

**ADVANCED TOPICS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS THEORY:
REGIONAL SECURITY**

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**Joint UCLA-USC Course
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This course focuses broadly on the current status of regions in international politics. We will focus on regional security in the post-Cold War era as well as on the forces of globalization and fragmentation. We will use the focus of regions to discuss the range of forces of change in international politics. En route, we will end up discussing many of the current debates and interesting perspectives in international relations theory.

If you have a regional expertise, concentrate on that area and read selectively from the recommended readings below. You will be the class resource for that area, and your paper will focus on the factors that distinguish the region. Alternatively, pick an analytic focus, whether technology or regimes or domestic politics, and focus on the impact of that variable across issues and regions. Or pick some issue-area, broadly or narrowly, arms control or GATT, for example, and focus on the interplay between regionalism and this issue.

This is a reading and research seminar. In addition to the common core readings, you will select an area of particular expertise, and will read in it. As the quarter progresses you will increasingly report on links to your particular region, focus, or issue.

1. What is a region? What is regional security?

David Lake, "Reconceptualizing Regions: A Systems Approach," in David A. Lake and Patrick M. Morgan, eds., *Regional Orders: Building Security in a New World*.

Patrick M. Morgan, "The Study of Regional Conflicts: Preliminary Considerations and a Starting Point" in David A. Lake and Patrick M. Morgan, eds., *Regional Orders: Building Security in a New World*.

Mohammed Ayoob, "The security problematic of the third world," *World Politics* 43 (January 1991): 257-283.

For an introduction to comparative security policy:

Michael Mandelbaum, *The fate of nations: the search for national security in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

For further reading on regions:

- Louis Cantori and Steven Spiegel, "International Regions: A Comparative Approach to Five Subordinate Systems," *International Studies Quarterly* 13 (December 1969): 361-380.
- Bruce M. Russett, *International Regions and the International System: A Study in Political Ecology* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1967).
- Barry Buzan, *People: States and Fear: An Agenda for International Security Studies in the Post-Cold War Era*, 2nd ed. (New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991), ch. 5, "Regional Security."
- Brian L. Job, "The Insecurity Dilemma: National, Regime, and State Securities in the Third World," in Brian L. Job, ed., *The Insecurity Dilemma: National Security of Third World States* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1992).
- Barry Buzan, "Third World Regional Security in Structural and Historical Perspective," in Brian L. Job, ed., *The Insecurity Dilemma: National Security of Third World States* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1992).
- Charles Doran, "Globalist-Regionalist Debate," in Peter J. Schraeder, ed., *Intervention in the 1980s: US Foreign Policy in the Third World* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1989).

For further reading on specific regions:

--Middle East:

- Leonard Binder, "The Middle East as a Subordinate International System," *World Politics* (1958): 408-429.
- Paul Noble, "The Arab State System: Opportunities, Constraints, and Pressures," in Bahgat Korany and Ali E. Hillal Dessouki, eds., *The Foreign Policies of Arab States* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1984).
- L. Carl Brown, *International Politics and the Middle East: Old Rules, Dangerous Game* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), introduction, pp. 3-18.

--Southern Asia:

- Michael Brecher, "International Relations and Asian Studies: The Subordinate State System of Southern Asia," *World Politics* 15 (January 1963): 213-235.

--Southern Africa:

- Larry Bowman, "The Subordinate State System of Southern Africa," *International Studies Quarterly* 12 (September 1968): 231-261.

--Africa:

- William Zartman, "Africa as a Subordinate State System in International Relations," *International Organization* 21 (1967): 545-564.

2. Regions and the central system

Relationship(s) between regions and great powers, in general, during the Cold War, and now

Richard Rosecrance, "Regionalism and the post-Cold War era," *International Journal* 46 (Summer 1991): 373-393.

Edward N. Luttwak, "Where are the Great Powers? At Home with the Kids," *Foreign Affairs* 73 (July/August 1994): 23-28.

Arthur Stein and Steven Lobell, "Geostructuralism and International Politics: The End of the Cold War and the Regionalization of International Security," in David A. Lake and Patrick M. Morgan, eds., *Regional Orders: Building Security in a New World*.

Steven Lobell, "Managing Hegemonic Decline: Emerging Challengers, Resource Scarcity, and Strategic Repositioning." Paper presented at APSA, 1994.

On the central system and the Cold War:

John Lewis Gaddis, "The Long Peace: Elements of Stability in the Postwar International System," in John Lewis Gaddis, *The long peace: inquiries into the history of the cold war* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987).

Michael Handel, "Does the Dog Wag the Tail or Vice Versa? Patron-Client Relations," *The Jerusalem Journal of International Relations* 6 (1982): 24-35.

