



GLOBAL RESEARCH NETWORK ON
PEACEFUL CHANGE

OXFORD HANDBOOK ON
PEACEFUL CHANGE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Editors

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Proposal

Synopsis


With the rise of China and the attempted resurgence of Russia, power transition has returned as a crucial issue in international relations. However, much of the international relations scholarship on power transitions deals with war as the main mechanism for shifts in the international order (Organski 1958; Organski and Kugler 1980; Gilpin 1981; Modelski 1987; Kennedy 1987; Mearsheimer, 2000; Allison, 2017). Barring rare exceptions (e.g., Doran 1971), power cycle and long-cycle theories also view war as the chief instrument of change (Modelski and Thompson 1989). Other structural theories such as World System and Marxist-Leninist consider war and conflict as requisite for change (Lenin 1939; Hobson 1965; Wallerstein 1974). The scholarly domain reflects to a great extent the historical behavioral patterns of great powers.

The recent publication of Graham Allison's *Destined for War: Can America and China Escape Thucydides's Trap?* (2017) returned to international attention the possibility that violent attempts at preventing power transition by a declining power (as Sparta did vis-a-vis Athens in the Peloponnesian War) might lead to a return to an era of great power conflict, in this case between China and the United States. Surprisingly, there has been only limited interest among key policymakers of the big powers in how to foster non-violent change in the international order. Traditionally, strategy and grand strategy have been significantly concerned with the application of violence—how to attain the objectives of war, and then post-war security, through minimum costs to nation-states. Strategy is defined by von Clausewitz as “the use of engagement for the object of the war” (Clausewitz 1989, 128). To Basil Liddell Hart, strategy is “the art of distributing and applying military means to fulfill the ends of policy” (1991, 321). Similarly, Helmuth von Moltke defines strategy as “the practical adaptation of the means placed at a general’s disposal to the attainment of the object in war” (Quoted in Baylis, Wirtz, and Gray 2013, 5). All these definitions have one element in common—the focus is exclusively on ways in which military power is used by governments in the pursuit of their security goals. The leading states created military doctrines and grand strategies that deliberated mostly on how to fight the wars rather than build perpetual peace. Europeans twice led themselves into war in the last century, and the horrendous aftereffects lingered on for generations.

In addition to the prospect of a return of great power rivalries, we are in an era of major changes in world politics, brought about by the rise of new powers, deepened economic globalization, and the emergence of violent transnational forces, including armed non-state actors. Collective action challenges of transnational terrorism and global warming, for example, require cooperation and coordination of all states, especially big powers. Forestalling a slide from rivalry into war among great powers requires new thinking on peaceful change. More importantly, regional orders are changing with Europe, the cradle of a pluralistic security community (Adler and Barnett (1998), now inevitable becoming less pluralistic! The IR discipline has offered many ideas on peace and change in our field (e.g., Carr, 1934; Gilpin, 1981; Holsti, 2004; Kupchan, 2010; Adler and Barnett 1998; Russett and Oneal, 2001; Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998; Kupchan et al. 2001) but they are scattered and not part of a larger theme of peaceful change. For instance, the works of Mueller (1989) and Pinker (2013) received much attention on their own merit as well as some work on regional peaceful change (e.g. Buzan and Waever, 2003; Lake and Morgan, 1997; Solingen, 1998; Lemke, 2002; Miller, 2007; Ripsman, 2016; Paul, 2012; Katzenstein, 2005; Acharya, 2001), at least among scholars. Yet no coordinating theme has emerged, and the scholarly community does not seem to engage each other's work sufficiently. The proposed *Oxford Handbook of Peaceful Change in International Relations* is aimed at rectifying this situation. We intend to offer in-depth analyses of the central topics within this theme, by leading scholars in the IR field. The goal is to have a contributor list that is inclusive with regard to gender, nationality, and theoretical diversity. Authors will offer a critical evaluation of existing theories and concepts while attempting to develop new ideas. The chapters will also offer a research agenda for the specific domains while the final chapter will make concrete theoretical and policy suggestions for the subject matter as a whole. The aim is to generate sufficient number of research topics which can be used by students and scholars for creating new ideas and projects and thereby an invigorated research agenda on the scholarship on peaceful change in the coming decades. Policymakers who grapple with great power relations in particular will benefit from the ideas we generate in these papers.

