World Politics in a New Era 6th edition Spiegel Test Bank

SKU: 9780199965625-TEST-BANK

Instructor's Manual and Test Bank to Accompany
World Politics in a New Era

Sixth Edition

Steven L. Spiegel
University of California, Los Angeles

Elizabeth G. Matthews
California State University, San Marcos

Jennifer M. Taw
Claremont McKenna College

Kristen P. Williams
Clark University

Prepared by

Elizabeth G. Matthews
California State University, San Marcos

and

Kristen P. Williams
Clark University

New York Oxford
Oxford University Press

World Politics in a New Era 6th edition Spiegel Test Bank

How to Use This Manual

Steven Spiegel, Elizabeth Matthews, Jennifer Taw, and Kristen Williams's text *World Politics in a New Era*, Sixth Edition, is designed to help students in their first year of college or junior college acquire the skills and background knowledge necessary for a basic understanding of how international affairs affect all of our lives. When used as the main textbook for an introductory course in international relations, it will show students why world history is not a chronicle of marginally relevant events distant in both time and space but instead a vital, dynamic process that has shaped the contemporary world; how the world economy has a direct and immediate impact on our environment, lifestyles, and jobs; and why one needs an understanding of concepts of international relations such as power, security, sovereignty, globalization, and interdependence to act as an informed citizen of a democratic society. In short, *World Politics in a New Era* introduces students to the basic ideas and skills that will enable them to take an active interest in global affairs.

As outlined in the introduction, the book is divided into two parts. The first part, "Foundations of World Politics," covers the fundamental building blocks for comprehending international relations. Chapter 1 presents the central themes of the textbook: conflict and cooperation and globalization and fragmentation. Theories of international relations are discussed in Chapter 2, with particular emphasis on realism, liberalism, and constructivism and the levels of analysis. The remainder of the opening six chapters is dedicated to the political and economic history of the period beginning with the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. Chapter 3 focuses on 1648 to the end of World War II in 1945, and Chapter 4 focuses on the Cold War. Chapter 5 takes a different focus, demonstrating the impact of centuries of European imperialism, and Chapter 6 brings the historical narrative to the present.

The second part of the book, "The Major Issues in World Politics," concentrates on the security, economic, demographic and resource, and institutional components of the dynamics of world politics. The first two chapters in this part focus on security. Chapter 7 deals with the basics of security such as the requirements for security, elements of power, and types of war, and Chapter 8 covers the contemporary security issues focusing on the United States and China, the African Union, transnational terrorist organizations, changing technologies, and future challenges. The next two chapters contend with economic issues, with Chapter 9 focusing on trade and investment and Chapter 10 discussing theories of development. Chapter 11 deals with "human" issues, such as population, migration, and health and disease. Chapter 12 presents the resource issues of the environment: water, food, and energy. Chapter 13 deals with the ultimate form of the cooperative potential in international relations: international law and organizations.

The concluding chapter (Chapter 14) deals with the important topic of ethics in international relations and ends with a discussion of the future from the central paradigms presented in the book: realism, liberalism, and constructivism. Although each chapter of *World Politics in a New Era* is thus designed to build upon and reinforce material presented in previous chapters, instructors should not feel bound to present the conceptual units of the book in this exact sequence. In a course emphasizing current events, for example, the "Contemporary Security Issues" chapter (Chapter 8) or the "Human Issues" and "Resource Issues" chapters (Chapters 11 and 12, respectively) could be presented right after the introduction; a course focusing on international relations theory might begin with Chapter 2.

The purpose of this manual is to help instructors get maximum value out of the text and to suggest how to integrate the text with lectures, class activities, and other enrichment material. The chapters of the manual correspond to like-numbered chapters of the text and are divided into seven sections: "What Students Should Learn from This Chapter," "Outline," "How the Chapter Relates to the Central Themes of the Text," "Suggested Lecture Topics,"

World Politics in a New Era 6th edition Spiegel Test Bank

"Discussion Questions," "Video Suggestions," and finally "Internet Resources." The material in these sections, as described next, is intended to help instructors prepare and conduct a unit of a course based on each text chapter.

What Students Should Learn from This Chapter
This section summarizes the learning objectives for each text chapter, and instructors may wish to use this section as a rough guide to evaluation or grading. Assessment of learning is never easy, of course, and the instructor's priorities and expectations will always be the most important criteria for evaluation of students' performance.

Outline
A summary of the chapter is given in outline form, concise but comprehensive enough to cover the important themes, concepts, and events from the chapter.

How the Chapter Relates to the Central Themes of the Text
In each chapter, *World Politics in a New Era* attempts to show how international relations are shaped by two interrelated dialectics: globalization versus fragmentation and cooperation versus conflict. This section of the manual will point out how these processes are illustrated in the text chapter and how examples of the central themes given in the chapter reinforce those presented in other chapters.

Suggested Lecture Topics
This section gives suggestions for lectures designed to highlight the principal events and ideas covered in the text chapter. Instructors should not feel obligated to include all of these topics in their lectures pertaining to the chapter because lectures will be more effective if they concentrate on the aspects of the material that the instructors consider most thought provoking, puzzling, urgent, or relevant to the goals of the course. Additionally, because *World Politics in a New Era* emphasizes the impact of international politics on students' own lives and interests, instructors are always encouraged to show how the material in the text chapter relates to current issues or recent events.

Discussion Questions
Suggested topics for class discussions and other in-class activities are included in this section. These questions are designed to encourage students to develop their own interpretations for, and to demonstrate their understanding of, the facts and concepts presented in the text chapter. Some of these questions are similar to the section in the text called "Discussion and Review Questions," presented at the end of each chapter.

Video Suggestions
No attempt is made in this section to present a comprehensive review of videos available on any topic covered in the text. Instead, this brief list concentrates on materials that can best stimulate student interests and guide discussion of key events and ideas.

Internet Resources
As with the video section, these resources do not comprise an exhaustive list of those applicable to the material in each chapter. Instead, the list represents a cross-section of documentaries as well as feature films to highlight the central elements of each chapter.

Naturally, instructors should feel free to pick and choose from the suggestions and recommendations in each chapter of this manual. Taken separately or as a whole, they can be used to tailor courses utilizing *World Politics in a New Era* according to institutional requirements, varying levels of students' background knowledge, and instructors' interests and priorities.

World Politics in a New Era 6th edition Spiegel Test Bank

This brings up an important point. An introductory course must be basic in that it must present the fundamental principles of an area of knowledge, but it does not have to be either simple or easy. Grasping the basic elements of any field can be quite challenging, and describing these elements and evaluating students on their knowledge of them are often an even greater challenge. The authors hope that this manual will encourage instructors to make their introductory courses in international relations a challenging and rewarding experience for both teachers and students.

Test Bank

The test items include multiple-choice (designated as factual, conceptual, or applied), short-answer (intended to be answered in up to four sentences), and essay questions. The learning objectives given in "What Students Should Learn from This Chapter" may be used as a basis for evaluating students' answers to these questions, but the questions are intended to be broad enough for instructors to employ whatever grading criteria they deem appropriate. The answers have been provided, but again, they are intended to be a guideline, and instructors should judge for themselves what elements are important in each answer. Because introductory courses should require students to become familiar with a wide range of basic facts and ideas, it is recommended that several short-answer or identification questions (covering material outlined in the "Key Terms" section at the end of each text chapter) be included on exams along with longer essay questions.

World Politics in a New Era 6th edition Spiegel Test Bank

CHAPTER 1

WORLD POLITICS: COMPLEXITY AND COMPETING PROCESSES

WHAT STUDENTS SHOULD LEARN FROM THIS CHAPTER

- Define and give examples of international organizations (IOs), nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), multinational corporations (MNCs), and subnational groups.
- Define and give examples of conflict and cooperation and globalization and fragmentation in international relations.
- Explain how a state or region could simultaneously experience globalization and fragmentation.
- Explain how a state or region could simultaneously experience conflict and cooperation.
- Define anarchic and explain how it affects international relations.
- Analyze recent social, political, economic, or technological developments that are likely to accelerate or slow the processes of globalization, fragmentation, cooperation, and conflict.

OUTLINE

I. Conflict and Cooperation
   A. Cooperation and conflict epitomize the complex and often contradictory nature of political interactions.
   B. Cooperation refers to political actors proactively working together; it's inherently active, requiring communication and interaction to achieve mutually agreeable outcomes.
      1. Can operate within existing structures, such as the United Nations
      2. Can lead to the creation of new structures, such as the Kyoto Protocol
      3. Can be multilateral or bilateral
      4. Can exist without government involvement, as with NGOs
   C. Conflict also takes many forms, ranging from the withdrawal of diplomatic relations to full-blown warfare.
      1. Conflict usually garners far more attention than cooperation.
      2. Conflict can involve a full range of actors—governments, subnational actors, NGOs (for example, the UAE shut down two foreign NGOs in 2012).
      3. Conflict can be internal—within a country's borders—and involve IOs, governments, NGOs, subnational groups, MNCs, and individuals (e.g., Somalia).
   D. Conflict and cooperation are not mutually exclusive.
      1. Often the same global actors cooperate on some issues and conflict over others.
      2. China and Taiwan, for example, at times experience severe political and security tension, but in 2012 their bilateral trade reached $110 billion.
   E. Complex cooperative and conflictual relations can be either bilateral (e.g., China and Taiwan) or multilateral (e.g., the six-party talks concerning North Korea's nuclear program).

II. Globalization versus Fragmentation
   A. Globalization drives the world economically, socially, and politically toward greater integration and interdependence.
      1. Globalization is often equated with Westernization or even Americanization.
      2. As international regimes, regional and subregional trading blocs, NGOs, and MNCs promote and take advantage of relaxed constraints on the movement of goods, capital, and labor, states necessarily cede some of their authority to them.
      3. In its most cautious form, globalization is greater movement and cooperation between countries; at its most ideal, it is the creation of a worldwide society of people.

World Politics in a New Era 6th edition Spiegel Test Bank

B. Fragmentation pulls regions, subregions, states, and even subnational actors back to focus on their own specific and unique interests and concerns.
    1. Fragmentation is driven by local, domestic, and regional social, environmental, political, and economic considerations.
    2. It is reflexive, defensive, and reactionary; it is often a response to threats against social norms, traditional ways of life, and independence and autonomy.
C. Globalization and fragmentation are not new—global thinking goes back 500 years and even before with the spread of religion, the emergence of international law, the Enlightenment, and the development of capitalism.
    1. Globalization's progress has been slowed by resistance to it and by peoples and states refocusing on regional, national, or local issues as they reject involvement in the broader world.
    2. Progress in globalization has often led directly to fragmentation (e.g., imperialism in the years prior to World War I led directly to the fragmentation of World Wars I and II).
D. Despite fragmentation, including that which occurred at the Cold War's end, globalization proceeded apace as the number of NGOs burgeoned; the United Nations took on a more proactive role; the Internet linked people like never before; the global economy continued to grow; and the flows of people, goods, and capital across borders increased.
    1. The media are also crossing national boundaries like never before.
    2. Terrorists have been able to move around the world with greater ease.
    3. International reaction to global crises has increased (for example, natural disasters in Southeast Asia, China, Haiti, and Latin America).
E. The demonstration of the cultural impact of globalization is seen in the exchange of consumer goods.
    1. However, the world has not become homogenized, as many have feared.
    2. Language, country identification, and traditional foods and heritage remain cultural signifiers.
    3. Many countries have deliberately sought the benefits of globalization (e.g., Northern Ireland, the Bahamas), whereas other have rejected it aggressively and retreated to nationalism (e.g., Ghana, Iran).
    4. The pendulum between globalization and fragmentation swings because there are so many factors that influence governments' and groups' decisions.

