# Style Guide for POLI315 International Relations in Spring 2022

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# Preface

The exams will evaluate student's knowledge of key concepts discussed in class. The midterm exam will cover material from classes between January 13th and March 3rd, while the final exam will cover material from classes between March 22nd and April 21st.

#### Midterm Description

#### Date and Time

Thursday, March 17th from 2:50 pm to 4:05 pm

#### **Items**

Midterm will consist of multiple choice questions, true/false questions, and a short answers.

#### Make-up

Makeup mid-term exams will be allowed only with pre-approval of the instructor or with an acceptable, documented reason. Acceptable reasons for makeup exams include severe illness, family emergencies or other unavoidable events including dangerous weather conditions and car accidents. Exam format for makeup exams may be different from the original exam and will likely utilize a short answer format. An oral examination may also be utilized if deemed appropriate by the instructor.

#### Midterm Format

#### SPRING 2022 POLI315 Midterm

Type	Number	Point for individual question (pt)	Sum (pt)
Multiple Choices	15	3.5	52.5
T/F	5	3.5	17.5
Short answers	5	6.0	30.0

Total 25 100.0

As the Midterm is worth of 25% in final grades, I will calculate the score of Midterm as  $0.25 \times$  Midterm points. For example, if you obtain 80 pts in the midterm, it will be 20 pts in your final grades.

### How to study

Remember our course objectives:

- As a result of the class, students will be able to:
  - have some basic knowledge of the definition of international relations and the different approaches to studying international relations.
  - identify and describe dominant topics and concepts related to international relations.
  - obtain a comprehensive understanding of international relations.
  - sharpen research and critical thinking skills.
- Thus, students should:
  - know basic concepts to understand the topics in international relations.
  - know existing theories to explain the phenomenon in which scholars in international relations are interested.
  - be able to apply the existing theories to different contexts.

# Social Science & IR

# 1.1 Interaction between political units in world politics

Classically the interaction between countries. But its much more than that. International Relations, a subfield of political science, studies interactions among the various actors that participate in international politics.

- Politically, states are confronted with issues like disease, migration, and environmental degradation that governments cannot manage on their own: War, alliances
- Economically, states' financial markets are tied together; the internationalization of production makes it more difficult for states to regulate their own economic policies and causes them to be more affected by international forces: Trade, investment, aid

**Globalization** is the growing integration of the world in terms of politics, economics, and culture. Financial markets are tied together and states are experiencing cultural homogenization.

IR also studies political phenomena beyond the scope of countries, such as financial crises, human rights, United Nations, WTO, Regional & Global Events.

#### 1.2 Social science

For establishing scientific knowledge, we should answer two questions:

On questions of fact: scientific facts should be empirical and reproducible.

2. On question of theory: scientific knowledge must be **explanatory** and **testable**.

#### 1.3 Social science and International Relations

Political scientists develop theories to understand the causes of events that occur in international relations.

Key theories are

- Realism and neorealism
- Liberalism and neoliberal institutionalism
- Constructivism

These theories help us describe, explain, and predict. Suppose a theory has a following structure: X (cause) causes Y (outcome) under C (conditions).

- To evaluate the theory, we should describe what X, Y and C.
- When we know what X and C are, we can **predict** Y with the theory.
- When we know what Y is and the theory, we can explain what causes Y.
- Conditions
  - Spatial: For example, U.S., Latin America, East Asia, or Africa
  - Temporal: After the Cold War, during the Great Depression, under the Pandemic
  - Other factors: The Effect of X on Y can be conditional on C.

To assess the accuracy, relevancy, and potency of their theories, scholars of international relations rely on history, philosophy, and scientific method.

Much of classical philosophy focuses on the state and its leaders—the basic building blocks of international relations.

- Hobbes: society can escape from the state of nature through a unitary state with centralized power.
- Rousseau: small communities, in which the general will can be attained, lead to the fulfillment of the individual's self-interests.
- Kant: a federation of sovereign republics bound by the rule of law is a means to peace.

Philosophy helps us speculate on the **normative** (or moral) elements of political life. Normative questions are the "should questions." However, scholars experienced several failure to explain global events, such as World Wars and ask a question if such normative theories are sufficient. Thus, the scientific method

of behavioralism emerged, proposing that individuals, both alone and in groups, act in patterned ways.