This handbook will be the substantive work of the *Network on the Study of Peaceful Change* (<https://www.grenpec.com>) that we have recently formed. The annual conference theme of the International Studies Association (ISA) in 2017 was "Understanding Change in World Politics" and the subsequent short articles in the *International Studies Review* (2018) focused on "Change in World Politics" with seven of them devoted to peaceful change specifically. T.V. Paul, as President of ISA, made significant contributions to both these endeavors by forming some 70 presidential panels on change and co-editing 17 papers in the special ISR issue. The proposed Handbook will build on these themes but will be more comprehensive and focused at once. We will seek a good mix of scholars at different career stages keeping gender, region, and theoretical diversities in mind.

There are at least three key dimensions of peaceful change relevant to IR that we intend to cover in the handbook. First, at the *global/systemic level* change, related to power transitions and the peaceful status accommodation of rising powers, as well as the creation of a just world order, often produces much conflict and violence. Power transition conflicts arise largely due to political, economic, military, and technological changes that alter the capabilities of countries, and when a critical passage point occurs, rising powers would engage in cataclysmic wars to advance their progression, or declining powers initiate preventive wars to arrest the rise of new powers. The European great powers waged during the heyday of the imperial era many such violent wars, causing extraordinary conflict and bloodshed in the international system. The question is whether the power transition wars involving two or more big states can be avoided or whether a peaceful accommodation in power and status positions is possible or not. Can great powers resort to non-violent methods to achieve change vis-à-vis their peers as well as versus smaller powers in the system? There is also a transnational dimension to global changes especially on collective action problems such as climate change and social movements that contribute or inhibit peaceful change at the global level.



Second, at the *regional level*, i.e., change in regional orders from conflict to cooperation and the possibilities of producing security communities where stable peace exists and member-states do not envision or prepare for war to settle disputes among them (Deutsch 1957; Adler and Barnett 1998) deserves our increased attention. This is partly because in the key region where the security community arose--i.e., Europe--we see some reverses taking place. Is regional transformation a linear process, or is it possible to achieve a semblance of order only to return to disorder at different points in time? Some regions are mired in perpetual conflicts or enduring rivalries although over time these conflicts could assume new societal dimensions (Paul 2012, 3). Other regions have made significant progress towards gradual peaceful change. Some regional orders even model alternative solutions to major international cooperation issues that are distinct from those that prevail in the global international order. For example, Latin America's Nuclear Weapons Free Zone is a working alternative to the prevailing global non-proliferation regime centered on the NPT (Davies 2004). However, even the most successful regional orders come under stress. Europe, for example, has recently been subject to a crisis, which is multidimensional and potentially existential (Dinan, Nugent and Paterson 2017, Rittberger and Blauburger 2018).

Third, at the *domestic level*, positive change might seem to flow from improvements to state capacity and democratic order that can allow states to have a positive impact on international and regional orders through greater contributions to international cooperation. But weak or fragile states that are unable to sustain domestic order or popular legitimacy also have implications for regional and global order through spillover effects from illicit markets, trafficking, refugee flows, and other public 'bads' (Migdal 1988; Holsti 1996; Clunan and Trinkunas 2010; Felbab-Brown, Trinkunas, and Hamid 2017). More recently, the implications of domestic politics for regional and global order have drawn renewed attention. The resurgence of great power rivalry raises the specter that domestic ideologies, such as populism, liberalism and technocratic authoritarianism, may once again become fault lines in global politics (Brands 2018). Fostering peaceful change requires understanding the conditions under which such domestic-level factors drive international conflict or make possible international cooperation. Domestic changes in great power states in particular could affect their foreign policy behavior as we notice today in Russia, China and even in the United States. The big question is how do these domestic changes affect international and regional orders?

Thus, the primary focus of this handbook is to evaluate ideas at the global level, especially the possibility for the peaceful accommodation of rising powers, and at the regional level, exploring how and when regions transform into conflictual orders or, alternatively, offer models for cooperation that might be emulated globally. Why is it important that we understand and cope with systemic change in a meaningful manner? A failure to appreciate change and deal with it constructively can have disastrous consequences, especially if it involves competing major power states with the potential to destroy the world. The context of warfare and international politics during the past several centuries made military victory the dominant goal of strategy. Diplomatic and military history tells us that the blind following of violent strategic logic by great powers can lead to disasters.

From a national security perspective, the United States cannot afford the risk that the return of great power rivalry will bring about the return of catastrophic great power wars. There is no guarantee that America will win such a conflict and even if it wins, the winner could end up as the loser as happened to the United Kingdom that lost its hegemony permanently after World War II. America's biggest strategic challenge in the years to come is how to accommodate China, Russia, India, and potentially other rising/resurging powers peacefully without succumbing to appeasement or aggression. The challenge for the rising powers is how to reach their goals without war. In order to accomplish that objective, all these states need a grand strategy that calls for gradual accommodation and integration rather than outright confrontation. Rising powers such as China and India and resurging Russia in particular will need to develop national strategies to obtain change in the status quo without war or large-scale violence if they are to achieve their goals of creating an order that is lasting and perceived as legitimate by other members of the international community, but also accommodates their national interests.