III. Anarchy versus Order
A. States must function in the absence of a higher authority; there is no international police force or global system of justice—international politics are anarchic, and the basic global tensions stem from this.
B. Iran example—Iran's leaders knew the choice to build up the country's nuclear facilities would cause tension in the international community.
    1. Tension stems from concern over proliferation in general, Iran's agenda in the Middle East, and specific tensions between Iran and Israel.
    2. Tensions increased between the great powers as Western democracies tried to isolate and compel Iran but were stymied by Russia and China.
    3. Tensions also rose between the United States and Israel as the United States resisted Israeli calls for a preemptive strike.
    4. Despite the lack of a global government or police force, rash actions in the case have been prevented through diplomatic efforts and the involvement of the United Nations.
C. Benefits of globalization include a much larger marketplace for jobs, goods, and services; access to different cultures, food, music, art, literature, and lifestyles; and faster, more reliable means of communication.
D. The downside to globalization includes tensions created by migration, fears of growing cultural homogeneity, and the flow of products such as illegal narcotics and nuclear technologies.

IV. Conclusion

World Politics in a New Era 6th edition Spiegel Test Bank

A. Cooperation and conflict and globalization and fragmentation are defining features of international relations and the central themes of the textbook.
B. Students should keep these themes in mind and look for examples of these processes as they make their way through the textbook.

HOW THE CHAPTER RELATES TO THE CENTRAL THEMES OF THE TEXT

Chapter 1 introduces students to the themes of globalization versus fragmentation and conflict versus cooperation and explains how these processes can occur simultaneously in an anarchic system. These central themes recur historically and in many aspects of international relations, and this is highlighted throughout the textbook. The introductory chapter gives students a brief first look at the main themes of the text—defining them and providing examples—so that students can be on the lookout for them in the coming chapters and will be familiar with them when they are discussed throughout the textbook.

SUGGESTED LECTURE TOPICS

1. Summarize the direct and indirect repercussions of a recent major international event to show how global affairs affect students' lives in ways they might not realize.
2. Use a familiar object whose design, manufacture, and marketing involves several different countries—a computer or *The Simpsons* animated television show—to illustrate cultural and economic globalization.
3. Use the different menus from McDonald's restaurants around the globe to demonstrate globalization and its cultural dimensions.
4. Pick two countries and demonstrate how their relationship is both conflictual and cooperative (e.g., the United States and France, North and South Korea, Egypt and Israel).
5. Use examples of UN action in Bosnia, Somalia, Afghanistan, and Sudan to demonstrate how globalization and fragmentation can occur simultaneously.
6. Compare and contrast how a specific problem (such as an environmental disaster or inflation) is handled in domestic and international contexts to highlight the differences between anarchy in international relations and domestic authority.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Ask students to identify countries of particular importance, show them on the map of the world, and discuss the pertinent facts influencing the states' behavior in the international system. Depending on the country, the focus might be on regime type, geographic location, resources, or demographics.
2. Ask students to provide examples of conflict and cooperation around the globe. Discuss the causes for the conflict and the actors involved and whether the processes are operating simultaneously.
3. Ask students to provide examples of globalization and fragmentation around the globe. Discuss whether the fragmentation is a direct result of globalization or whether the examples of globalization are receiving criticism from affected parties.
4. Ask students to provide examples of the effects of anarchy in the international system. What are the consequences of a lack of a global police force? How do states compel others to abide by international standards of conduct?
5. Discuss the box "What Would You Do?" on page 15. Ask students to discuss the processes of conflict and cooperation and globalization and fragmentation in a scenario in which Iran conducts a nuclear test.

VIDEO SUGGESTIONS

Explaining Globalization (MacNeil/Lehrer Productions, 2007)

World Politics in a New Era 6th edition Spiegel Test Bank

Where We Stand: America's Schools in the 21st Century: Globalization (PBS, 2008)
Now with Bill Moyers: Benjamin Barber on Globalization (PBS, 2003)
The Century of Warfare (History Channel, 2003)
Rick Steves' Iran (Back Door Productions, 2010)

INTERNET RESOURCES

YaleGlobal Online, Yale Center for the Study of Globalization: http://www.ycsg.yale.edu/

Globalization, the World Bank Group: http://youthink.worldbank.org/issues/globalization/

Globalization, Global Policy Forum: http://www.globalpolicy.org/globalization.html

The World at War: Current Conflicts, GlobalSecurity.org:
http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/war/index.html

United Nations: http://www.un.org/

The Guardian: world news on Iran: http://www.theguardian.com/world/iran

World Politics in a New Era 6th edition Spiegel Test Bank

CHAPTER 2

THEORY AND WORLD POLITICS

WHAT STUDENTS SHOULD LEARN FROM THIS CHAPTER

- Distinguish among the systemic, domestic, and individual levels of analysis.
- Explain the concepts of unitary and rational actors within the context of the levels of analysis.
- Explain and apply the concept of the prisoner's dilemma and the operational code.
- Apply the levels of analysis to current issues in international relations, such as climate change.
- Apply the major themes of the text (conflict and cooperation, globalization and fragmentation) to the climate change debate.
- Identify the major assumptions of realism and liberalism.
- Differentiate among the major theories of international relations: realism, liberalism, and constructivism.
- Explain the relation among the levels of analysis and the different variants of realism and liberalism.
- Analyze the issue of climate change utilizing the major theories of international relations.

OUTLINE

I. Climate Change
   A. Climate change has been an incredibly controversial topic, having both activists and skeptics.
   B. Those who bear the immediate costs of addressing climate change argue that there is no climate change and that, if there is, humans are not the cause and it is beyond human control and could be beneficial.
   C. Those who see climate change as a threat argue that it is dangerous and that humans not only contribute to it but also can mitigate it and its effects.
   D. Scientists provide conflicting evidence and arguments, complicating the situation.
   E. Despite the controversy, the international community can address the issue.
      1. In 1998, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change was established for reviewing and sharing scientific research.
      2. In 2002, the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) represented a willingness to address the effects of greenhouse gas emissions; by 2011, there were 194 country parties to the treaty.
   F. This issue demonstrates conflict and cooperation as well as globalization and fragmentation.
      1. Conflict is present in each country in the domestic political disagreements regarding the threat posed by climate change (for example, the United States and the Kyoto Protocol).
      2. Cooperation is seen in the global efforts to address the issue, most recently in Copenhagen in 2010.
      3. Climate change is itself a form of globalization, for example, agribusiness cutting down the rain forest to make way for cattle.
      4. Fragmentation is evident in the arguments between the developing and developed nations (for example, developing countries believe they should be allowed to pollute as a process of industrialization just as the developed countries did).
   G. Climate changes illustrate the themes underlying the study of international relations.

II. Levels of Analysis
   A. The levels of analysis are a methodological way of understanding world politics and are typically broken down into the systemic, the domestic, and the individual levels of analysis.
   B. Systemic level of analysis

World Politics in a New Era 6th edition Spiegel Test Bank

1. Viewing the system as a whole, this level of analysis treats states as unitary actors and examines how their relationships and behaviors can be explained by the nature of the international system; in essence, the internal machinations of the state are irrelevant.
2. There are differing opinions on whether international organizations can be a unit of analysis at the systemic level.
3. The most distinguishing feature at this level is the anarchic structure of the international system, where there is no final arbiter to hold states accountable for their behavior; thus, states exist in a dog-eat-dog, zero-sum world where states can rely only upon themselves (i.e., a self-help system).
4. At the systemic level of analysis it is also assumed that states are rational actors, illustrated through game theory, particularly the prisoner's dilemma and the stag hunt.
5. The climate change example illustrates how the system itself affects approaches to this global problem. For example, the assumption of rationality allows researchers to consider states' interests in signing treaties focused on climate change—like the dilemma posed by the stag hunt game.

C. Domestic level of analysis
1. This level of analysis provides a tool for examining the effects of domestic structures, institutions, and cultures, specifically, which factors or variables within all countries account for their decisions in the area of world politics.
2. Here the internal machinations, guiding principles, or characteristics of the state are relevant; for example, how states develop foreign policies given their institutional structure or regime type is considered.
3. Considering climate change, the domestic level of analysis might examine the effect of a country's relative economic stability, growth, power, or potential on its willingness to ratify a climate change treaty; conversely, the analysis might focus on what agencies within each government are favorable and which oppose the treaty.
4. One prominent school of thought at the domestic level focuses on the role played by political culture.
    a. Political culture is defined as how citizens in different groups, societies, and countries perceive, respond to, and involve themselves in government and politics as well as how they define their interests and priorities.
    b. Political culture helps to explain the approach to climate change because it appears to play a role in the western European embrace of emissions control.
    c. Criticisms of political culture include the question of causality, the ease with which one can adjust or relax assumptions about culture to make them explanatory, the vague and facile nature of the concept, the idea that it is hard to prove and impossible to measure, and the assessment that it is prone to stereotyping.

D. Individual level of analysis
1. Although elements of the international system and domestic politics constrain individual leaders, ultimately decision making lies with them; thus, the individual level of analysis seeks to find specific factors that can account for and even predict an individual's behavior.
2. One method to approach the individual level of analysis is the concept of the operational code, which is a cognitive road map of an individual's political beliefs and priorities.
3. In the climate change example, an individual level of analysis would include an analysis of the skills of a particular leader such as Australia's prime minister Kevin Rudd.

E. Levels of analysis: Analytical tools
1. The three levels of analysis are not mutually exclusive; any given international relations issue can be explained using every level of analysis.
2. As we move from the system to the individual level, we shift from a generalizable explanation to a singular description, thus losing parsimony.

World Politics in a New Era 6th edition Spiegel Test Bank

3. In sum, systemic-level analysis tends to provide explanations for the most general aspects of world politics; domestic-level analysis can explain more specific events and actions; and individual-level analysis can offer insight into particular behaviors and decisions.

III. Theoretical Paradigms/Worldviews

A. Realism is the most venerable paradigm in international relations theory and can trace its roots back hundreds of years (Thucydides, Sun Tzu, Machiavelli, Hobbes).

1. Realism focuses on power and the treacherous—amoral and selfish—nature of humans in shaping international relations.
2. Contemporary realists share a set of related core assumptions that includes the anarchic nature of the system, the use of power politics as a self-help mechanism, the conflictual nature of the system, the preeminence of security over economic gain, and the fact that states are the key political actors.
3. Structural realism, or neorealism, is associated with the systemic level of analysis, where theorists such as Kenneth Waltz and Joseph Grieco argue that the structure of the international system accounts for the behavior of states.
    a. They emphasize that the international system is anarchic; that all states are unitary, rational actors; and that the primary concern of all states is survival.
    b. Further, structural realists focus on security and the distribution of power of the most powerful states in the system (relative power is more important than absolute power); thus, they are concerned with polarity (unipolar, bipolar, multipolar).
    c. States rely on balancing and bandwagoning behavior to maintain stability within the system.
    d. The influence of structural realism has declined because of its inability to explain the collapse of the Soviet Union; the resistance to reductivism prevents structural realists from acknowledging the influence or effects of changes within the state.
    e. With respect to climate change, structural realists would only focus on the relative power among the strongest states; for example, they would look to the United States and China, the two biggest greenhouse gas producers, to find an explanation for the failure of cooperative efforts.
4. Neoclassical realism embraces the dynamics between national and international politics, emphasizing not only the relative power of states (based on domestic resources) but also the domestic political structures that allow the effective employment of those resources.
5. Classical realism relies on the individual level of analysis, utilizing human nature and biology as explanatory variables; humans are inherently power seeking, with international affairs as an extension of human nature.