#### 1.3.1 Behaviorism

#### 1.3.1.1 Description

Behavioralism proposes that individuals, both alone and in groups, act in patterned ways, believing that generalizable patterns may be found. It suggests plausible hypotheses regarding those patterned actions, and empirically tests those hypotheses.

#### 1.3.1.2 Significance

fter introducing the Behavioralism, political scientists moved from the should questions to why questions. It led to paradigm shifts in terms of methods in IR, Political Science, and even Social Science.

# The Historical Context of Contemporary International Relations

Why do we care about history? It is because history explains the origins of key concepts in international relations such as sovereignty, the international state system, colonialism, and power distribution among states. Throughout modern history, four distinct changing movements have occurred: democratization, modernization, secularization, and globalization.

- Democratization: Many states in modern history have experienced regime transitions from authoritarian to democratic. Samuel Huntington, for example, refers to the three major regime transition movements as "waves."
- Modernization: It encompasses various aspects of societal development, including education, economic growth, and human rights.
- Secularization: The political power of the church no longer trumps the political power of the states. After a 30-year war, kings were free of the Pope.
- Globalization: The world's increasing integration in terms of politics, economics, and culture. Financial markets are intertwined, and states are culturally homogenizing.

#### 2.1 Remarkable Events

#### 2.1.1 Thirty Year's War (Westphalian system)

#### 2.1.1.1 Description

A religious dispute between Catholics and Protestants. It began when Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand II of Bohemia attempted to curtail the religious activities of his subjects, sparking rebellion among Protestants.

#### 2.1.1.2 Significance

- Most international relations theorists locate the origins of the contemporary state system in Europe in 1648, the year the Treaties of Westphalia ended the Thirty Years' War.
- These treaties marked the end of rule by religious authority in Europe and the emergence of secular authorities. With secular authority came the principle that has provided the foundation for contemporary international relations: the notion of the territorial integrity of states.

#### 2.1.2 American and French revolutions (1773–85, 1789)

#### 2.1.3 Napoleonic Wars (1803–15)

#### 2.1.3.1 Description

Napoleon led large, well-armed, and passionately motivated armies to conquer the entire Europe.

#### 2.1.3.2 Significance

In combination with nationalism, advanced system made it possible for the French to field larger, more mobile, and more reliable armies that could employ innovative tactics.

#### 2.1.4 The Concert of Europe

#### 2.1.4.1 Description

General consensus among the Great Powers to maintain the European balance of power and the integrity of territorial boundaries.

#### 2.1.4.2 Significance

The concert of Europe made the balance of power be rule of thumb for the European countries for their foreign policy goals.

#### 2.1.5 Solidification of Alliances and World War I

Whereas in most of the nineteenth century, alliances had been flexible and fluid, by the later years, alliances became more rigid. The balance of power broke down due to these solidifications of alliances, resulting in World War I.

#### 2.1.6 World War II

- Hitler and the Third Reich: Fascism as practiced by Hitler effectively
  mobilized the masses in support of the state, exalting the nation and race
  above the individual. It capitalized on the idea that war and conflict
  were noble activities from which ultimately superior civilizations would
  be formed.
- The rise of Mussolini and fascist Italy
- Brutality of the Axis powers toward noncombatants

#### 2.1.7 The Cold War

After World War II, the United States and the Soviet Union (USSR) emerged as two superpowers. The Cold War describes about 45 years of overall high-level tension and competition between the superpowers but no direct military conflict.

- The United States adopted a policy of **containment**, as opposed to a more aggressive **rollback** strategy.
- The USSR pushed favored an aggressive rollback strategy, which forces other countries to change their policies.

### 2.2 Key Concepts

#### 2.2.1 Sovereignty

#### 2.2.1.1 Description

Independent legal authority over a population in a particular territory, based on the recognized right to self-determination.

#### 2.2.1.2 Significance

Sovereignty rests with those who have the ultimate right to make political decisions.

#### 14CHAPTER 2. THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF CONTEMPORARY INTERNATIONAL RELAT.

#### 2.2.2 Balance of Power

#### 2.2.2.1 Description

States with relatively equal power offset concentrations of power to prevent the emergence of hegemonies or hegemonic blocks.

#### 2.2.2.2 Significance

- When one state or coalition of states is much more powerful than its adversaries, asymmetrical war is relatively more likely.
- Due to BoP, states considered multipolar system is likely to lead stable international system.

