

Includes index.

ISBN 978-1-107-02021-4 (hardback) – ISBN 978-1-107-60455-1 (pbk.)

1. Regionalism. 2. Regionalism (International organization)

3. International relations. I. Title.

JZ1318.P383 2012

327.101–dc23

2011052724

ISBN 978-1-107-02021-4 Hardback

ISBN 978-1-107-60455-1 Paperback

Cambridge University Press & Assessment has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Contents

<i>List of figures and tables</i>	<i>page</i> vii
<i>About the contributors</i>	viii
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xii
Part 1 Introduction	
1 Regional transformation in international relations	3
T. V. PAUL	
2 How regions were made, and the legacies for world politics: an English School reconnaissance	22
BARRY BUZAN	
Part 2 Realist perspectives	
3 Realism and Neorealism in the study of regional conflict	49
DALE C. COPELAND	
4 Neoclassical realism and the study of regional order	74
JEFFREY W. TALIAFERRO	
Part 3 Liberal perspectives	
5 Economic interdependence and regional peace	107
JOHN M. OWEN, IV	
6 Regional organizations <i>à la carte</i> : the effects of institutional elasticity	133
STEPHANIE C. HOFMANN AND FRÉDÉRIC MÉRAND	
7 Transforming regional security through liberal reforms	158
JOHN R. ONEAL	

vi	Contents	
	Part 4 Constructivist perspectives	
8	Ideas, norms, and regional orders AMITAV ACHARYA	183
9	Regional security practices and Russian–Atlantic relations VINCENT POULIOT	210
	Part 5 Eclectic perspectives	
10	The transformation of modern Europe: banalities of success JOHN A. HALL	233
11	Top-down peacemaking: why peace begins with states and not societies NORRIN M. RIPSAN	255
	Part 6 Conclusions	
12	Strategies and mechanisms of regional change STÉFANIE VON HLATKY	283
	<i>Index</i>	299

Figures and tables

Figures

8.1 Ideas and regional orders	<i>page</i> 195
8.2 Global ideas and regional identities	201
8.3 Localization and subsidiarity	202

Tables

1.1 Sources of regional change	16
1.2 Selected regions – sources/outcomes of regional order	18
5.1 India's trade with SAARC countries	124
6.1 Regional institutional architectures	152
7.1 Estimated coefficients for the liberal-realist model, onset of fatal militarized interstate disputes, 1885–2001	167
7.2 Estimated probability of the onset of a fatal militarized dispute, selected pairs of states: based on the estimated coefficients in Table 7.1	168
7.3 Annual probabilities of the onset of a fatal militarized dispute, 1885–2001: based on the estimated coefficients in Table 7.1	169
7.4 Annual probabilities of the onset of a fatal militarized dispute, 1885–2001: historical estimates and counterfactuals, continental averages	173

About the contributors

Editor

T. V. PAUL is James McGill Professor of International Relations in the Department of Political Science at McGill University and Director of the McGill/Université de Montréal Centre for International Peace and Security Studies (CIPSS). He is the author or editor of thirteen books and nearly fifty journal articles and book chapters. His books include *Globalization and the National Security State* (with Norrin Ripsman; 2010); *The Tradition of Non-use of Nuclear Weapons* (2009); *South Asia's Weak States: Understanding the Regional Insecurity Predicament* (editor; 2010); *Complex Deterrence: Strategy In the Global Age* (with Patrick Morgan and James Wirtz; 2009); *Balance of Power: Theory and Practice in the 21st Century* (with James Wirtz and Michel Fortmann; 2004); and *International Order and the Future of World Politics* (with John A. Hall; Cambridge, 1999, 2000 [twice], 2001, 2002 and 2003).

Contributors

AMITAV ACHARYA is the UNESCO Chair in Transnational Challenges and Governance and Professor of International Relations at the School of International Service, American University, Washington, DC. He is also chair of the American University's ASEAN Studies Center. Previously, he was Professor of Global Governance at the University of Bristol; Professor at York University, Toronto and at Nanyang Technological University, Singapore; and Fellow of the Harvard University Asia Center and Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government. He is the author of *Constructing a Security Community in Southeast Asia* (2001, 2009) and *Whose Ideas Matter: Agency and Power in Asian Regionalism* (2009), and is coeditor of *Crafting Cooperation: Regional International Institutions in International Politics* (Cambridge, 2007). His articles have appeared in *International*

Organization, International Security, International Studies Quarterly, Journal of Asian Studies, and World Politics.

BARRY BUZAN is the Montague Burton Professor of International Relations at the London School of Economics and honorary professor at Copenhagen and Jilin Universities. His most recent books include *The Evolution of International Security Studies* (with Lene Hansen; Cambridge, 2009) and *Regions and Powers: The Structure of International Security* (with Ole Wæver; Cambridge, 2003). He has published numerous scholarly articles in journals such as *European Journal of International Relations*, *Millennium*, *International Affairs*, and *Review of International Studies*.

DALE C. COPELAND is Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Virginia. He is the author of *The Origins of Major War* (2000). A forthcoming book, *Economic Interdependence and War*, examines the conditions under which interstate trade and commerce will lead to either war or peace. He is the author of numerous articles in such journals as *International Security*, *Security Studies*, and *Review of International Studies*.

JOHN A. HALL is the James McGill Professor of Sociology at McGill University. His publications include *Coercion and Consent* (1994), *International Orders* (1996), *Is America Breaking Apart?* (with C. Lindholm; 1999), and *Power in the Twenty-first Century* (2011). He has been Honorary Professor of Sociology and Politics at the University of Copenhagen since 2001. He served as Dean of the McGill Faculty of Arts from 2003 to 2005.