B. Liberalism

1. Early contributions focused on just war, natural law, and the emergence of an international society (Hugo Grotius, 1583–1645); the concept of the social contract (John Locke, 1632–1704); and conditions for peace in the international system, such as sovereign states and republican constitutions (Immanuel Kant, 1724–1804).
2. All of these early philosophers shared the basic tenets of liberalism: cooperation is possible and beneficial; global politics is a variable-sum game; cooperation is facilitated by interdependence, institutions, and democracy; and a focus on cooperation and mutual interests is more beneficial to states.
3. Neoliberals rely on the systemic level of analysis and argue that the anarchic structure of the international system can be overcome through institutions, regimes, and. interdependence
    a. Rather than focus on the realist concern for survival in a zero-sum world, neoliberals argue that politics is a variable-sum game where states cooperate to ensure their interests are protected and furthered.

World Politics in a New Era 6th edition Spiegel Test Bank

b. Regime theory, or institutionalism, suggests that states (as well as other international actors) develop rules, norms, laws, and organizations regarding different issue areas to enhance and protect cooperation.
c. Institutionalists seek to define under what circumstances international actors will choose cooperation over conflict; transaction costs are reduced through institutions by increasing trust, reducing the likelihood of defection, and providing an opportunity for regular communication, for example, climate change and the UNFCCC.
d. Interdependence refers to the idea that states' economies are intertwined to the extent that this relationship might raise the costs of conflict; some studies suggest that an inverse correlation exists between economic ties and conflict under certain conditions.

4. Democratic peace theorists focus on the domestic level of analysis, specifically that liberal democracies are extremely unlikely to go to war against each other.
   a. This concept is based on the writings of Immanuel Kant (*Perpetual Peace*, 1795) and suggests that states that are constitutional republics would provide for a more peaceful international system because the majority of the public would not vote for war except in self-defense.
   b. Democratic peace theory has been adopted as a viable policy for many U.S. administrations, including that of George W. Bush, who argued that increasing the number of democracies in the Middle East would bring peace to the region.
5. Liberals focusing on the individual level of analysis stress personal characteristics and personality traits in explaining international relations.

C. Constructivism
1. Constructivists argue that states are far from rational; they develop their identities and interests internally; and their assumptions, beliefs, and behaviors determine the effect of the international system; in essence, constructivists argue that international actors make their own reality.
2. Constructivists rely on psychology and sociology as templates for their theories rather than on science and economics (as do realists and liberals).
3. A state's identity is created from its actions and interactions, that is, from a process.
4. For climate change, constructivists might focus on the casting of global warming as a security issue, which makes it more worthy of attention.
5. Critics argue that constructivism is not a theory at all, specifically that it lacks any independent variables and that no single factor (system's structure or regime type) can explain whether cooperation will occur.

D. Other theoretical paradigms/worldviews
1. Feminist scholars challenge the major paradigms, contending that historically the overwhelming majority of actors in the areas of conflict, politics, and economics have been men; thus, the study of international politics has been biased toward conflict at the expense of traditional women's "concerns" such as health, education, and child care.
2. World systems theory has its roots in Marxism and focuses on the uneven and perpetual economic development and the exploitation of "peripheral" states by those in the "core."

HOW THE CHAPTER RELATES TO THE CENTRAL THEMES OF THE TEXT

The themes of the text are utilized in several ways in this chapter. First, the chapter begins with a discussion of the debate over climate change, which provides an illustration of cooperation and conflict and globalization and fragmentation in action. Second, the introduction of the levels of analysis provides the student with an analytical tool by which to examine political events at the level of cooperation and conflict and globalization and fragmentation that occurs at the systemic, domestic, and individual levels. For example, systemic explanations for cooperation and conflict, illustrating how external influences can affect states' behavior, are examined. Although globalization and fragmentation are not explicitly

World Politics in a New Era 6th edition Spiegel Test Bank

discussed (beyond the climate change example), the entire text implies that changes in the international system are major factors in these process. The breakdown of Cold War–era bipolarity, for example, has greatly contributed to political fragmentation, but efforts to establish collective security systems may open other avenues for the globalization of local and regional conflicts. Finally, students are presented with some of the major theories in international relations that seek to explain behavior in world politics. For example, a realist would have very different views on whether climate change provides for more or less cooperation than would a liberal. In sum, this theoretical chapter shows how globalization, fragmentation, cooperation, and conflict can occur simultaneously at many levels.

SUGGESTED LECTURE TOPICS

1. Begin the discussion of theories by introducing students to the concept of theory building in the social sciences, including the explication of assumptions and hypothesis generation and testing. Use examples from the hard sciences for comparison.

2. Use the Cuban Missile Crisis as an example to explain the levels of analysis: at the systemic level focus on the distribution of power; at the domestic level focus on regime type; and at the individual level focus on the personalities of Kennedy and Khrushchev.

3. Using student volunteers, act out the prisoner's dilemma game in class to show the difficulty of cooperation in an anarchic system. Then show a Humphrey Bogart movie, such as *The Treasure of the Sierra Madre*, to see an illustration of the prisoner's dilemma in action.

4. Discuss the bumpy road of the Kyoto Protocol. Use the United States as an example of a state engaged in the negotiations over the treaty that refused to ratify. Discuss the role of China. Have students then apply the levels of analysis to the Kyoto treaty.

5. To enhance the discussion of the individual level of analysis, introduce students to the different typologies of presidential leadership, such as James Barber's *The Presidential Character*, and have students classify the personalities of more recent presidents such as Bill Clinton, George W. Bush, and Barack Obama.

6. Present an in-depth lecture on the operational code by first showing a biography of any leader, such as Mao Zedong, and then have students apply the operational code to that leader.

7. Have students read excerpts from Thucydides' *Melian Dialogue* and Machiavelli's *The Prince* to introduce classical realism. Including maps of the two regions and the historical background of each will enhance the concepts of power and security.

8. Have students read excerpts from Immanuel Kant's *Perpetual Peace* as well as Woodrow Wilson's "Fourteen Points" to understand the concepts of cooperation and collective security.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. What are the advantages and disadvantages of the Kyoto Protocol? Who does the treaty benefit? Who does it harm?

2. How does the climate change debate illustrate the main themes of conflict and cooperation and globalization and fragmentation?

World Politics in a New Era 6th edition Spiegel Test Bank

3. How does the use of game theory, that is, the prisoner's dilemma and the stag hunt, help us to understand international relations?

4. In your opinion, which level of analysis provides for the best framework for international relations? Use examples to support your answer.

5. In your opinion, which theory provides the best explanation for global politics? Why?

VIDEO SUGGESTIONS

An Inconvenient Truth (Lawrence Bender Productions, 2006)
PBS *Frontline*: "Hot Politics" (PBS, 2007)
Mao Tse Tung (A&E Biography, 2005)
Now: Climate Crisis: The Sinking Maldives (PBS, 2009)
Bill Moyers Journal: America's Energy Challenge (PBS, 2010)

INTERNET RESOURCES

Kyoto Protocol homepage: http://unfccc.int/kyoto_protocol/items/2830.php

The Prisoner's Dilemma: The Holocaust: http://www.spectacle.org/995/jews.html

The Prisoner's Dilemma at the Movies: http://www.spectacle.org/995/movie.html

Thucydides' *The Melian Dialogue*: https://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/melian.htm

Machiavelli's *The Prince*: http://www.constitution.org/mac/prince00.htm

World Politics in a New Era 6th edition Spiegel Test Bank

CHAPTER 3

WORLD POLITICS AND ECONOMICS: 1648–1945

WHAT STUDENTS SHOULD LEARN FROM THIS CHAPTER

- Explain how state sovereignty and collective security affect conflict and cooperation in contemporary world politics.
- Identify the European great powers of the eighteenth century and list the defining characteristics of international politics in that era (diplomacy among monarchies, frequent but limited wars, action by the European great powers to prevent French hegemony).
- Outline the major changes in world politics resulting from the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars (spread of liberalism and nationalism, establishment of the Concert of Europe).
- Identify the membership and goals of the Concert of Europe, and describe how it attempted to limit conflict in the nineteenth century.
- Define the major developments in international relations during the "long peace" of the nineteenth century, and identify the major powers of that period.
- Outline the major changes wrought on world politics by the Industrial Revolution.
- Compare and contrast the contending explanations for World War I and World War II.
- Describe the reasoning behind, and impact of, U.S. development and employment of the atomic bomb.
- Apply the levels of analysis to explain events from 1648 to 1945.
- Apply realism, liberalism, and constructivism to events from 1648 to 1945.

OUTLINE

I. Introduction
   A. Chapter 3 traces the origins and development of the modern international system and its major elements through the two world wars.
   B. To analyze the causes and consequences of events in international relations, students must understand the historical context in which we operate—we must learn from history.
   C. Before the seventeenth century, political entities were defined by ruling elites and/or religion.

II. Thirty Years' War and the Peace of Westphalia
   A. After the Reformation challenged papal authority over Western Christianity (beginning in the fifteenth century), many European rulers (such as Henry VIII) broke away from the political and religious authority of the Holy Roman Empire.
   B. These challenges to the empire culminated in the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), a complex and wide-ranging conflict devastating Europe.
   C. The Thirty Years' War ended with the Peace of Westphalia (1648), which established the principle of sovereignty in international law (sovereignty means political independence and ultimate legal authority over internal affairs; Westphalia recognized that this rests with secular rulers rather than with the Pope, the Church, or the Holy Roman Empire).

III. Eighteenth-Century Europe
   A. The great powers
      1. The requirements for great-power status have always been imprecisely defined, but in general, great powers are economically and militarily strong states that do not depend on other states for their security; they are the major "players" in the "game" of international politics, with a relatively large territory and population, a well-organized military, and a strong economy.

World Politics in a New Era 6th edition Spiegel Test Bank

2. The ranks of the European great powers changed over time (Sweden dropped out in the early eighteenth century, for example, whereas Russia achieved great-power status in the same period), but throughout the eighteenth century France, England, Austria, Russia, Prussia, and the Ottoman Empire were recognized as great powers.
3. The interests of the great powers frequently conflicted, but most sought to prevent any single power (usually France, which was the strongest great power for most of the century) from dominating the European system.
4. Therefore, the great powers entered into many shifting alliances to preserve the balance of power, that is, to prevent one state from becoming dominant.

B. "World wars" of the eighteenth century
1. Although most wars of this period were limited in scope (see preceding), three major conflicts in the eighteenth century included significant fighting within Europe and combat in the European powers' colonial empires in Asia, Africa, and North and South America.
2. In the War of the Spanish Succession (1702–1713), the "Grand Alliance" of Austria, England, and the Netherlands prevented an attempt by France's King Louis XIV to establish French domination over Spain.
3. The War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748) saw France and Spain support a successful attempt by King Frederick II ("the Great") of Prussia to take Silesia from Austria, which was backed by England.
4. In the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), Austria, France, and Russia opposed England and Prussia.

C. Aftermath of war and two revolutions
1. American War of Independence
   a. Both England and France had to raise taxes dramatically and look for new revenues to finance the massive debts accumulated during the Seven Years' War.
   b. Attempts to raise extra revenues prompted Britain's American colonies to revolt over "taxation without representation"; in the American Revolution , the colonies won their independence as the United States of America with French support.
   c. France, however, continued to face a political and financial crisis as a result of its war debts.
2. The French Revolution
   a. The French Revolution (1789–1793) toppled the French monarchy and struck terror in the crowned heads of Europe.
   b. The revolution, inspired in large part by the philosophies of the Enlightenment, promoted two ideologies.
      i. Nationalism held that each nation (see Chapter 1) should have its own independent state; it focused popular loyalty on the nation rather than on the monarch.
      ii. Liberalism argued that the power of government should be vested in citizens, not in monarchs, and that government should allow individuals more freedom and responsibility over their own thoughts and actions.
   c. Revolutionary turmoil in France allowed the capable and ambitious Napoleon Bonaparte to seize dictatorial power in 1799 and have himself crowned emperor of the French in 1804.