# Grand Theories

#### 3.1 Realism and Neo-realism

A paradigm based on the premise that world politics is essentially and unchangeably a struggle among self-interested states for power and position under anarchy, with each competing state pursuing its ownnational interests.

#### 3.1.1 Assumptions

Key words: Anarchy, States, Survival (Security), National interests, Self-help, (Alliances)

#### 3.1.2 Political Realism

Hans Morgenthau

- Just as for Thucydides, Augustine, and Hobbes, international politics is best characterized as a struggle for power: **international self-help system**
- Power is the most important currency in international politics both to take from others and to prevent the inevitable effort by others to steal.
- Emphasized relative gains, security dilemma, power, and diplomacy.
- Criticism:
  - Human nature is a constant, not a variable.
  - It is almost impossible to observe innate conflict in men.

#### 3.1.3 Structural (Neo-) Realism

Kenneth Waltz's neorealism (or structural realism) proposes structural characteristics of the international system as main explanatory factors. System structure and the distribution of power, rather than the characteristics of states, determine outcomes.

#### 3.1.3.1 Anarchy

# 3.1.3.2 Distribution of power (polarity): unipolar, bipolar, multipolar

- **3.1.3.2.1 Descripton** The number of states one(unipolar), two(bipolar), three(tripolar), or more(multipolar) holding significant power in the international system.
  - 1. Unipolar, where one state in the system has sufficient power to defeat all the others combined against it.
  - 2. Bipolar, where most of the system's power is divided between two states or coalitions of states
  - 3. Multipolar, in which power is divided among three or more states or coalitions of states.
- **3.1.3.2.2 Significance** It describes the nature of the international system at any given period of time.

#### 3.1.4 Power Transition Theory

Does not assume anarchic international system. PTT Focuses on differential growth rates and their effect on altering relative power between nations, resulting in new relationships among nations or competing groups and the formation of new political and economic entities.

#### 3.2 Liberalism and Neo-liberal Institutionalism

A paradigm predicated on the hope that the application of reason and universal ethics to international relations can lead to a more orderly, just, and cooperative world.

#### 3.2.1 Assumptions

- Do not assume states as unitary actors (state actor < non-state actor) and 'perfectly' rational actors.
- Also, (classical) liberalism reject the impact of anarchic international system.

• Emphasizes interdependence and cooperation among transnational actors (states + non-states)

#### 3.2.2 Liberal idealism (Classical liberalism)

Advocates creating global institutions to contain the raw struggle for power between self-serving, mutually suspicious states.

#### 3.2.2.1 Collective Security.

A security regime agreed to by the great powers that sets rules for keeping peace, guided by the principle that an act of aggression by any state will be met by a collective response from the rest.

#### 3.2.2.2 Limitations

Classical liberalism overlooked the influence of international anarchic system. Also, it appealed to the human community's moral spirit to solve the problem of cooperation. Furthermore, it does not value the role of the state (state < individuals). Classical liberalism does not have clear answer for security issue.

#### 3.2.3 Democratic Peace Theory

- Democratic political cultures and system avoid lethal force as a means of settling disagreements.
- Conflict-resolution practices used at home (domestically) can also be used when dealing with international disputes.
- eaders socialized within democratic cultures share a common outlook, applying democratic norms (based on tolerance, compromise, and civil liberties) to regulate international competition.
- Diplomacy provides a means for achieving mutually acceptable solutions to a common problem, and enables leaders to negotiate and compromise in a peaceful manner.
  - Diplomacy: Communication and negotiation between global actors that is not dependent upon the use of force and seeks a cooperative solution

#### 3.2.4 Neoliberal Institutionalism

The "new" liberal theoretical perspective that accounts for the way international institutions promote global change, cooperation, peace, and prosperity through collective programs for reforms.

Neoliberal institutionalism share an interest in probing the conditions under which the convergent and overlapping interests among otherwise independent transnational actors may result in **cooperation**.

#### 3.2.4.1 Assumptions

Cooperation emerges not as a result of humanity's desire for positive change but as a result of self-interest.

- States are unitary rational actors that pursue self-interest.
- Despite the existence of anarchy, interstate cooperation can arise as states focus on absolute gains.