Table of Contents (All Authors Accepted)

1. *Introduction: The Study of Peaceful Change in World Politics* T.V. Paul (McGill University)

Part I: Historical Perspectives

[In this section, the papers will address the historical origins of peaceful change as an International Relations subject matter in particular in the Inter-war, the Cold War, and the Post-Cold War eras. The reason for the “highs” and “lows” in the study of peaceful change in the discipline will be discussed]

2. *The Inter-War Era*, Torbjorn Lindstrom Knutsen (Norwegian University of Science and Technology)
3. *Post-World War Evolution*, Peter M. Kristensen and Ole Wæver (Copenhagen University)
4. *Post-Cold War Evolution*, Jeff Taliaferro (Tufts University)

Part II: Theoretical Perspectives

[Each of the IR theoretical traditions and paradigms has its distinct view on peaceful change. While Realists in general reject the feasibility of peaceful change, liberals are optimistic about it, provided proper liberal strategies are implemented. The papers will address the problems and prospects of peaceful change based on the theoretical traditions in IR.]

5. *Classical Realism and Peaceful Change*, Alex Reichwein (Justus-Liebig-Universität)
 6. *Structural, Offensive and Neoclassical Realism and Peaceful Change*, Joshua Shiffrinson (Boston University)
 7. *Liberalism and Peaceful Change*, Alexandra Gheciu (University of Ottawa)
 8. *International Institutions and Peaceful Change*, Fredric Merand (University of Montreal and Vincent Pouliot (McGill)
 9. *Economic Interdependence/Globalization and Change*, John Ravenhill, (University of Waterloo)
 10. *Constructivism and Peaceful Change*, Stephanie Hoffman (Graduate Institute, Geneva)
 11. *English School, International Society and Peaceful Change*, Cornelia Navari (University of Buckingham)
 12. *Post-Colonialist Perspectives on Change*, Vendulka Kubalkova (Miami University)
 13. *Evolutionary Perspectives*, Shiping Tang (FudanUniversity)
 14. *Critical Theories and Change*, Annette Freyberg-Inan (Amsterdam) -accepted
 15. *Gender and Peaceful Change*, Karin Aggestam (Lund University)
 16. *Civilizations, Religions and Peaceful Change*, Victoria Tin-bor Hui (University of Notre Dame)
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Part III: The Sources of Change

[The papers in this section address the key sources from where changes occur. These sources are both material and ideational. In addition, transnational movements have often been argued as sources of change as norm entrepreneurs]

17. *Ideas and Peaceful Change*, Catherine Lu (McGill University)
18. *International Law and Peaceful Change*, Jennifer Welsh (McGill University)
19. *Nuclear Weapons and Peaceful Change*, Michael Smetana (Charles University, Prague)
20. *Political Economy and Peaceful Change*, Lars Skalnes (University of Oregon)
21. *Climate Change, Collective Action and Peaceful Change*, Ashok Swain (Uppsala University)
22. *Democracy, Global Governance and Peaceful Change*, Thomas Davies (City University of London)
23. *Technology and Peaceful Change*, Anne Clunan, (NPS Monterey)
24. *Status Quest and Peaceful Change*, Xiayou Pu (University of Nevada)
25. *Transnational Social Movements and Peaceful Change*, Alejandro M. Pena (York University, UK)

Part IV: Great Powers, Rising Powers and Peaceful Change

[The papers on this section explore the key states in the world today and their perspectives and contributions to peaceful change, realizing that many of them have violent past or tend not to pursue peaceful policies consistently. The objective is to see what policies they proposed and for what reason, domestic or international, they subsequently altered them if and when change took place in their approaches.]