IV. Napoleonic Era and Its Aftermath
A. Under Napoleon's rule, France attained temporary domination of Europe with a series of stunning military victories, establishing liberal institutions in the countries it controlled.
B. By 1810, France controlled Spain, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Poland, and most of Germany and Italy and was allied with Austria, Prussia, and Denmark but was opposed by Britain, which established control of the seas after the naval Battle of Trafalgar (1805).

World Politics in a New Era 6th edition Spiegel Test Bank

C. The Napoleonic social and political institutions established in French satellites greatly increased the efficiency of government and government's responsiveness to broader segments of society; Napoleon was revered by many and reviled by many others throughout Europe.
D. Britain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia united to defeat France and force Napoleon to abdicate in 1814; Napoleon returned from exile to lead France once again in 1815 but was defeated by British, Prussian, and Dutch forces at the Battle of Waterloo.
E. Concert of Europe
    1. The Treaty of Vienna
        a. After Napoleon's defeat in 1814, representatives of the great powers (Britain, Russia, Prussia, France, and Austria) gathered in Vienna to restore Europe to "normalcy" (i.e., to reestablish the monarchical system existing before the French Revolution).
        b. The congress forced France to pay indemnities to the victors, guaranteed the neutrality of buffer states between France and the other great powers, and established the Concert of Europe.
    2. The Concert of Europe
        a. France, Britain, Austria, Russia, and Prussia agreed to meet periodically to review European affairs and hold special consultations to manage crises.
        b. The concert was based on the principle of collective security; that is, the great powers were formally committed to unite against aggression.
        c. The main goals of the congress were to maintain the political status quo against the threat of revolution and nationalism and preserve the strategic balance of power in Europe.
F. Unification of Italy and Germany
    1. Italian unification
        a. The great powers' positions on Italian unification were determined by realpolitik concerns; France under Napoleon III supported it, but Austria opposed it.
        b. Piedmont, Sicily, and Naples united with other Italian states to form the Kingdom of Italy in 1861.
        c. At first the new Italian state acted as a useful buffer state between France and Austria; its political divisions and economic weakness prevented it from attaining the great-power status its leaders envisioned.
    2. German unification
        a. German unification was masterminded by Otto von Bismarck, the "Iron Chancellor" of Prussia.
            i. Bismarck pursued a step-by-step strategy of unifying Germany under Prussian domination.
            ii. In 1864, taking advantage of a blunder by the Danish king, Prussia seized the northern German duchies of Schleswig and Holstein with Austrian support.
            iii. When Berlin and Vienna fell out in 1866, Prussia defeated Austria in only two months (using superior military organization and leadership and modern technology, including railroads and the telegraph); Austria gave up its authority over northern Germany, and the northern German states were incorporated into a Prussian-dominated North German Confederation.
            iv. Because of alarm at Prussia's growing strength, relations between Prussia and France deteriorated rapidly; after hidden diplomatic manipulation by Bismarck, Napoleon III declared war on Prussia in 1870; Prussia smashed France's armies within weeks, captured Napoleon III, and took Paris after a siege.
            v. In January 1871, the formation of a German Empire was declared in the Palace of Versailles (Louis XIV's palace outside of Paris); the empire included two provinces seized from France—Alsace and Lorraine—although the population of Lorraine was largely French.
        b. German unification radically altered the European system and balance of power.

World Politics in a New Era 6th edition Spiegel Test Bank

i. Germany became the strongest power in continental Europe.
ii. The proclamation of the German Empire in a French cultural monument and the seizure of French territory humiliated France and resulted in the rise of French *revanchism* (desire to avenge a defeat).
iii. The rapid success of Prussian armies against Austria and France led European military planners to believe that future wars would be decided quickly; thus, rapid mobilization was essential.

V. The Industrial Revolution and Its Aftermath
   A. The Industrial Revolution, which began in Britain in the late eighteenth century, changed the organization of industrial production and harnessed new sources of energy, especially steam power.
   B. The social, economic, and strategic impact of the Industrial Revolution was tremendous: factories produced more new products faster than ever before, and manufacturing, transportation, and communication became mechanized; international trade and investment skyrocketed, and competition among industrialized states for markets and raw materials heightened; cities grew rapidly, swelled by workers seeking jobs in the new industries; successful industrialists made huge fortunes (exceeding those of the traditional landowning aristocracy), and the middle classes prospered, but the living conditions of the working poor were slow to improve; women entered the industrial labor force in significant numbers, and traditional extended family structures in farming villages were increasingly replaced by the "nuclear family."
   C. The spread of industrialization gradually but profoundly changed the European system.
      1. The spread of industrialization was uneven; Britain industrialized first, followed by Germany and France, still later by Austria, much later by Russia; Britain's early lead gave it significant strategic and economic advantages until it was eclipsed by Germany.
      2. Britain began to champion free trade with its increased industrial, financial, and naval strength, whereas in other countries (especially Germany) demands for protection against imported goods won out.
   D. British economic hegemony and its challenges
      1. Free trade
         a. After the Napoleonic Wars, Britain progressively adopted free-trade policies advocated by economists David Ricardo and Adam Smith.
         b. Proponents of free trade secured the repeal of the Corn Laws (system of grain tariffs) by 1846, which prompted a boom in global trade.
         c. World trade and production grew tremendously under these liberal trade policies.
      2. Challenges to British hegemony
         a. As other nations industrialized, their growth outstripped that of Britain.
         b. Germany and the United States, in particular, became major political and economic rivals.

VI. Bismarckian System and the Eve of War
   A. In the last decade of the nineteenth century, Bismarck used a series of defensive alliances (known as the Bismarckian system) to protect German security, ameliorate the security concerns of Germany's neighbors, and forestall war between the great powers.
   B. Bismarck's system helped moderate conflicts between the great powers, but by 1888 the system was on the verge of breaking down.
      1. Russia was becoming increasingly distrustful of Germany.
      2. Britain and France had settled most of their differences.
      3. Conflict between Russia and Austria-Hungary increased as Balkan nationalist movements succeeded in winning independence from the Ottomans.
      4. German expansionists pressed for the acquisition of overseas colonies to guarantee Germany's "place in the sun" and political equality with Britain and France.

World Politics in a New Era 6th edition Spiegel Test Bank

5. German domestic politics resulted in Bismarck's dismissal in 1890; by this time, most of Europe had enjoyed nearly two decades of peace, but the seeds of a great-power war had been sown.

VII. The World Wars

A. The world wars were conflicts of unprecedented scope and destructiveness that had tremendous political, economic, strategic, technological, and social consequences.

B. The following sections describe the origins, conduct, and aftermath of the wars and present contending explanations for why they occurred; the reader must decide which explanations are best and whether these catastrophic conflicts could have been avoided.

C. Causes of World War I and the levels of analysis

1. Rise of Germany
   a. Germany's unification and growing power worried its neighbors, especially France and Russia.
   b. At the same time, Germany felt encircled by potential enemies.
   c. Germany's ambitious naval construction program alarmed Britain and precipitated a naval arms race.
2. Alliance system
   a. After 1890, Bismarck's system of flexible alliances began to be replaced by rigid strategic alignments.
   b. Russo-French alliance
   c. Anglo-Japanese alliance
   d. Anglo-French entente
   e. These alliances were designed to prevent a major war, but their net effect was that if two of the great powers went to war, the rest would quickly follow.
3. Economic change and competition
   a. Population and industrial capacity grew throughout Europe in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but some states grew much faster than others.
   b. Germany and the United States, in particular, grew rapidly and outdistanced Britain as the world's leading economic power.
   c. Germany's economic growth enabled it to challenge Britain for political influence and caused British grand strategy to shift from containment of Russia and France to containment of Germany.
4. Nationalism
   a. The continued appeal of nationalist political doctrine threatened the security and the very existence of Europe's multinational empires (Russia, Austria-Hungary, and the Ottoman Empire).
   b. The great powers continued, however, to play realpolitik with nationalism; they suppressed nationalist movements within their own borders but encouraged them in their neighbors and rivals.
5. Imperialism
   a. The empires of the great powers were not confined to Europe; by 1900, most of the world outside Europe (except the Western Hemisphere) was under European control or domination.
   b. The great powers felt that resources from their colonial empires were vital to their security.
   c. Conflicts over colonial interests, particularly in Asia and Africa, heightened tensions in Europe as the imperial powers clashed over their spheres of influence.
6. "Cult of the offensive"
   a. Germany's rapid victories in the wars of German unification led strategists to believe that future wars would be very short and that speed of mobilization would determine victory or defeat; this belief is now known as the cult of the offensive.

World Politics in a New Era 6th edition Spiegel Test Bank

b. This belief in the superiority of the offensive ignored technological developments (such as the machine gun) and evidence from recent wars (such as the American Civil War and the Boer War), which were protracted struggles of attrition.
c. As a result, by 1914, the European powers prepared grandiose offensive plans (especially the Schlieffen Plan, which was seen as Germany's only chance to avoid defeat in a two-front war with France and Russia), and European armies were on a "hair trigger."

7. The levels of analysis
   a. Systemic—distribution of power; rigid alliance system; imperial rivalries; the cult of the offensive
   b. Domestic—German army; nationalism in Austria-Hungary and France
   c. Individual—Kaiser Wilhelm's personal desire for German power; Austria's Franz Josef's decision to punish Serbia

D. The consequences of World War I

1. Stalemate on all fronts
   a. In 1914, the great powers expected a short and relatively bloodless war, but the initial offensives all failed, and by 1915 all fronts had bogged down into static trench warfare.
   b. The scale of the war and new military technology (machine guns, barbed wire, improved artillery, flamethrowers, poison gas, aircraft, submarines, etc.) resulted in horrific casualties.
2. Russian Revolution
   a. In November 1917, continued political and economic crisis in Russia, combined with Russian defeats in the war and huge casualties, precipitated the Bolshevik Revolution.
   b. The new communist government (under Vladimir Lenin) signed a peace treaty with Germany in 1918 (Treaty of Brest-Litovsk); German forces occupied much of the former Russian Empire.
3. Versailles settlement
   a. In January 1919, leaders of France, Britain, Italy, and the United States convened a conference at Versailles to prepare a peace settlement that would restore stability to Europe and prevent another major war.
   b. The European powers generally pursued traditional realpolitik goals (punish and weaken Germany, divide the fallen Russian and Austro-Hungarian empires), but the U.S. president Woodrow Wilson sought to create a "new world order" based on international law and collective security.
   c. The final document (the Treaty of Versailles) was a compromise containing the worst elements of idealism and realism.
      i. A League of Nations was established to provide for collective security, but it had many institutional weaknesses (see following).
      ii. Germany was forced to cede Alsace-Lorraine to France, give up territory to the re-created state of Poland, and demilitarize the Rhineland area of Germany; the size and armament of Germany's army and navy were strictly limited, and it was forbidden to have an air force.
      iii. The Austro-Hungarian Empire was divided into the successor states of Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia (which included Serbia); Austria was forbidden to unite with Germany, and the Sudetenland (a territory with a large German population) was incorporated into Czechoslovakia.
      iv. The Ottoman Empire lost vast territories in the Middle East to British and French colonial control (although the Allies had promised to create independent Arab states and a Jewish homeland in these territories).
      v. Germany was forced to accept primary responsibility for the war and pay massive reparations to the Allies.
   d. The Versailles settlement angered many and satisfied no one.