Neoliberal institutionalists arrive at the same prediction that other liberals do—cooperation—but their explanation for why cooperation occurs is different.

- International institutions and reciprocity foster **cooperation**.
- Should read Keohane and Martin (1995)!

#### 3.3 Constructivism

A paradigm based on the premise that world politics is a function of the ways that states construct and then accept images of reality and later respond to the meanings given to power politics.

- State behavior is shaped by elite beliefs, identities, and social norms.
- Individuals forge, shape, and change culture through ideas and practices.
- Interests at all levels are socially constructed via constant interaction.
- National interests are ever-changing and the result of social identities of state actors.
- People and their discourse bring meaning to material structures.
- International organizations can socialize states and individuals to norms.

#### 3.3.1 Wendt (1991)

The meaning of anarchy can be either conflictual or cooperative, depending on underlying shared knowledge (e.g. anarchy among allies vs. anarchy among enemies).

## 3.4 Key Concepts

#### 3.4.1 Security Dilemma

#### 3.4.1.1 Description

The situation that states face when they arm to defend themselves and, in the process, threaten other states. ### Significance The most important source of conflict between states.

#### 3.4.2 Institutions

#### 3.4.2.1 Description

- The formal and informal rules that organize social, political and economic relations.
- Set of implicit or explicit principles, norms, rules, and decision-making procedures around which actors' expectations converge.

#### 3.4.2.2 Significance

A key structure that makes states cooperate even under the anarchic system and uncertainties.

#### 3.4.3 Complex interdependence

#### 3.4.3.1 Description

States are connected through .multiple channels.

#### 3.4.3.2 Significance

As security is not the only concern, when the complex interdependence increases, it is more likely to decline in the use of military force.

# Levels of Analysis in International Relations

It is the direction, or "level," from which the primary cause of events is coming. Understanding where facts are coming from helps us to sort out facts and the origins of causes in highly complex problems (external vs. internal; systemic, domestic, and individual level).

- Dividing the analysis of international politics into levels of analysis helps orient our questions and suggests the appropriate type of evidence to explore.
- We can approach the study of international relations not only by looking through the lenses of the various perspectives but also by highlighting explanatory factors that occur at the different levels of analysis.

#### 4.1 Different Levels

- International system level: focuses on systemic characteristics such as power distribution
- State level] focuses on domestic factors and internal characteristics of states
  - Organizational level: focuses on particular groups or organizations such as firms or interest groups and their choices.
- Individual level: focuses on individuals and their perceptions, choices, activities, etc.

#### 4.2 Macro level: Holism

Macro level focuses on systems as a whole rather than individually. It considers that the whole is more than a sum of its parts. However, it has a possible ecological fallacy.

#### 4.3 Micro level: Reductionism

Micro level can be called methodological individualism (McGaw and Watson, 1976), which argues that the whole is nothing more than a sum of its part. However, micro level analysis also have a possible fallacy of composition.

# 4.4 Which International Polarity Is More Stable?

#### 4.4.1 Kenneth Waltz: bipolarity is more stable.

- Disruptive behavior is immediately evident.
- Two sides can moderate each other's use of violence.
- They can absorb potentially destabilizing changes.
- Each focuses its activity on just the other.

# 4.4.2 Some theorists believe that multipolarity can be quite stable.

The success of multipolarity depends on whether rules are followed. When an essential actor ignores the understood rules, the system may become unstable.

- There are more interactions and less opportunity to dwell on one state.
- There is a greater flexibility of responses to threats.
- Shifting alliances allow for flexibility and enhance a balance of power.
- Wars are limited in nature and designed to preserve a balance of power.

# 4.4.3 Hegemonic stability theorists argue that unipolarity is more stable.

- The hegemon pays the price of enforcing norms to ensure stability.
  - They create rules and institutions in various issue areas to help guide states' behavior.
  - Hegemons must be able and willing to lead the international community for the system to be stable.

• When the hegemon declines, so does system stability.

## 4.5 Neoliberal institutionalists think the problem is not polarity but institutions.

The international system is anarchic, but cooperation may emerge through institutions.

- Institutions may be created from self-interest.
- Repeated interactions provide the motivation for states to create international institutions.
- Institutions can moderate state behavior and provide a framework for coordination and cooperation.