STEPHANIE C. HOFMANN is Assistant Professor in Political Science at the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies in Geneva, and a steering committee member of the Center of Conflict, Development, and Peacebuilding. Previously she has been a Jean Monnet Fellow at the European University Institute, Florence. She has published in journals such as *Perspectives on Politics*, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, *Cooperation and Conflict*, and *Politique Étrangère*.

FRÉDÉRIC MÉRAND is Associate Professor of Political Science at Université de Montréal, Professor of European Studies at LUISS University, Rome, and Associate Director of the Centre for International Peace and Security Studies (CIPSS). In 2004–2005 he was a policy advisor with the Canadian Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade. He is the author of *European Defence Policy*:

x About the contributors

Beyond the Nation State (2008), and his articles have been published in *Security Studies*, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, *Comparative European Politics*, and *Cooperation and Conflict*.

JOHN R. ONEAL is Professor Emeritus of Political Science at the University of Alabama. He is the author of *Triangulating Peace: Democracy, Interdependence, and International Organizations* (with Bruce Russett; 2001), and was selected as cowinner of Best Book of the Decade by the International Studies Association in 2010. In addition, he has published some fifty scholarly articles in such journals as *American Sociological Review*, *International Organization*, *Journal of Peace Research*, *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, and *International Studies Quarterly*.

JOHN M. OWEN IV is Professor of Politics at the University of Virginia. He is the author of *Liberal Peace, Liberal War: American Politics and International Security* (1997) and *The Clash of Ideas in World Politics: Transnational Networks, States, and Regime Change 1510–2010* (2010). He has published works in numerous journals, including *International Organization*, *International Security*, *International Studies Quarterly*, and *Foreign Affairs*.

VINCENT POULIOT is Assistant Professor in the Department of Political Science at McGill University and Associate Director of the Centre for International Peace and Security Studies (CIPSS). He is the author of *International Security in Practice: The Politics of NATO–Russia Diplomacy* (Cambridge, 2010) and *Metaphors of Globalization: Mirrors, Magicians and Mutinies* (2008). He has published articles in *International Organization*, *International Studies Quarterly*, *Journal of Peace Research*, and *European Journal of International Relations*.

NORRIN M. RIPSAN is Professor in the Political Science Department at Concordia University in Montreal, Canada. He is the author of *Peacemaking by Democracies: The Effect of State Autonomy on the Post-World-War Settlements* (2002), a coauthor (with T. V. Paul) of *Globalization and the National Security State* (2010), a coeditor (with Steven E. Lobell and Jeffrey W. Taliaferro) of *Neoclassical Realism, the State, and Foreign Policy* (Cambridge, 2009), and a coeditor (with Jean-Marc F. Blanchard and Edward D. Mansfield) of *Power and the Purse: Economic Statecraft, Interdependence, and International Conflict* (2000). He is author of numerous articles in journals including *International Security*, *International Studies Quarterly*, *Security Studies*, *Millennium*, *International Interactions*, and *International Studies Review*.

JEFFREY W. TALIAFERRO is Associate Professor of Political Science at Tufts University. He is the author of *Balancing Risks: Great Power Intervention in the Periphery* (2004), for which he received the American Political Science Association's Robert L. Jervis and Paul W. Schroeder Award for the Best Book in International History and Politics. His articles have appeared in the journals *International Security*, *Security Studies*, and *Political Psychology* and he has contributed to two edited volumes. He is coeditor (and a contributor), along with Steven E. Lobell and Norrin M. Ripsman, of *Neoclassical Realism, the State, and Foreign Policy* (Cambridge, 2009).

STÉFANIE VON HLATKY is a senior researcher at the Center for Security Studies, ETH (Swiss Federal Institute of Technology) Zurich. Prior to this position she was a postdoctoral fellow at Georgetown and McGill Universities. In 2010 she was the Canada Institute Junior Scholar at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington, DC. In 2011 she was a visiting professor at Dartmouth College. She holds a Ph.D. from Université de Montréal and served as Executive Director of CIPSS. Her research interests focus on alliance politics, Canada–US relations, American foreign policy, and nuclear weapons policy.

Acknowledgments

This volume evolved out of a conference I organized as part of the “Globalization and Regional Security Orders” team project at the McGill/University of Montreal Center for International Peace and Security Studies (CIPSS) in May 2010. The volume is one of several works this project has sponsored that explore the issue of security and peace in an era of deepened globalization, by its core members, John A. Hall, Michel Fortmann, Vincent Pouliot, Norrin Ripsman, and myself. The funding for the conference came from the Fonds Québécois de Recherche sur la Société et la Culture (FQRSC), Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC), James McGill Chair, and the Security and Defence Forum (SDF) research grants. Two successful panels were held at the March 2011 International Studies Association annual conference, and contributors thoroughly reviewed their papers in view of the comments they received from the discussants and the two anonymous reviewers of Cambridge. I thank the following discussants at the Montreal conference – Zhiming Chen, Peter Jones, Michael Lipson, Vincent Pouliot, Stéphanie von Hlatky, and Norrin Ripsman – and the two discussants at the ISA panels, Patrick Morgan and Steven Lobell. Able research assistance was provided by Steven Loleski and Mahesh Shankar. John Haslam, our editor at Cambridge University Press, showed much interest in this book project.

T. V. Paul