World Politics in a New Era 6th edition Spiegel Test Bank

i. Some nationalities were given self-determination (Czechs, Serbs, Poles), but others were not (Arabs, Germans).
ii. The new government of Germany, the Weimar Republic, was forced to sign the humiliating treaty (the United States refused to sign, later signing a separate peace treaty).

4. A weak league and the road to another war
   a. The U.S. Senate would not ratify the Treaty of Versailles, and the United States did not join the League of Nations; the absence of the world's largest industrial power ensured that Wilson's vision of a collective security system would be stillborn.
   b. The European powers responded to American isolationism and instability in Europe with realpolitik security measures.
   c. Domestic developments in Europe, however, soon undermined these measures as the desire to avoid another destructive war increased antiwar sentiments, which led the great powers to respond to aggression with appeasement (making partial concessions to aggressors to persuade them to moderate their demands) (see the box "The Munich Analogy" on page 92.
5. Economic collapse and the Great Depression
   a. Economic problems in Germany and reparations payments led to hyperinflation and economic collapse.
   b. The Allies, Germany, and the United States signed the Dawes Plan, under which the United States would lend money to Germany to be used to pay its reparations to the Allies.
   c. The crash of the U.S. stock market in 1929 and the spasmodic contraction of world trade following the Smoot–Hawley Tariff of 1930 precipitated financial crisis and depression throughout the world.
   d. Germany's political and economic system was paralyzed, and many Germans began to look toward the "strong hand" of Adolf Hitler, leader of the fascist National Socialist (Nazi) Party, who became chancellor in 1933.

E. Causes of World War II and the levels of analysis
1. The reasons for the outbreak of World War II are less disputed than the primary explanations for World War I because it is almost universally accepted that if Germany, Italy, and Japan had not pursued expansionist policies in the 1930s, a global war would probably have never occurred; nevertheless, several factors contributed to the war.
2. The terms of the Versailles Treaty were harsh and regarded as humiliating by many Germans.
3. At the same time, the provisions were poorly enforced by the feeble League of Nations.
4. Growing military and economic strength of Germany, Japan, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) altered the global balance of power (for example, the Nazi–Soviet Nonaggression Pact and the subsequent betrayal of this agreement by Hitler demonstrate the concern Germany had for Russia's growing power).
5. Germany, Italy, and Japan pursued expansionist policies to resolve or avoid domestic political problems.
6. The rise of fascism in many European states and militarism in Japan contributed to aggressive policies and destroyed many fledgling democracies.
7. Levels of analysis
   a. Systemic—changing balance of power; failure of collective security
   b. Domestic—German people's demand for improved economic situation; Japanese government's militarism
   c. Individual level—Hitler's desire for power, aggression against Germany's neighbors, and doctrine of supremacy; Chamberlain and appeasement; Mussolini's desire for Italian power; and Tojo's support for war with the United States

F. Consequences of World War II

World Politics in a New Era 6th edition Spiegel Test Bank

1. World War II was even more destructive than World War I; 40 to 50 million people were killed, and entire cities in Europe and Asia were destroyed.
2. Uneasy alliance
    a. The Allies, united to defeat Germany, developed differences of opinion over the future of postwar Europe.
    b. Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin (the "Big Three" Allied leaders) met several times during the war; at their final meeting, at Yalta in February 1945, Stalin agreed to elections in the liberated nations of eastern Europe but did not take the issue seriously.
    c. In July 1945, after Germany's defeat, Harry Truman (who became president upon Roosevelt's death in April), Churchill (whose party was voted out of power during the conference and who was replaced midmeeting by Clement Atlee), and Stalin met at Potsdam, near Berlin; Germany was divided into four Allied occupation zones.
3. The Holocaust
    a. Made the scapegoat for most of Germany's post–World War I hardships, 6 million Jews were murdered by the Third Reich.
    b. Millions of Jews, Gypsies, homosexuals, and others were captured, transported, enslaved, and put to death in concentration camps.
    c. Nazi leaders responsible for these crimes were tried and convicted after the war for crimes against humanity at a special war crimes tribunal at Nuremberg.
4. Atomic bomb
    a. The United States feared that an invasion of Japan would result in more than 1 million U.S. casualties (and many more Japanese lives lost); the Western Allies also feared that the USSR would try to establish lasting control over any territories it might liberate from Japan.
    b. Fearing that German scientists would try to build an atomic weapon, the United States launched the Manhattan Project in 1942; in July 1945, the project finally succeeded in developing an atomic bomb.
    c. Truman decided to use the new weapon in an attempt to persuade Japan to surrender without an Allied invasion of the home islands.
        i. An atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima on August 6, 1945; a second bomb was dropped on Nagasaki on August 9 (the USSR declared war on Japan and attacked Japanese forces in Manchuria on August 8).
        ii. Japan decided to sue for peace on August 10, formally surrendering on September 2, 1945.

VIII. Conclusion

A. Except for the Soviet Union, the old empires were gone, and the European powers no longer possessed the capability to maintain their colonial holdings.
B. After the war, only the United States and the Soviet Union possessed the resources necessary to compete for global leadership.
C. It was not certain that the United States and the USSR would be adversaries; they had cooperated during the war and were both members of the newly formed Security Council of the United Nations, but they possessed radically different political and economic systems and distrusted each other deeply.

HOW THE CHAPTER RELATES TO THE CENTRAL THEMES OF THE TEXT

The historical material in Chapter 3 supports the book's central themes in three important ways. First, it describes the early development of basic structural elements of the international system—the sovereign nation-state, alliances, the balance of power, and international organizations—that students must be familiar with to understand the processes of cooperation and conflict. Second, the chapter points out that cooperation and conflict and globalization and

World Politics in a New Era 6th edition Spiegel Test Bank

fragmentation are not unique features of the contemporary world but rather dynamics that can be observed throughout history. Third, Chapter 3 provides "raw data" for the book's conceptual and theoretical chapters, giving historical examples of events, conflicts, agreements, and decisions that may be used to illustrate analytical constructs such as the security dilemma, collective security, and bandwagoning and balancing.

For example, the world wars and the events surrounding them offer history's most dramatic illustration of the continuous processes of globalization versus fragmentation and cooperation versus conflict. The fragmentation resulting from the disintegration of Europe's multinational empires in the early years of the twentieth century resulted in a catastrophic conflict that quickly became globalized as fighting spread to the powers' colonial empires and as the United States was pulled toward intervention. The League of Nations established by the Versailles settlement attempted to globalize conflict resolution, but in reality the treaty served only to increase fragmentation by creating new national states. The Great Depression shows the risks involved in economic globalization and interdependence, and the failure of the league to facilitate cooperation among the powers for collective security contributed to the outbreak of a truly global war.

Instructors can therefore find a wealth of material in this chapter that exemplifies the text's central themes and, in particular, points out the positive and negative aspects of globalization. After students become familiar with the events, movements, and personalities described in Chapters 3 through 6, they will be better able to use the concepts and analytical frameworks outlined throughout the book to form their own interpretations of history.

SUGGESTED LECTURE TOPICS

1. Compare the conduct of international relations in the eighteenth century (the "golden age of diplomacy," when aristocratic rulers negotiated realpolitik treaties, paying scant attention to the interests of the masses) with international politics in the nineteenth century (when leaders had to take ideologies such as nationalism, liberalism, and socialism into account and required more popular support to raise revenues and implement policies).

2. Discuss the creation of the first modern army under King Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden during the Thirty Years' War. Include the use of professional soldiers, a code of conduct, and changes in tactics and weapons. Contrast this to the Army of the Catholic League, the use of undisciplined mercenaries, and a disregard for human rights.

3. Use the partition and reestablishment of Poland (eighteenth century), the Greek war of independence (nineteenth century), and the Bosnian civil war (twentieth century) to show how realpolitik shapes the great powers' policies toward nationalist conflicts.

4. Describe how the Industrial Revolution made trade more lucrative and warfare more destructive. Compare the "tools of the trade" of preindustrial- and industrial-era merchants, sailors, and soldiers (horse-drawn wagons versus railroads, the telegraph versus the Pony Express, the sailing ship versus the steam-powered ironclad, and the muzzle-loading musket versus the repeating cartridge rifle) to show how economic cooperation among states became more profitable, and the security dilemma more acute, in the industrial age.

5. Describe how each of the events highlighted in the contending explanations for the outbreak of World War I heightened tensions among the European powers.

6. Examine the interests and risks involved in the July 1914 crisis from the vantage points of Vienna, St. Petersburg, Berlin, Paris, and London.

World Politics in a New Era 6th edition Spiegel Test Bank

7. Play the role of "defense attorney" for the League of Nations in the interwar period; argue why it would have been impossible for the league to act more resolutely to oppose German, Italian, and Japanese aggression.

8. Present the interests, capabilities, and vulnerabilities that Germany, Italy, France, and Britain took to the table at the Munich Conference; do the same for Germany and the USSR at the signing of the Nazi–Soviet Pact.

9. Discuss what the two world wars were like for the soldiers on the front lines. Explain the horrific conditions in the trenches during World War I (including trench foot, rats, lice, shell shock) and the consequences of technology and weapons (machine guns and poison gas). For World War II, include a discussion of the Allied invasion of Normandy and the conditions in Russia during the winter. Draw parallels to earlier conflicts (the Thirty Years' War) and wars to come (Afghanistan, Iraq).

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Which "revolution" had the most impact on world politics: the American Revolution, the French Revolution, or the Industrial Revolution? Ask each student to explain how the revolution of his/her choice changed the international system, using historical events to support the argument.

2. Could World War I or World War II have been prevented? Discuss the competing explanations for the wars and what alternative actions could have been taken.

3. Was the Treaty of Versailles a victory for realism over idealism or for idealism over realism? Ask students to identify the main proponents of each view among the leading Allied negotiators and to use four provisions of the treaty to support their contention.

4. Explain the factors and calculations involved in the Nazi–Soviet Nonaggression Pact. What were Hitler's motivations, and what were Stalin's interests? Was entering this agreement a mistake for Stalin?

5. Discuss the examples of globalization and fragmentation and conflict and cooperation evident in this chapter. Ask students to provide examples of each trend.

VIDEO SUGGESTIONS

The French Revolution (History Channel, 2005)
Empires: Napoleon (PBS, 2000)
Woodrow Wilson: American Idealist (History Channel, 2007)
Crucial Turning Points of World War II (Reader's Digest, 1997)
WWII in HD (The History Channel, 2009)
Witness: Voices from the Holocaust (Stories to Remember, 1999)
White Light/Black Rain: The Destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki (HBO, 2007)
Modern Marvels: The Manhattan Project (The History Channel, 2005).

INTERNET RESOURCES

Liberty, Equality, Fraternity: Exploring the French Revolution: http://chnm.gmu.edu/revolution/

The Avalon Project and Yale Law School: 18th Century Documents:

World Politics in a New Era 6th edition Spiegel Test Bank

http://avalon.law.yale.edu/subject_menus/18th.asp

The Avalon Project at Yale Law School: World War II Documents:
http://avalon.law.yale.edu/subject_menus/wwii.asp

The United States Holocaust Museum: http://www.ushmm.org/learn

The Avalon Project at Yale Law School: The Nuremberg War Crimes Trials:
http://avalon.law.yale.edu/subject_menus/imt.asp

The National Security Archive: The Atomic Bomb and the End of World War II:
http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB162/index.htm

World Politics in a New Era 6th edition Spiegel Test Bank

CHAPTER 4

WORLD POLITICS AND ECONOMICS: THE COLD WAR

WHAT STUDENTS SHOULD LEARN FROM THIS CHAPTER

- Identify the strengths and weaknesses of the contending explanations for the start of the Cold War.
- Outline the goals of the U.S. policy of containment, the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan, and the formation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).
- Identify the main periods of increase and relaxation in Cold War tensions.
- Describe the transformation of the global economy in the post–World War II world.
- Describe the precipitating events and consequences of the Korean War, the Cuban Missile Crisis, the Vietnam War, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, and the Reagan Doctrine.
- Assess the strengths and shortcomings of the contending explanations for the Cold War's end.
- Apply the levels of analysis to explain events from the period of the Cold War.
- Apply realism, liberalism, and constructivism to events from the period of the Cold War.