# 4.6 Constructivists think international outcomes cannot be explained by structures alone.

Power and anarchy matter, but their meanings change over time. "Anarchy is what states make of it."

- International structures are socially constructed; neither sovereignty nor balance of power objectively exist.
- We can understand international order only by looking at states' ideas, identities, and interactions.

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# The Tools of Statecraft

#### 5.1 The State, Defined

- Stable population
- An effective government to which the population has allegiance
- Recognized diplomatically by other states

#### 5.2 State Power

Power is the ability to influence behavior and control outcomes. States' ability to get others to do something that they would not otherwise do. All theoretical perspectives acknowledge the importance of power, but each pays attention to different types of power.

- Realists and liberals conceptualize power in materialist terms.
- Constructivists emphasize nonmaterialist sources.

#### 5.3 Hard Power versus Soft Power

#### 5.3.1 Hard power

It entails using various sources of power to coerce others. States using various sources of power (economic or military) to coerce other states into adopting actions in its interests.

#### 5.3.2 Soft power

It entails trying to persuade others. The power to attract states to change their behavior rather than having to coerce them into doing so; power is based on the legitimacy of the state's values or its policies.

#### 5.3.3 Smart power

Successful power projection often involves a combination of both hard and soft power.

#### 5.4 Statecraft

#### 5.4.1 Diplomacy

#### 5.4.1.1 Track One diplomacy

#### 5.4.1.1.1 Traditional diplomacy

- Influencing the behavior of others by negotiating and bargaining
- Taking a specific action or refraining from action
- Appealing to the foreign public for support of a position

#### 5.4.1.1.2 Public diplomacy

- Involves strategically targeting foreign publics and elites with informational, cultural, and educational programming.
- Important use of a country's soft power

#### 5.4.1.2 Track Two diplomacy

Nofficial overtures by private individuals or groups from outside governments to try and resolve an ongoing international crisis or civil war. The idea behind this type of diplomacy is that the absence of government officials who are supposed to defend their government's policy positions might lead to more open discussions with a greater likelihood of breaking through difficult impasses.

#### 5.4.2 Economic statecraft

#### 5.4.2.1 Positive sanctions

Carrots" entice states to move in the desired direction, assuming that positive incentives will lead the target state to change its behavior.

- Granting trading privileges
- Permitting trading in sensitive products

• Giving corporations investment guarantees or tax breaks

#### 5.4.2.2 Nagative sanctions

Threaten or take actions that punish the state for an undesirable move.

- Freeze a target state's assets.
- Prohibit certain financial transactions.
- Arms embargoes
- Comprehensive sanctions
- Allowing importation of goods at best rates

#### 5.4.2.3 Smart sanctions

Targeted sanctions focusing on specific individuals and groups to avoid the high humanitarian costs of general sanctions. Limited sanctions targeted to hurt or support specific groups; used to avoid the humanitarian costs of general sanctions.

- Smart sanctions are seen as a cheaper option than general sanctions.
- Sometimes, sanctions can have unintended negative consequences.

#### **5.4.3** Force

#### 5.4.3.1 Compellence

Threat of the use of force to get a target state to do something or undo an act already undertaken.

#### 5.4.3.2 Deterrence

Threatening or actually punishing a target state if it takes an undesired action

# War and Conflict

#### 6.1 Different types of war

- War
  - Conventional
  - Unconventional
    - \* Guerilla Warfare
    - \* Terrorism
    - \* WMD

#### 6.2 What is War?

An organized and deliberate political act by an established political authority that causes 1,000 or more deaths in a 12 month period and involves at least two actors capable of harming each other.

There are two or more organized groups and these groups are engaged in intense hostilities. No party to the conflict and no third party has the authority and ability to effectively adjudicate between the opposing sides, punish them, and otherwise maintain effective control in the arena of the conflict.

### 6.3 Why Does the War Occur?

#### 6.3.1 Realist Explanations

- War happens because nothing is there to stop it
- Distribution of Power

#### 6.3.2 Liberalist Explanations

- No shared values/norms
- Not democratic (democratic peace theory)
- Lack of interdependence

#### 6.3.3 Constructivist Explanations

- States have identities and interests that may be aggressive
- Prior interactions matters
- Nationalism and divergent identities

#### 6.4 Rationalist Explanation of War

#### 6.4.1 Fearon (1995) and POWELL (2006)

- War as an indivisible
- War as a commitment problem
- War as a private information problem

#### 6.4.2 Gartzke (1999)

- War is in the error term
- Ex ante vs ex poste
- War is random = difficult to predict.