26. *Peaceful Change in US Foreign Policy*, Deborah Larson (UCLA)
27. *China and Peaceful Rise*, Kai He (Griffith University)
28. *Soviet Union/Russia and Peaceful Change*, Andrej Krikovic (Higher School of Economics, Moscow)
29. *India and Peaceful Change*, Manjeet Pardesi (Victoria University, NZLD)
30. *Brazil's Contributions to Peaceful Change*, Adriana Abdenur (Instituto Igarapé, Rio de Janeiro)
31. *Germany and Peaceful Change*, Klaus Brummer (Catholic University Eichstaett-Ingolstadt)
32. *Japan and Peaceful Change Strategies*, Thomas Berger (Boston University)
33. *South Africa and Peaceful Change*, Peter Vale (University of Johannesburg)
34. *Indonesia's Contributions to Peaceful Change*, Dewi Fortuna Anwar (LIPI, Jakarta)
35. *Turkey: Evolution of Perspectives*, Ayse Zarakol (Cambridge)

Part V: Regional Perspectives

[The contributors will evaluate the peaceful change that occurred in the world's key regions and if so how and why? Have they failed or reversed their peaceful trajectories and what are the causes of such changes? What is the role of domestic factors in contributing or inhibiting peaceful change internationally? Finally, authors will address future trajectories of these regions in the domains of peace or order.]

36. *North America*, David Haglund (Queens University)
South America, Harold Trinkunas (Stanford University)
37. *Africa*, Markus Kornburst (Vienna Diplomatic Academy)
38. *Southeast Asia*, Ralf Emmers and Mely Caballero Anthony (RSIS, NTU)
39. *South Asia*, Kate Sullivan de Estrada, (Oxford) and Rajesh Basrur (RSIS)
40. *East Asia*, Bhuhindar Singh (RSIS)
41. *Middle East*, Arie Kacowicz (Hebrew University)
42. *Western Europe*, Anders Wivel (University of Copenhagen)
43. *Eastern Europe*, Benjamin Miller and Alexander Tabachnik (Haifa University)
44. *Central Asia*, John Heathershaw (Exeter University)-accepted
45. *A New Research Agenda for Peaceful Change*, Deborah Larson, T.V. Paul, Anders Wivel, Harold Trinkunas, and Ralf Emmers

Audience:

Each paper will be 6000-7000 word long, exclusive of references, written by an acknowledged expert. The handbook will appeal to a global audience comprising several groups of readers. First, the scholarly community within the IR field and beyond who are interested in peace and change. Second, graduate and upper division undergraduate students will find it useful for their own research and coursework. Courses dealing with IR theory, international security and regional orders are the best venues for this. In addition, country chapters may be used in courses dealing with specific states and their foreign policies. Reading these short chapters will help emerging scholars with developing ideas further for their own works. Finally, policy makers in the foreign policy and military communities across the world as well as media looking for in-depth knowledge of regions will be interested in the chapters. We intend to organize several launches and also spread the news on the Handbook via the proposed Global Network on Peaceful Change <https://www.grenpec.com>. In addition, we will also advertise the Handbook and its contents through social media outlets like Twitter, Linked-In and Facebook on which many of us are very active.

Existing Works:

There are not too many competitors for this handbook. However, a few popular books on peaceful change exist, showing that the subject could attract readers' attention. The most recent one is by Steven Pinker, *The Better Angels of our Nature: Why Violence has Declined* (2013). It offers a rosy picture of the remarkable evolution of peacefulness in human evolution over the millennia. Charles Kupchan offers a case study-based approach and shows how diplomacy can transform adversarial relationships to peace in his *How Enemies become Friends: The Sources of Stable Peace* (2012). John Mueller's *Retreat from Doomsday, The Obsolescence of Major War* (1999) offers explanations for the peace in the advanced world and the declining incidence of warfare as such. Neta Crawford's *Argument and Change in World Politics* (2014) examines how ethical arguments have helped decolonisation and other major peaceful changes. T.V. Paul's edited volumes *Accommodating Rising Powers* (2016) and *International Relations Theory and Regional Transformation* (2012) address strategies of systemic and regional level transformations, both peaceful and violent, with the aid of major IR theories and empirical case studies. While these books offer some major ideas on peaceful transitions, a comprehensive treatment of the subject is missing in the literature. Having a Handbook discussing the key ideas contained in them and beyond in view of the changing world order and regional contexts will be the added value of this project. The proposed contributors are leading authors in these areas.

Timeline:

2-3 months: Author selection and approach for short paragraphs

6 months: First drafts are written, with the expectation that all draft papers will be submitted by February 1, 2020.

June-December 2020: chapters are individually approved for publication and are published online on a rolling basis.