OUTLINE

I. Causes of the Cold War and the Levels of Analysis
   A. It was Moscow's fault (domestic level).
      1. Conventional American view: The Cold War was caused by Soviet aggression and expansionism.
      2. This view holds that the USSR was an "evil empire," which the United States was correct in containing at all costs.
      3. This is a domestic-level argument.
   B. No, it was Washington's fault (domestic level).
      1. Alternative view: The United States is to blame because it tried to expand its overseas influence and markets after World War II and failed to comprehend the USSR's severe security problems after the war.
      2. Variant: U.S. development and use of the atomic bomb at the end of World War II were intended as a political warning to the USSR and caused the Soviet Union to be even more concerned for its own security.
      3. This is a domestic-level argument.
   C. Ideological conflict (domestic level)
      1. U.S. and Soviet political and economic systems (capitalism and communism) were incompatible; conflict between the two systems was inevitable.
      2. Variant: Either capitalism or communism (choose one) is inherently evil and aggressive.
      3. This is a domestic-level argument.
   D. Leadership or the lack thereof (individual level)
      1. U.S. and Soviet leaders and their policies drew their countries into the Cold War.
         a. Truman had little experience in foreign policy and was more suspicious of Soviet intentions than Roosevelt had been.
         b. Stalin's suspicious nature led him to magnify his perceptions of the threat posed by the United States to the USSR after the war, carrying out brutally oppressive policies in Russia and the territories liberated by Soviet forces, which appalled and alarmed the West.
      2. This explanation is an individual-level argument, although it does not necessarily paint U.S. and/or Soviet leaders as heroes and villains—only fallible human beings.
   E. One world divided by two superpowers equals conflict (systemic level).

World Politics in a New Era 6th edition Spiegel Test Bank

1. The international system became bipolar (dominated by only two "superpowers" capable of challenging each other and exercising global influence; therefore, conflict of some kind between the two was inevitable).
2. A systemic-level argument stresses realpolitik and the security dilemma.
3. Under this explanation, there is no point in assigning blame because the two major states in any bipolar system are bound to conflict.

F. It was all a misunderstanding (systemic level).
1. Neither the United States nor the USSR harbored hostile intentions toward each other after World War II, but each misinterpreted the other's actions, creating a spiral of mistrust and tension.
2. Another systemic-level explanation: Conflict may not have been inevitable, but considering the limited information available to the leaders of both superpowers, breaking the cycle of misperception would have been very difficult.

II. Political, Military, and Economic Change

A. Initial confrontation: Iran
1. The first international crisis post World War II occurred in 1946 when the USSR refused to withdraw its troops from Iran as provided for in a Soviet–British agreement.
2. Moscow backed down, which led the United States to determine that the best way to check Soviet expansion was to counter Stalin's actions directly and stand firm against Soviet demands.

B. The Iron Curtain descended and conflict intensified.
1. By 1946, the West began to perceive a growing Soviet threat to Europe; Churchill warned that an "Iron Curtain" was descending across the continent, dividing the West from the Soviet-controlled East.
2. In 1947, Britain, weakened and devastated by the war, informed the United States that it could no longer afford to counter Soviet advances in Greece and Turkey; withdrawing from its empire, Britain thus effectively conceded its leading role in world affairs to the United States.

C. Truman Doctrine
1. In 1947, to overcome isolationist sentiments in the United States to persuade Congress to authorize aid to Greece and Turkey, Truman portrayed the conflict between Western democracy and communism as a struggle between freedom and oppression, good and evil.
2. The policy of U.S. aid to states attempting to resist communist insurgencies or takeovers became known as the Truman Doctrine, which some regard as "the declaration of the Cold War."

D. Marshall Plan
1. Also in 1947, the United States offered a massive program of economic aid (known as the Marshall Plan after the U.S. secretary of state George Marshall) to the war-demolished nations of Europe (including the USSR).
2. The USSR rejected Marshall Plan aid in 1948, however, and forbade the communist eastern European governments to accept it, claiming that it was an attempt to establish U.S. economic domination of Europe.
3. The Marshall Plan was a huge success (perhaps the most successful U.S. foreign policy program in history) and had three lasting effects.
   a. It revitalized western European economies.
   b. It thwarted communist influence in western Europe by easing the economic hardship that served as a breeding ground for discontent and communist agitation (particularly in France and Italy).
   c. It facilitated European economic and political integration, a process that would culminate in the European Union (EU) decades later.

E. Berlin Blockade

World Politics in a New Era 6th edition Spiegel Test Bank

1. In June 1948, Soviet forces closed all land access routes to the Western-occupied sectors of Berlin (which, like Germany, had been divided into four Allied occupation zones) and refused to allow food, fuel, or other supplies to enter the Western zones.
2. The United States responded by organizing a massive airlift of basic necessities to West Berlin, which the USSR could not stop without going to war with the Western Allies.
3. The blockade was halted in May 1949, but the crude attempt to take control of all of Berlin reinforced the USSR's aggressive reputation in the West.
4. During the blockade, the USSR and the Western Allies took independent steps to set up governments in their occupied zones of Germany (the Federal Republic of Germany in the West and the German Democratic Republic in the East); both sides wanted unification of Germany under their own terms and could not tolerate a unified German state under the other's terms, so the division of Germany resulted by default.

F. NATO and the Warsaw Pact
1. The Berlin Blockade convinced the Western Allies that a new alliance was necessary to resist possible future Soviet aggression in Europe.
2. In April 1949, the nations of western Europe joined with the United States and Canada to form NATO.
3. NATO was the first alliance the United States had entered into in peacetime; entry into a permanent alliance was a rejection of the historic U.S. policy of isolationism.
4. The Soviet Union responded in 1954 by organizing its client states in eastern Europe into a rival alliance, the Warsaw Pact.

G. Transformation of the world economy
1. World War II altered the distribution of power in the international system, set the stage for the Cold War, and fundamentally changed the international political economy.
2. The United States emerged as a hegemon, dominating the world in terms of production and leading to a massive increase in U.S. gross national product.
   a. International trade and investment grew during the period of U.S. hegemony.
   b. Living standards throughout much of the industrialized world increased rapidly during the 1950s and 1960s.
3. The Bretton Woods system
   a. This system of international institutions designed to facilitate economic cooperation was established in 1945 with three main components.
   b. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) managed a fixed exchange rate system (pegging world currencies to the value of the dollar) and provided short-term loans to rectify balance-of-payments deficits.
   c. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (or World Bank) was created to finance the rebuilding of war-torn nations but found a larger role in providing capital for development in newly independent Third World countries.
   d. The proposed International Trade Organization faced U.S. congressional opposition and never got off the ground; in 1947, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) sought to open world markets and increase trade.

III. The Cold War in Asia and the Third World

A. Chinese revolution
1. Communists and Nationalists had been struggling for control of China since the 1920s; after World War II, the Nationalist Kuomintang, led by Chiang Kai-shek, was rapidly weakening in strength and declining in popularity because of rampant corruption and undemocratic policies.
2. The United States was thus caught in the quintessential Cold War dilemma: support a repressive regime or allow potentially pro-Soviet communist forces to win control of a strategically important country; a compromise U.S. aid policy alienated the Chinese

World Politics in a New Era 6th edition Spiegel Test Bank

communists but did not provide enough aid to their opponents to prevent a communist victory.

3. In 1949, Chinese communists led by Mao Zedong won the civil war and established the People's Republic of China (PRC); the Nationalists retreated to Taiwan; Stalin and Mao signed an alliance, but inherent Sino-Soviet tensions were apparent from the start.
4. Mao's U.S. policy was not simply a reaction to U.S. behavior; he was patently unwilling to pursue diplomatic relations with Western countries; his focus was on enhancing the momentum of the revolution, and anti-U.S. discourse was helpful in this cause.

B. NSC-68

1. The communist victory in China in 1949 and the USSR's test of an atomic bomb that same year convinced many in the United States that military measures, as well as political and economic ones, would be necessary to carry out the U.S. strategic objective of containment of the USSR (preventing further expansion of Soviet control or influence).
2. The National Security Council prepared a controversial plan, NSC-68, for the increase of U.S. armed forces to levels unprecedented in peacetime; Truman and many congressional leaders did not accept the plan at first, fearing that the high military spending called for in the plan would ruin the U.S. economy.

C. Korea: The turning point

1. After World War II, Korea, like Germany, had been divided into Soviet and U.S. occupation zones; the USSR arranged a rigged election in the North, and a communist government under Kim Il Sung (the same Kim in office in 1994) took over.
2. Both the USSR and the United States withdrew their occupation forces by 1950; the U.S. secretary of state Dean Acheson may have appeared to "write off" South Korea by proposing a U.S. defense perimeter in Asia that seemed to exclude that country.
3. In June 1950, North Korean forces attacked the South, attempting to unify the country by force; the USSR refused to participate in a UN Security Council debate on the crisis (boycotting the assignment of China's seat on the council to the Nationalists), and the Security Council authorized intervention into the war by a U.S.-led coalition (much as it did in the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in 1991).
4. The U.S.-led UN intervention saved South Korea, but talk of "unleashing" Nationalist forces against the PRC and a UN offensive into North Korea resulted in Chinese intervention on the Northern side.
5. The Korean War became stalemated near the original border along the 38th parallel; in 1953, newly elected U.S. president Dwight Eisenhower warned that if the war was not halted, the United States might use nuclear weapons, and a cease-fire was negotiated in July 1953. (North and South Korea remain officially in a state of war.)
6. The Korean War was a turning point in the Cold War for several reasons.
    a. The war prompted the adoption of NSC-68 and a large buildup of U.S. and NATO military forces.
    b. U.S. involvement in Asia was increased, and the U.S.–Soviet and U.S.–Chinese conflicts were heightened.
    c. The global U.S.–Soviet conflict worsened as many Americans began to view communist action anywhere in the world as a threat to U.S. vital interests.
    d. The war set a precedent for limited war, in which nuclear weapons were not used, and U.S. and Soviet troops avoided direct combat with each other (although there were some dogfights between U.S. aircraft and Soviet pilots flying North Korean or Chinese planes).

D. The Third World

1. In the 1950s, the USSR began to establish ties with newly independent nations in Asia and Africa that had previously been under European colonial control.
2. The United States sought to limit Soviet influence in these developing "Third World" countries, leading to a further globalization of the Cold War.

World Politics in a New Era 6th edition Spiegel Test Bank

a. A U.S.-engineered coup overthrew the Iranian government in 1953.
b. In 1954, another coup backed by the Central Intelligence Agency ousted the president of Guatemala, whom the United States believed to be influenced and supported by communists.
c. Suez Crisis: Egyptian president Gamal Abdel Nasser's nationalization of the Suez Canal in 1956 led to a British, French, and Israeli invasion of Egypt; Eisenhower, infuriated by their pretense and collusion, exerted diplomatic and economic pressure to force a halt to the action, but the debacle increased the U.S. and Soviet role in the Middle East.