Philip Kelly, "Escalation of Regional Conflict: Testing the Shatterbelt Concept," *Political Geography Quarterly* 5 (1986): 161-180.

Saul Cohen, "Global Geopolitical Change in the Post-Cold War Era," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 81 (December 1991): 551-580.

Saul Cohen, "Geopolitics in the New World Era: A New Perspective on an Old Discipline," in George J. Demko and William B. Wood, eds., *Reordering the World: Geopolitical Perspectives on the Twenty-first Century*, pp. 15-48 (Boulder: Westview Press, 1994).

H. J. Mackinder, "The Geographical Pivot of History," *The Geographical Journal* 23 (April 1904): 421-444.

On the end of the Cold War and regional politics in different parts of the world:

-(Europe)

Jack Snyder, "Averting Anarchy in the New Europe," *International Security* 14 (Spring 1990): 5-41. Reprinted in Sean Lynn-Jones, ed., *The Cold War and After: Prospects for Peace*.

John J. Mearsheimer, "Back to the future: instability in Europe after the Cold War," *International Security* 15 (Summer 1990): 5-56?. Reprinted in Sean Lynn-Jones, ed., *The Cold War and After: Prospects for Peace*.

The Mearsheimer piece on the future generated some exchanges, Correspondence, "Back to the Future, Part II: International Relations Theory and Post-Cold War Europe," Stanley Hoffmann, Robert Keohane, *International Security* 15 (Fall 1990): 191-199.

Bruce M. Russett, Thomas Risse-Kappen, and John J. Mearsheimer, "Back to the future, part 3: realism and the realities of European security," *International Security* 15 (Winter, 1990): 216-222.

Stephen Van Evera, "Primed for Peace: Europe after the Cold War," *International Security* 15 (Winter 1990): 7-57. [Special issue on The New Europe: Threat or Promise?] Reprinted in Sean Lynn-Jones, ed., *The Cold War and After: Prospects for Peace*.

-(Asia)

Aaron L. Friedberg, "Ripe for Rivalry: Prospects for Peace in Multipolar Asia," *International Security* 18 (Winter 1993/94): 5-33.

Richard K. Betts, "Wealth, Power, and Instability: East Asia and the United States after the Cold War," *International Security* 18 (Winter 1993/94): 34-77.

-ME:

Pervin/Spiegel
Benjamin Miller

-(Africa)

Skinner

There are a number of edited volumes that have appeared recently and they typically have chapters devoted to specific regions:

Brian L. Job, ed., *The Insecurity Dilemma: National Security of Third World States* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1992).

Mohammed Ayoob, ed., *Regional Security in the Third World: Case Studies from Southeast Asia and the Middle East* (London: Croom Helm, 1986).

Edward E. Azar and Chung-in Moon, eds., *National Security in the Third World: The Management of Internal and External Threats* (Aldershot: Edward Elgar, 1988).

George W. Breslauer, Harry Kriesler, and Benjamin Ward, eds., *Beyond the Cold War: Conflict and Cooperation in the Third World* (Berkeley, Calif.: Institute of International Studies, University of California at Berkeley, 1991).

Edward Kolodiej and Roger Kanet, eds., *Coping with Regional Conflict*.

Thomas G. Weiss and Meryl A. Kessler, *Third World Security in the Post-Cold War Era* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1991).

Recent changes have generated a debate in the U. S. about its regional interests today:

Stephen Walt, "The Case for Finite Containment: Analyzing U.S. Grand Strategy," *International Security* 14 (Summer 1989): 5-49.

Stephen Van Evera "Why Europe Matters, Why the Third World Doesn't: American Grand Strategy After the Cold War," *Journal of Strategic Studies* 13 (June 1990): 1-51.

Robert Johnson, "Exaggerating America's Stake in Third World Conflicts," *International Security* 10 (Winter 1985/86): 32-68.

Christopher Layne, "Continental Divide: Time to Disengage in Europe," *The National Interest* (Fall 1988): 13-27.

Steven R. David, "Why the Third World Matters," *International Security* 14 (Summer 1989): 50-85.

Michael Desch, "The Keys that Lock Up the World: Identifying American Interests in the Periphery," *International Security* 14 (Summer 1989): 86-121.

Valeries Hudson, Robert Ford, David Pack, and Erik Giordano, "Why the Third World Matters, Why Europe Probably Won't: The Geoeconomics of Circumscribed Engagement," *Journal of Strategic Studies* 14 (September 1991): 255-298.

3. Nuclear Proliferation and Regional Security

If nuclear weapons in the hands of the superpowers increased systemic stability then perhaps their spread should be encouraged. Is proliferation stabilizing or destabilizing?