December 2020: Submission of full manuscript to OUP


Summer/Fall 2021: Publication and global book release

Bio-sketches of Editors

T.V. Paul is James McGill Professor of International Relations in the Department of Political Science at McGill University, Montreal, Canada and a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada. He served as the President of International Studies Association (ISA) for 2016-17. Paul is the author or editor of 20 books and over 75 scholarly articles/book chapters in the fields of International Relations, International Security, and South Asia. He is the author of the books: *Restraining Great Powers: Soft Balancing from Empires to the Global Era* (Yale University Press, 2018); *The Warrior State: Pakistan in the Contemporary World* (Oxford University Press, 2013); *Globalization and the National Security State* (with N. Ripsman, Oxford University Press, 2010); *The Tradition of Non-use of Nuclear Weapons* (Stanford University Press, 2009); *India in the World Order: Searching for Major Power Status* (with B.R. Nayar Cambridge University Press, 2002); *Power versus Prudence: Why Nations Forgo Nuclear Weapons* (McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000); and *Asymmetric Conflicts: War Initiation by Weaker Powers* (Cambridge University Press, 1994). He is also the editor or co-editor of some 12 critically acclaimed volumes. Paul currently serves as the editor of the Georgetown University Press book series: *South Asia in World Affairs*. For more, see: www.tvpaul.com


Deborah Welch Larson is professor of political science at the University of California, Los Angeles. Her publications include *Origins of Containment: A Psychological Explanation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985); *Anatomy of Mistrust: US-Soviet Relations during the Cold War* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997); and "Status Seekers: Chinese and Russian Responses to U.S. Primacy," *International Security* 34, no. 4 (Spring 2010): 63-95 (with Alexei Shevchenko). She has most recently published *Quest for Status: Chinese and Russian Foreign Policy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019), with Alexei Shevchenko.

Harold Trinkunas is the Deputy Director of and a Senior Research Scholar at the Center for International Security and Cooperation at the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies at Stanford University. Prior to arriving at Stanford, Trinkunas served as the Charles W. Robinson Chair and senior fellow and director of the Latin America Initiative in the Foreign Policy program at the Brookings Institution. Trinkunas has also previously served as an associate professor and chair of the Department of National Security Affairs at the Naval Postgraduate School in Monterey, California. He received his doctorate in political science from Stanford University in 1999. Trinkunas has co-authored *Militants, Criminals and Warlords: The Challenge of Local Governance in an Age of Disorder* (Brookings Institution Press, 2017), *Aspirational Power: Brazil's Long Road to Global Influence* (Brookings Institution Press, 2016) and authored *Crafting Civilian Control of the Military in Venezuela* (University of North Carolina Press, 2005). He co-edited and contributed to *American Crossings: Border Politics in the Western Hemisphere* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2015), *Ungoverned Spaces: Alternatives to State Authority in an Era of Softened Sovereignty* (Stanford University Press, 2010), *Global Politics of Defense Reform* (Palgrave MacMillan, 2008), and *Terrorism Financing and State Responses* (Stanford University Press, 2007).



Anders Wivel is Professor with special responsibilities in the Department of Political Science, University of Copenhagen. His research interests include foreign policy, in particular the foreign policies of small states, and international relations theory, in particular the realist tradition. His work has been published in a large number of academic journals including, e.g. *Cooperation and Conflict*, *International Studies Review*, *Journal of Common Market Studies* and *Journal of European Integration*. His most recent books are *The Routledge Handbook of Scandinavian Politics* (Routledge, 2018, co-edited with Peter Nedergaard) and *International Institutions and Power Politics: Bridging the Divide* (Georgetown University Press, forthcoming 2019, co-edited with T.V. Paul). From 2017 to 2019 he served as chief investigator and deputy director of research at The Independent Inquiry of Denmark's Military Participation in Kosovo, Afghanistan and Iraq.

Ralf Emmers is Professor of International Relations and Dean at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang Technological University (NTU), Singapore. He completed his MSc and PhD from the International Relations Department of the London School of Economics (LSE). His research interests cover security studies, international institutions in the Asia Pacific, and the security and international politics of Southeast Asia. Emmers is the author and editor of 11 books and monographs. His books include *Cooperative Security and the Balance of Power in ASEAN and the ARF* (RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), *Geopolitics and Maritime Territorial Disputes in East Asia* (Routledge, 2010), *Resource Management and Contested Territories in East Asia* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); and *Security Strategies of Middle Powers in the Asia Pacific* co-written with Sarah Teo (Melbourne University Press, 2018). He has published articles in peer-reviewed journals such as *The Pacific Review*, *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, *Asian Survey*, *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, *Global Change, Peace & Security*, *Asian Security*, *TRaNS*, *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, *Asia Policy*, *Asian Journal of Peacebuilding*, *Political Science* and *Contemporary Politics* as well as numerous book chapters in edited volumes.



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