### 6.5 Preventing Wars

- 6.5.1 Realists: Power balancing and deterrence
- 6.5.2 Liberalists: Collective security, and arms control and disarmament
- 6.5.3 Constructivists: Spread social norms and socialize to change identities

### 6.6 Why do states obtain nuclear weapons?

- 1. External determinants
- 2. Domestic determinants
- 3. Prestige

4. Hymans (2006)

#### 6.7 What Makes Civil Wars?

- Population (Sambanis 2001, Anyanwu 2002, Collier and Hoeffler 2002a, 2004b, Elbadawi and Sambanis 2002)
- Diversity at medium levels (ethnic, linguistic and religious) (Ellingsen 2002, Caprioli 2003 and 2005)
- Geography (proximity to other states at war) (Sambanis, 2006, Gleditsch, 2007, Salehyan, 2006)
- Size of country, mounains (Buhang, 2006)
- Oil exporters (Krause and Suzuki, 2005, Buhang, 2006, Ross 2006)

#### 6.8 Outcomes of Civil Wars

State capacity matters but we don't know how.

- More capacity = more probability of victory (Bapat 2005, Mason et al, 1999, Brandt et al, 2008)
- More capacity = less likely victory (Balch-Lindsey et all, 2008, DeRouen and Sobek, 2004)

Foreign Interventions matter.

• Foreign assistance to insurgents is one of the strong predictors of their success (Svensson, 2007, Balch-Lindsay et all, 2008, Lyall and Wilson, 2009, Thyne, 2009, Lyall, 2010b).

"The biggest gap we have identified in our collective understanding of the factors affecting who wins Civil Wars is the lack of comprehensive conclusions connecting COIN strategies on the ground with conflict outcomes" (Stojeck and Sullivan, 2013)

# Midterm Exam Pool

#### Part I. Multiple-Choice

I will pick 13 MC quizzes from here.

- 1. Which of the following is true of the Treaties of Westphalia?
  - A. They sought to break up permanent national militaries, giving rise to the Thirty Years' War.
  - B. They made sure that no state or states could dominate the system after the Thirty Years' War.
  - C. They created formal international institutions to maintain the balance of power after the Thirty Years' War.
  - D. They codified the rights of states to determine their own domestic policies after the Thirty Years' War
- 2. Traditionally, international relations scholars trace the origin of the modern state system to which event?
  - A. The end of World War II
  - B. The fall of the Roman Empire
  - C. The Treaties of Westphalia
  - D. The Great Depression
  - E. None of the above.
- 3. What best summarizes Adam Smith's contribution to economic theory in the 1700s?
  - A. Smith argued in favor of government regulation of the economy.
  - B. Smith believed that the Treaties of Westphalia would bring renewed economic prosperity.

- C. Smith introduced the concept of 'Comparative advantage,' meaning an economy's ability to produce a particular good or service at a lower opportunity cost than its trading partners.
- D. Smith united two key concepts: division of labor as a motor for generating prosperity, and market systems based on self-interest as a fuel for that motor.
- E. None of the above.
- 4. Which of the following is true of the core group of European states that dominated from the end of the Treaties of Westphalia to the beginning of the nineteenth century?
  - A. All the core states experienced an economic revival because they were democracies.
  - B. None of the core states experienced an economic revival, as liberal capitalism failed at the time.
  - C. Only the core states in Western Europe (England, France, and the United Provinces) experienced an economic revival because they were democracies.
  - D. The core states in Western Europe (England, France, and the United Provinces) experienced an economic revival under liberal capitalism.
  - E. None of above.
- 5. As part of the nineteenth-century balance-of-power system in Europe,
  - A. independent states balanced colonies of relatively equal power.
  - B. treaties were designed to create the emergence of a hegemon.
  - C. alliances were formed to counteract potentially more powerful factions.
  - D. agricultural elites balanced against urban factory owners.
- 6. What is true about industrialization and political power in Europe in the 1800s?
  - A. Industrialization did not occur in such places as England and Germany.
  - B. Wealthy landowners gained more power from industrialization.
  - C. Industrialization favored the middle classes at the expense of aristocrats.
  - D. Farmers gained political power at the expense of factory workers.
  - E. None of the above