Kenneth Waltz, "The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: More May Be Better," *Adelphi Papers*, no. 171. London: Institute of Strategic Studies, 1981.

T.V. Paul "Nuclear Taboo and War Initiation: Are Nuclear Weapons Irrelevant in Regional Conflicts?" APSA Paper

Martin Van Creveld, *Nuclear Proliferation and the Future of Conflict*. New York: Free Press, 1993.

Sagan, Scott D. 1994. "The Perils of Proliferation: Organization Theory, Deterrence Theory, and the Spread of Nuclear Weapons." *International Security* 18 (Spring): 66-107.

Other general studies:

Bruce D. Berkowitz, "Proliferation, Deterrence, and the Likelihood of Nuclear War," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 29 (March 1985): 112-136.

Bruce Bueno de Mesquita and William H. Riker, "An Assessment of the Merits of Selective Nuclear Proliferation," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 26 (June 1982): 283-306.

Karl Deutsch and J. David Singer, "Multipolar Power Systems and International Stability," *World Politics* 16 (April 1964): 390-406.

Pierre Gallois, *The Balance of Terror: Strategy for the Nuclear Age* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1961).

Robert E. Harkavy, "Pariah states and nuclear proliferation," *International Organization* 35 (Winter 1981): 135-163.

Robert Jervis, *The Meaning of Nuclear Revolution: Statecraft and the Prospect of Armageddon* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989).

George Liska, "Nuclear Diffusion: Domestic, Regional, and Global Perspectives." In *Political Problems of Nth Country Arms Choices 1966-1980*. Columbus, Ohio: Mershon Center for Education in National Security, Ohio State University, 1965), pp. 86-119.

John Mueller, "The Essential Irrelevance of Nuclear Weapons: Stability in the Postwar World," *International Security* 13 (Fall 1988): 55-79.

Kenneth N. Waltz, "Nuclear Myths and Political Realities," *American Political Science Review* 84 (September 1990): 731-746.

Kenneth N. Waltz, "What will the Spread of Nuclear Weapons do to the World?" In John Kerry King, ed., *International Political Effects of the Spread of Nuclear Weapons* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1979).

John J. Weltman, "Nuclear Devolution and World Order," *World Politics* 32 (January 1980): 169-193.

For Europe,

John Mearsheimer, "Back to the Future" Reprinted in Sean Lynn-Jones, ed., *The Cold War and After: Prospects for Peace*.

Stephen Van Evera, "Primed for Peace: Europe after the Cold War," (nuclear weapons and defense dominance) Reprinted in Sean Lynn-Jones, ed., *The Cold War and After: Prospects for Peace*.

For the Middle East,

- Shlomo Aronson, "Nuclearization of the Middle East: A Dovish View," *Jerusalem Quarterly* 2 (Winter 1977): 27-44.
- Shai Feldman, *Israeli Nuclear Deterrence: A Strategy for the 1980s* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982).
- Seymour M. Hersh, *The Samson Option: Israel's Nuclear Arsenal and American Foreign Policy* (New York: Random House, 1991).
- Fuad Jabber, *Israel and Nuclear Weapons: Present Options and Future Strategies* (London: Chatto and Windus for the International Institute for Strategic Studies, 1971).
- Steven J. Rosen, "Nuclearization and Stability in the Middle East," *Jerusalem Journal of International Relations* 1 (Spring 1976): 1-32.
- Steven J. Rosen, "A Stable System of Mutual Nuclear Deterrence in the Arab-Israeli Conflict," *American Political Science Review* 71 (December 1977): 1367-1383.

4. Regional Security Arrangements

What are different institutional arrangements that can deal with regional security issues? Regimes? Plural security communities?

Thomas Perry Thornton, "Regional Organizations in Conflict Management," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 518 (November 1991): 132-142. [Part of a special issue on Resolving Regional Conflicts: International Perspectives].

Keith Krause, "Construction regional security regimes and the control of arms transfers," *International Journal* (Spring 1990):

Katja Weber, "Hierarchy Amidst Anarchy: Transaction Costs and International Cooperation." Emanuel Adler, "Europe's New Security Order: A Pluralistic Security Community," in Beverly Crawford, ed., *The Future of European Security* (Berkeley: International and Area Studies, 1992).

Charles A. Kupchan and Clifford A. Kupchan, "Concerts, Collective Security, and the Future of Europe," *International Security* 16 (Summer 1991): 114-161.

Benjamin Miller, "A 'New World order': From balancing to Hegemony, Concerts or Collective Security?" *International Interactions* 18 (1992): 1-33.