3. The Nonaligned Movement
a. Beginning in the mid-1950s, Third World nations attempted to assert their independence from both the USSR and the United States and to play the superpowers off against each other to gain aid.
b. The USSR established close relations with a number of nonaligned countries (especially India and Egypt), which led to U.S. distrust of the movement and an increase in aid to anticommunist U.S. allies (including Iran and South Vietnam).

IV. Trouble Spots: Berlin, Cuba, and Vietnam

A. Increased tensions in the 1950s and early 1960s
1. After the USSR launched the first artificial satellite in 1957, the communist East appeared to some to be gaining political, technological, and economic advantages over the West.
2. Khrushchev's rhetoric, which stressed the superiority of Soviet rocket technology, acted to increase this perception, but the United States responded by instituting a massive space program and programs to develop strategic missiles.
3. In 1959, Fidel Castro overthrew a corrupt and repressive pro-U.S. regime in Cuba; after the United States imposed economic sanctions, Castro turned to the USSR for aid and developed close relations with Moscow.

B. Berlin
1. In 1958, a crisis erupted over Soviet demands for the Western Allies' withdrawal from Berlin.
2. Another crisis erupted when East German authorities sealed off West Berlin with barbed wire and concrete barricades in August 1961 in an effort to stop the flow of refugees.
3. The outcome (western sectors of Berlin were surrounded by the Berlin Wall, but West Berlin remained in Allied hands) allowed both sides to claim victory, but U.S.–Soviet tensions escalated.

C. Cuba
1. An abortive U.S.-backed invasion by Cuban exiles at the Bay of Pigs in 1961 humiliated the United States and alarmed Castro.
2. In 1962, Soviet medium-range nuclear missiles were secretly placed in Cuba; in October, they were detected by U.S. intelligence.
3. The resulting crisis was the most acute of the Cold War.
a. The United States demanded the withdrawal of the missiles and threatened military action if they were not removed.
b. The United States instituted a blockade ("quarantine") of Cuba to prevent any further Soviet weapons from entering the island.
c. Fears of nuclear war peaked, but the USSR agreed to withdraw the missiles in exchange for a U.S. pledge not to invade Cuba and to remove missiles from Turkey; war was averted, but the USSR was humiliated.
4. The immediate result of the crisis was a relaxation of Cold War tensions, agreement on a limited nuclear test ban treaty, and establishment of the Moscow–Washington "hotline" to improve communication.
5. The USSR, however, became determined to achieve strategic parity with the United States and began building up its nuclear forces at tremendous cost.

World Politics in a New Era 6th edition Spiegel Test Bank

6. Americans became overconfident about the ability of the United States to accomplish its foreign policy tasks; the United States now underestimated the difficulties of containing communism in the Third World.

D. Vietnam and its consequences
1. The early 1960s saw changes in leadership styles in the United States and USSR; JFK was assassinated in 1963, and Khrushchev was ousted in 1964.
2. By 1963, the United States had more than 16,000 military advisors in South Vietnam; that country's president, Diem, was overthrown and killed in a coup (to which the United States acquiesced) that same year, but North Vietnamese and communist Vietcong forces continued to gain the upper hand.
3. In 1965, President Johnson sent U.S. combat forces into Vietnam to forestall a communist victory; although the United States tried to keep the war limited (to avoid provoking intervention by China, as in the Korean War), more and more troops were sent, until by 1968 the United States had more than 500,000 soldiers fighting in Vietnam.
4. U.S. troops, military aid, and bombing campaigns failed to defeat the Vietcong or to strengthen the corrupt South Vietnamese regime; the fruitless conflict became increasingly unpopular with the U.S. public, and protests erupted all over the United States.
5. The apparent decline of U.S. economic hegemony
   a. As the economies of Europe and Japan grew along with their share of world trade, unilateral U.S. leadership of the world economy became politically and economically unsustainable.
   b. The United States developed a chronic current-account deficit after 1971, and social programs and the Vietnam War increased strains on the U.S. budget.
   c. The "Nixon Shock": In 1971, the U.S. president Richard Nixon announced that the United States could no longer bear the whole burden of international monetary stabilization; the United States ended its commitment to convert dollars to gold, raised tariffs, and devalued the dollar.
   d. Negotiations on how to fix the Bretton Woods system failed, and in 1973 the fixed exchange rate system was ended; efforts to restore order in international economic relations took on a more multilateral cast.

V. From Détente to Discord

A. The opening of China, the Moscow Summit, and the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT)
1. The Nixon administration recognized the depths of the Sino-Soviet dispute and sought to open a dialogue with China in hopes of gaining leverage over Russia and facilitating a U.S. exit from the Vietnam War.
2. In February 1972, President Nixon (who had been an ardent anticommunist as a congressman and as vice president) visited China, signaling new flexibility in U.S. policy.
3. Linkage
   a. Nixon and Henry Kissinger sought to improve U.S.–Soviet relations by gradually making the USSR more comfortable with the international status quo.
   b. The United States acknowledged the USSR's superpower status and attainment of strategic parity with the United States, signaling that the United States would deal with the USSR on an equal basis.
   c. The United States also tried to gain acceptance of a set of rules or "code of conduct" in the international arena to try to moderate the security dilemma.
   d. Kissinger, especially, sought to explicitly link economic and political incentives to Soviet behavior on a quid pro quo basis, attempting to use "carrots and sticks" to moderate Soviet actions.
4. In May 1972, at a summit in Moscow, Nixon and Leonid Brezhnev signed the first strategic arms limitation treaty (SALT I).

World Politics in a New Era 6th edition Spiegel Test Bank

a. The treaty, designed to stabilize the arms race, included limits on offensive missiles (a ceiling on the number of land- and sea-based strategic nuclear missiles the two sides were allowed) and restrictions on antiballistic missiles (the Anti–Ballistic Missile [ABM] Treaty, which proved to be of greater long-term significance).
b. Economic and trade agreements and an agreement on "basic principles of mutual relations" were also signed at the Moscow Summit.

B. Tensions in détente
1. As the 1970s progressed, it became apparent that the United States and USSR had different goals and expectations for détente.
a. The United States, by giving the USSR a "stake in the system," hoped to avoid confrontations and challenges to each other's vital interests.
b. The USSR regarded détente as a recognition of political equivalence with the United States, expected that the Cold War competition would continue, and saw no contradiction between détente and support for "national liberation movements" in the Third World.
2. After the United States withdrew from Vietnam in 1973, many Americans wanted to avoid further involvement in Third World conflicts; while the United States attempted to recover from the political and social turmoil caused by the war and the Watergate scandal, Vietnam fell to communists in 1975.
3. The Arab–Israeli War of 1973 resulted in an alert of U.S. nuclear forces and an Arab oil embargo against the United States.
4. In 1977, the new U.S. president Jimmy Carter emphasized interdependence, economic factors, and human rights in his foreign policy.
a. Carter's less confrontational approach may have led the Soviets to believe that the United States would not oppose Soviet expansion in the Third World.
b. Carter and Brezhnev signed SALT II in 1979, although the U.S. Senate never ratified the treaty because of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

C. Invasion of Afghanistan
1. In 1979, the USSR sent troops into Afghanistan to install a more strongly pro-Soviet regime.
2. The invasion was widely denounced in the West and Third World as an act of aggression, whereas the invasion itself became bogged down in guerrilla warfare against U.S.-backed resistance fighters.
3. The Carter administration applied economic sanctions and withdrew the U.S. team from the Moscow Olympics in 1980, but the Soviet intervention continued, and many in the United States viewed these responses as pusillanimous.

D. Reagan and the Reagan Doctrine
1. Ronald Reagan became the U.S. president in 1981, pledging to return to a more assertive form of containment of the USSR.
2. Reagan labeled the USSR the "evil empire" and increased U.S. support for anticommunist insurgencies in the Third World, a policy that became known as the Reagan Doctrine; anticommunist insurgencies were encouraged in Angola, Cambodia, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Nicaragua, and U.S. forces intervened in Lebanon in 1982 and in Grenada in 1983.
3. The Reagan Doctrine was accompanied by large, controversial, and expensive improvements in U.S. military forces.

VI. The End of the Cold War and the Levels of Analysis

A. The Gorbachev era
1. In 1985, Mikhail Gorbachev became head of the Soviet Communist Party and instituted policies of glasnost (openness) and perestroika (economic restructuring).
2. In the late 1980s, the USSR refused to prop up communist regimes in eastern Europe with military support or economic aid; this revocation of the Brezhnev doctrine was followed by mass uprisings in the communist states; liberalizing reforms and/or new repression failed to

World Politics in a New Era 6th edition Spiegel Test Bank

quiet public discontent, and communist regimes in Poland, Hungary, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, and Romania fell in 1989.

3. The Berlin Wall was dismantled in 1989, and Germany was unified under the Federal Republic in 1991.
4. After an abortive coup by hard-line communists failed in 1991, the Soviet regime was completely discredited, and the Soviet Union broke up into an independent Russia and other republics at the end of the year.

B. Explanations for the Cold War's end
   1. The Gorbachev factor (individual level)
      a. Mikhail Gorbachev's leadership and policies were instrumental in the end of the Cold War; had leaders with attitudes similar to Brezhnev or Stalin been in power in the late 1980s, the Cold War might still be going on.
      b. This explanation fits with the individual level of analysis and the "great man" theory of world politics.
   2. Failure of communism (domestic level)
      a. According to this explanation, internal changes in Soviet policy and society made the United States and USSR more compatible.
      b. The demonstrable failure of the Soviet system signaled the triumph of capitalism over communism and thus an end to global ideological conflict.
      c. This view offers a domestic-level explanation—conflict ended as systems of government became similar.
   3. End of the "evil empire" (domestic level)
      a. In this view, the Cold War ended because the Soviet Union became too weak to challenge the United States and ultimately collapsed; George Kennan's doctrine of containment, using "counterforce" to stop Soviet expansion, prevailed without the need for direct military confrontation.
      b. A variant of this argument holds that economic and military competition with the West was the deciding factor in the collapse of the Soviet system; therefore, the United States was right to pursue its military buildup and assertive policies of the late 1980s.
      c. This is essentially a systemic-level, realpolitik explanation for the end of the Cold War.
   4. The end of bipolarity (systemic level)
      a. In this perspective, the Cold War ended because of the decline in bipolarity; the USSR ceased to be strong enough to challenge the United States globally, and other states gained economic and political strength.
      b. In this view, the real "winners" of the Cold War are Europe and Germany, which relied on the United States for military security while they invested in their own economies; the world was heading either toward unipolarity (with the United States as the only superpower, facing no real challengers) or multipolarity as new "economic superpowers" challenged the United States for global economic leadership.
      c. This view is another systemic-level explanation.

VII. Conclusion

A. In comparison with the history presented in the previous two chapters, the Cold War was really the "long peace"—more than 40 years with no wars between major powers (although the period was not without conflict), despite (or perhaps because of) the presence of huge nuclear arsenals on both sides.
B. The Cold War saw the complete globalization of political conflict; fragmentation coexisted with economic globalization.

World Politics in a New Era 6th edition Spiegel Test Bank

HOW THE CHAPTER RELATES TO THE CENTRAL THEMES OF THE TEXT

Like the text's other historical chapters, Chapter 4 provides examples of events, policies, and personalities that are used to illustrate concepts and theories presented in other chapters. The contending explanations for the start and end of the Cold War are examples of theories grounded in specific levels of analysis, further familiarizing students with those key concepts. More generally, the chapter traces the waxing and waning of cooperation and conflict between the superpowers during the Cold War, showing how both can occur simultaneously.