- 7. Assuming a state is a(n) \_\_\_\_\_ means that it has its own defined interests and chooses its own actions, whereas assuming a state is a(n) \_\_\_\_ means that it makes decisions by weighing the costs and benefits of various options.
  - A. irrational actor; rational actor
  - B. unitary actor; irrational actor
  - C. rational actor; unitary actor
  - D. unitary actor; rational actor
- 8. Which of the following illustrates the security dilemma?
  - A. India and Pakistan will not cooperate since they have relatively little to gain from doing so.
  - B. India's increase in its nuclear arms led Pakistan to be less secure, leading Pakistan to increase its arms as well.
  - C. India and Pakistan are likely to cooperate only when one is more powerful than the other.
  - D. If India attacked Pakistan, other states will come to Pakistan's aid.
  - E. None of above.
- 9. Conceptualizing international relations as a "system" suggests that
  - A. states and other relevant actors are automatons that lack the capacity to change.
  - B. there are no regular patterns to international affairs.
  - C. actors involved in international relations interact with each other in regularized ways.
  - D. you can only study the whole of international politics at once and not focus on individual actions.
- 10. Which of the following is true of a bipolar system?
  - A. International organizations are likely to be ineffective because they cannot direct the behavior of either of the poles.
  - B. Alliances are fluid to preserve the relative balance.
  - C. Constructivists focus on the importance of the bipolar system but not the others.
  - D. Neo-realists think that bipolar systems are the least stable.
  - E. None of above.

- 11. Which of the following is a norm of the balance-of-power (multipolar) system?
  - A. Alliances are formed for a specific purpose and a short duration and shift according to advantage.
  - B. Alliances should be fixed.
  - C. States should align together based on their economic system.
  - D. Some states are ruled out as potential allies.
- 12. The idea that informal meetings, such as the one between heads of state Chancellor Angela Merkel of Germany and Prime Minister Narendra Modi of India at Merkel's country retreat in 2017, can help to foster cooperation between those states is an argument consistent with
  - A. The Beijing Consensus
  - B. The concept of complex interdependence
  - C. The concept of the democratic peace
  - D. The Washington consensus
- 13. The fact that, after being labeled as a member of the "axis of evil" by the U.S. president, Iran changed its policies from working with the United States post–September 11, 2001, to working against it best exemplifies the
  - A. realist argument that interests do not matter.
  - B. constructivist argument that discourse can change state behavior.
  - C. liberal argument that complex interdependence takes a long time to foster cooperation.
  - D. dependency theorists' argument that the more powerful developing countries will never allow themselves to be dominated by developed countries.
- 14. According to constructivists,
  - A. systems are set by material structures alone.
  - B. systems are unchanging over time.
  - C. anarchy can lead to different outcomes at different times.
  - D. stratification structures systems.
- 15. After having been defeated in World War I, Germany rose in power and almost achieved parity with France and Britain. That this led Germany to act militarily to secure its new position in the international system would be an argument made by a
  - A. neorealist

- B. power balancing theorist
- C. power transition theorist
- D. hegemonic stability theorist
- E. dependence theorist
- 16. Which of the following statements is true of the study of individuals in international relations?
  - A. Realists believe the individual is the most appropriate level of analysis.
  - B. Even individuals who are not state leaders can have a significant influence on war and peace.
  - C. The extent to which individuals matter is the same across all IR theories.
  - D. There is no empirical evidence that individual leaders and their personal characteristics make a difference in foreign policy.
- 17. Which of the following is true of the role of individuals in foreign policy making?
  - A. Public opinion is not likely to influence foreign policy.
  - B. Non-elite individuals can and do sometimes play key roles in foreign policy making.
  - C. The personality characteristics of individual leaders cannot matter in democracies because they must answer to the public.
  - D. The mass public cannot influence foreign policy through direct actions.
  - E. None of the above.
- 18. The "two-level game" of international negotiation refers to
  - A. the fact that states must often negotiate not only with an opponent state, but third-party states as well.
  - B. the fact that bargaining occurs between states as well as between state negotiators and their various domestic constituencies.
  - C. when diplomatic negotiations are coupled with economic statecraft.
  - D. the use of a mediator in negotiations.
- 19. Liberals view the two-level game of international negotiations as
  - A. highlighting the importance of domestic politics in international relations.
  - B. showing that domestic politics is not important in international relations.