For work on institutions and norms:

Jack Snyder, "Averting Anarchy in the New Europe," *International Security* 14 (Spring 1990): 5-41. Reprinted in Sean Lynn-Jones, ed., *The Cold War and After: Prospects for Peace*.

Robert Keohane, "Institutional Theory and the Realist Challenger After the Cold War," in David Baldwin, ed., *Neorealism and Neoliberalism: The Contemporary Debate* ()

For more on concerts:

Kissinger, *Diplomacy*

George W. Downs, ed., *Collective Security Beyond the Cold War* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994).

Regional conflict management arrangements:

Mahnaz Zehra Isqahani, "Along Together: Regional Security Arrangements in Southern Africa and the Arabian Gulf," *International Security* 8 (1984): 152-175.

Keller on OAU

On regional hegemons:

Mohammed Ayoob, "India as a regional Hegemon: external opportunities and internal constraints," *International Journal* 46 (Summer 1991): 420-448.

David J. Myers, *Regional Hegemons: Threat Perception and Strategic Response* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1991).

5. Regionalism and Technological Change

What are the implications of technological change (in re information, transportation, and military power) on regions?

David D'Lugo, "Relative Power and Comparative Advantage in Warfare."

Cherie Steele, "Power and Prosperity: The Evolution of the International System."

6. Regional Security and Domestic Politics

What are the security implications of domestic political weakness and domestic economic strategies ?

K. J. Holsti, "International Theory and War in the Third World," in Brian L. Job, ed., *The Insecurity Dilemma: National Security of Third World States* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1992).

Mohammed Ayoob, "The Security Predicament of the Third World State: Reflections on State Making in a Comparative Perspective," in Brian L. Job, ed., *The Insecurity Dilemma: National Security of Third World States* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1992).

Robert H. Jackson, "The Security Dilemma in Africa," in Brian L. Job, ed., *The Insecurity Dilemma: National Security of Third World States* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1992).

Etel Solingen, "Democracy, Economic Reform, and the Future of Regional Security," in David A. Lake and Patrick M. Morgan, eds., *Regional Orders: Building Security in a New World*.

Michael Doyle, "Politics and Grand Strategy," in Richard Rosecrance and Arthur A. Stein, eds., *The Domestic Bases of Grand Strategy*, pp. 96-123 (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1993).

For other work:

Rosberg

Migdal

Etel Solingen, "The political economy of nuclear restraint," *International Security* 19 (Fall 1994): 126-139.

7. Regionalism and the Global Economy

Will economic integration hasten regionalization or will a global economy undercut regionalism?

Alessandra Casella, "On markets and clubs: economic and political integration of regions with unequal productivity," *American Economic Review* 82 (May, 1992): 115-121.

Paul Hirst and Grahame Thompson, "The problem of 'globalization': international economic relations, national economic management and the formation of trading blocs," *Economy and Society* 21 (November 1992): 357-396.

Edward Mansfield, "Effects of International Politics on Regionalism in International Trade," in Kym Anderson and Richard Blackhurst, eds., *Regional Integration and the Global Trading System*, pp. 199-217 (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993).

Paul Krugman, *Geography and Trade* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1991).

For a discussion on the implications of the end of the Cold War:

Helen Milner, "A Three Bloc Trading System?" Paper presented at IPSA Conference, Buenos Aires, Argentina, July 20-25, 1991.

8. Culture, Regions, and International Politics

Are some regions distinctive on cultural or ideological grounds and with what implications for international politics? What do the forces for fragmentation, regionalization and globalization portend for culture and cultural conflict and for ideology and ideological conflict?

Samuel P. Huntington, "The clash of civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs* 72 (Summer 1993): 22-49.

There are many criticisms of Huntington:

Richard E. Rubenstein and Jarle Crocker, "Challenging Huntington" *Foreign Policy*, no. 96 (Fall 1994): 113-128.

Fouad Ajami, "The summoning," *Foreign Affairs* 72 (September-October 1993): 2-9.

Kishore Mahbubani, "The dangers of decadence: what the rest can teach the West," *Foreign Affairs* 72 (September-October 1993): 10-14.

Robert L. Bartley, "The case for optimism: the West should believe in itself," *Foreign Affairs* 72 (September-October 1993): 15-18.

Liu Binyan, "Civilization grafting: no culture is an island," *Foreign Affairs* 72 (September-October 1993): 19-21.

Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, "The modernizing imperative: tradition and change," *Foreign Affairs* 72 (September-October 1993): 22-24.

Albert L. Weeks, "Do civilizations hold?" *Foreign Affairs* 72 (September-October 1993): 24-25.

"The Islamic-Confucian connection (Civilizations at Odds)," *New Perspectives Quarterly* 10 (Summer 1993): 19-23.