- C. being constrained by the structure of the international system.
- D. showing that the structure of the international system is not important in international relations.
- 20. Which of the following is true of the realist view of diplomacy?
  - A. Realists believe that diplomacy is the most effective tool of statecraft.
  - B. Realists believe that diplomacy is likely to be ineffective without being backed by economic statecraft or force.
  - C. Realists believe that public diplomacy can be effective, but not Track Two diplomacy.
  - D. Realists believe that diplomacy is effective only if coupled with deterrence.
- 21. What is one characteristic necessary for international relations scholars to define something as a war?
  - A. There is random violence.
  - B. At least three countries are fighting.
  - C. A clear victor emerges.
  - D. At least 1,000 deaths occur in a calendar year.
- 22. A key characteristic of all forms of terrorism is that
  - A. they are carried out only in the Middle East.
  - B. they are religious in nature and intent.
  - C. they are a very recent form of warfare.
  - D. their essence is psychological, not physical.
- 23. Unconventional Warfare does not include which of the following
  - A. Terrorism
  - B. Cyber attacks
  - C. Guerilla tactics
  - D. Bombing Raids
  - E. Weapons of mass destruction
- 24. According to constructivists, wars occur because
  - A. some state's identities and interests lead them to be aggressive.
  - B. of the distribution of power.
  - C. state's are not interdependent.

- D. of the security dilemma.
- E. None of above
- 25. Which of the following was not an example used in class for why Civil Wars occur?
  - A. The size of the country
  - B. Whether or not the country is an oil exporter
  - C. Population
  - D. Geographic features
  - E. Lack technological advancement
- 26. Which of the following is a key characteristic of the anarchic international system in relation to realists' understanding of war?
  - A. Anarchy has led nondemocracies to become more prevalent than democracies, and nondemocracies are more aggressive than democracies.
  - B. Under the condition of anarchy there are few rules about how to decide among contending claims and no effective arbiter to do so, and this can lead to war.
  - C. Anarchy leads states to have weak armies, so they are attacked by terrorists.
  - D. Realists do not believe that war is the result of the anarchy of the international system.

Also, you should read Snyder (2009) and Keohane and Martin (1995).

### Part II. True/False Question

I will pick 5 T/F quizzes from here.

- 1. As long as a state has the incentive to carry out a threat, that threat is credible even if the state does not have the ability to follow through.
  - A. True
  - B. False
- 2. The wars that followed the Arab Spring in 2011 are not categorized as civil wars because the government had significantly more capacity to harm the rebels than the rebels had to harm the government.
  - A. True

- B. False
- 3. Formal organizations, such as the United Nations and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and treaties such as the Law of the Sea Treaty are all examples of international institutions.
  - A. True
  - B. False
- 4. Great-power competition characterized Europe in the nineteenth century and the relationship between the United States and Soviet Union during the Cold War, but in the twenty-first century, great-power competition is no longer relevant.
  - A. True
  - B. False
- 5. An international institution can refer to a formal organization or to a treaty.
  - A. True
  - B. False
- 6. Following the creation of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, several states that previously had nuclear weapons dismantled their programs.
  - A. True
  - B. False
- 7. Great-power competition characterized Europe in the nineteenth century and the relationship between the United States and Soviet Union during the Cold War, but in the twenty-first century, great-power competition is no longer relevant.
  - A. True
  - B. False
- 8. Constructivists like Alexander Wendt argue that knowing the distribution of material capabilities in the international system is enough to predict whether two states will be friends or foes.
  - A. True
  - B. False
- 9. In bipolar systems, alliances are long-term relationships based on interests, whereas in multipolar balance-of-power systems, alliances are short-term relationships formed for a specific purpose.
  - A. True

- B. False
- 10. Globalization has promoted both cultural homogenization and differentiation.
  - A. True
  - B. False

### Part III. Short answers

Short-Answer Question Response: Define and explain the significance of the following terms. Your answers should be concise – typically requiring no more than three sentences.

You should answer five of the eight questions below:

- 1. Polarity
- 2. Anarchy
- 3. Complex interdependence
- 4. Levels of analysis
- 5. Security dilemma
- 6. Collective security
- 7. Treaties of Westphalia