The Cold War era saw the ultimate globalization of politics—any conflict, no matter how local, could become an East–West issue if either superpower became involved, and the global U.S.–Soviet confrontation affected local and regional conflicts throughout the world. It will come as no surprise, however, that fragmentation was also a major factor during the Cold War; ethnic and national conflicts in the Third World frustrated efforts by the superpowers to establish a mutually acceptable code of conduct during détente, for example.

The tensions between liberalism and realism were palpable during the Cold War. U.S. leaders such as Truman, Dulles, and Kissinger had to use American values and ideals to justify policies designed to pursue realpolitik objectives, and proponents of disarmament constantly questioned the morality of nuclear deterrence. During the Vietnam War, the principles of realpolitik, anticommunism, liberal internationalism, and noninterference in other states' affairs all collided, and the crash shook the foundations of American society.

SUGGESTED LECTURE TOPICS

1. Illustrate the policy options available to Truman when Britain notified the United States that it could no longer support anticommunist forces in Greece and Turkey, noting how each option would signal the primary course of postwar U.S. foreign policy (return to isolationism, reliance on multilateralism, or active containment of the USSR). Point out the domestic constraints that had to be overcome in pursuing each policy.

2. Survey the postwar world from the Soviet perspective; point out Moscow's security concerns in Europe (especially Germany) and interests in South and East Asia.

3. Compare the strategy of containment as articulated by Kennan with the policy courses adopted by the Eisenhower, Kennedy, Nixon, Carter, and Reagan administrations. Which came closest to Kennan's idea of containment? Was the basic concept of containment sound or flawed?

4. Discuss the possible explanations for the Soviet decision to place missiles in Cuba in 1962 and the consequences of that decision. Show the clip of Kennedy addressing the nation (available on YouTube) about the weapons, and discuss the fear that permeated the American public.

5. Discuss the superpowers' expectations for the era of détente and the events that brought that era to a close. Were the expectations of Moscow or Washington, or both, unreasonable?

6. Compare and contrast the Vietnam War for the United States and the war in Afghanistan for the Soviet Union. What was each trying to accomplish, and what was the outcome?

7. Explain the start and the end of the Cold War from the three levels of analysis, using the contending theories presented in this chapter. Encourage students to independently evaluate the possible causes.

World Politics in a New Era 6th edition Spiegel Test Bank

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Ask students which explanation for the start of the Cold War they find most persuasive. Ask them to give the strengths and weaknesses of that explanation and to discuss the level of analysis the explanation represents.

2. Compare Kennan's "Long Telegram" with the Novikov Telegram. What are their similarities and differences? What do they demonstrate about U.S. and Soviet attitudes at the start of the Cold War?

3. Why did the Cuban Missile Crisis occur, and why was it resolved in the way that it was? Which level of analysis best explains its beginning and resolution?

4. Discuss the significance of détente in the legacy of the Cold War. Compare Nixon's ability to go to China with Sadat's ability to travel to Jerusalem after the 1973 war.

5. Ask students to identify examples of realism, liberalism, and constructivism evident during the Cold War.

6. Ask students which explanation for the end of the Cold War they find most persuasive. Ask them to give the strengths and weaknesses of that explanation and discuss the level of analysis the explanation represents.

VIDEO SUGGESTIONS

The Cold War (CNN, 1998)
Unforgettable: The Korean War (PBS, 2010)
The Bay of Pigs (PBS, 1997)
20th Century with Mike Wallace: Vietnam, A Soldier's Diary (History Channel, 1996)
Vietnam War: Battles in the Jungle (PBS, 2012)
Biography, Mikhail Gorbachev: A Man Who Changed the World (A&E, 2006)
Ronald Reagan: A Legacy Remembered (History Channel, 2002)
War Games (MGM, 1983)

INTERNET RESOURCES

The Cold War Museum: http://www.coldwar.org/

The Avalon Project and Yale Law School: The Cold War:
http://avalon.law.yale.edu/subject_menus/coldwar.asp

The Avalon Project and Yale Law School: Soviet-American Diplomacy:
http://avalon.law.yale.edu/subject_menus/sovmenu.asp

Truman Library and Museum: The Korean War:
http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/korea/large/index.htm

The Avalon Project at Yale Law School: Cuban Missile Crisis and Aftermath:
http://avalon.law.yale.edu/subject_menus/msc_cubamenu.asp

World Politics in a New Era 6th edition Spiegel Test Bank

CHAPTER 5

IMPERIALISM AND ITS SURVIVORS

WHAT STUDENTS SHOULD LEARN FROM THIS CHAPTER

- Define imperialism and discuss its origins.
- Explain the types and extent of the Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, French, British, Russian, U.S., Ottoman Empire, German, and Japanese empires.
- Describe the decline of imperialism.
- Analyze the social, economic, cultural, and ideological impacts of imperialism.
- Apply the levels of analysis to explain events relating to imperialism.
- Apply realism, liberalism, and constructivism to events relating to imperialism.

OUTLINE

I. Introduction
   A. Imperialism is the process of extending a nation's authority by territorial acquisition or by the establishment of political and economic hegemony over other nations.
   B. Many conflicts in the new era can be traced to imperialism (for example, the genocide in Rwanda and the conflict between the Israelis and Palestinians).

II. The Rise and Fall of Empires
   A. The expansion of European political and economic dominance was built on three foundations:
      1. The search for trade routes to Asia
      2. The expectation that controlling this trade or exploiting resources found in other areas would strengthen the European home country, the metropole, in its competition with other European countries
      3. A growing and rapidly accelerating European superiority in technology
   B. One critical key to European expansion was the result of both a social necessity and a technological revolution in seafaring.
   C. One of the most fundamental distinctions among European empires was that some emphasized territorial conquest, whereas others concentrated on control of trade routes.
   D. European explorers ventured out because of the advanced seafaring technologies, political and economic competition engendered by the fragmented European state system, and the belief in rich lands and salvageable souls lying just over the horizon.
   E. The first transoceanic empires: Spain and Portugal
      1. Colonial collusion: Dividing the world
         a. To avoid conflict over their competing expansions, Spain and Portugal established an imaginary line in 1494.
         b. The Treaty of Tordesillas purported to divide up the world: Spain was granted possession of all lands to the west of this line, and Portugal was granted all the lands to the east.
            i. Spain had authority in the New World except Brazil.
            ii. Portugal gained supremacy over Africa and the Indian Ocean.
      2. Spanish colonial administration
         a. The Spanish Empire in the New World emphasized the acquisition of territory.
         b. European conquistadors were aided by a number of factors.
            i. Gunpowder and muskets
            ii. Native Americans had less immunity to diseases.
            iii. The political systems of the Aztecs and the Incas were so tyrannical that foreign intervention was often welcomed by the people.

World Politics in a New Era 6th edition Spiegel Test Bank

c. There was a large bureaucracy in the Spanish territories, although the Crown was the ultimate authority.
d. The main characteristics of this colonial administration reflected the idea that the role of Spanish possessions was to enrich the mother country.

3. Portuguese colonialism
   a. Most of the Portuguese Empire was based on trade; thus, instead of subduing and occupying territory, Portugal was content to establish trading ports.
   b. In Brazil, the Portuguese turned to growing sugarcane in large plantations; African slaves were imported to compensate for the lack of indigenous labor.
4. Spanish–American independence
   a. The Napoleonic Wars provided an opportunity for rebellion in Spanish colonies irritated with the proscription on free trade.
   b. The colonies pressed for independence, which was encouraged by Great Britain.
   c. Spain would not blithely relinquish its possessions, and the fight for independence lasted roughly from 1810 through 1825.
   d. Most of Spain's American colonies received political independence under the leadership of Simón Bolívar.
5. Independence from Portugal
   a. The catalyst for independence came with the Napoleonic Wars.
   b. Throughout the French occupation of Portugal, the center of the Portuguese Empire resided in Brazil, and Brazilians were allowed to trade freely with other countries.
   c. Brazil gained its independence with relatively little conflict, but Portuguese colonies in Africa would wait until the 1970s, with independence occurring only after decades of bitter colonial and civil war.

F. Dutch Empire
1. The Dutch Empire began with the founding of the Dutch East India Company in 1602 and concentrated on controlling key strategic trading ports, straits, and coasts.
2. The real wealth of the Dutch Empire came from the spices of the Dutch East Indies and from tea plantations on the island of Ceylon; these commodities brought high profits in European markets.
3. Dutch participation in the global commodities and financial markets and the colonies' role in spurring high levels of international trade were far greater than the size, population, or longevity would indicate.
4. Dutch colonial presence in the Indian Ocean was ended by losses during the Napoleonic Wars; the Dutch lost the Dutch East Indies during World War II but retained some Caribbean islands.

G. French Empire
1. The principal colonial competition for most of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was between Britain and France.
2. Britain and France brought different strengths and weaknesses to their struggle.
   a. The British Isles made foreign invasion unlikely; thus, Britain could focus on the Royal Navy.
   b. Britain had to trade for many raw materials and a significant portion of its food.
   c. France, as a continental power, had to devote large resources to its standing army.
   d. French self-sufficiency in food made France more inward looking in economic matters, whereas British population pressures encouraged emigration.
   e. The combination of these factors gave Britain consistent advantages over France.
3. France's bid for empire
   a. France colonized areas in North America, the western half of Hispaniola, and other Caribbean islands and established trading posts in the Indian Ocean.

World Politics in a New Era 6th edition Spiegel Test Bank

b. Although the French typically emphasized control of territory, they never achieved lasting domination because the possessions never attracted a great number of French settlers.
c. This early French Empire collapsed as a result of the Seven Years' War, but France rebuilt an empire after the Napoleonic Wars in Africa, Southeast Asia, and the Pacific (its empire was extended to the Middle East after World War I).
d. The French saw their role as bringing culture and civilization to backward people and thus attempted to assimilate them to the French way of life.
e. Decolonization was a particularly difficult ordeal for the French Empire, precipitated by the disastrous results for France in World War II (e.g., the defeat by Ho Chi Minh at Dien Bien Phu); only a few Caribbean and Pacific islands remain "overseas departments" for the French Republic today.

H. British Empire
1. Seventeenth and eighteenth centuries
a. The first area of English overseas colonization was at Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607, followed by colonies in North America and the Caribbean; English hegemony in North America lasted only a few years until the American Revolution.
b. The British Empire in Asia, South Africa, Ceylon, and other Indian Ocean islands lasted longer.
2. Nineteenth and twentieth centuries
a. The British added Burma and Malaya to their Asian empire; Australia and New Zealand were colonized.
b. To prevent a repeat of the American Revolution, the British government granted self-government to the colonies of Canada, Australia, and New Zealand.
c. When the competition for colonies in Africa reached a fever pitch in the late 1880s, Britain used its superior naval and strategic resources to secure the proverbial "lion's share."
d. Britain's most important and costly colonial war, the Boer War, took place in South Africa, 1899–1902.
e. By the eve of World War I, the "sun never set" on an empire that extended from the South Pacific islands to the hinterlands of Africa to the British Isles through Canada.
3. Twilight of empire
a. World War I and World War II led to independence by Ireland, Arab states, India, Burma, Ceylon, and Israel.
b. In Africa, most colonies gained independence in the mid-1950s and early 1960s, followed by most of the Caribbean and South Pacific island territories over the next decade.
c. A power vacuum was created when Britain left the Persian Gulf in 1971.
d. The decolonization of the British Empire was generally peacefully achieved.

I. Two great continental empires: Russia and the United States
1. The Russians
a. Earliest days to late seventeenth century: Russia was a feudal or absolutist monarchy.
b. Through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Russian Empire expanded relentlessly to the east across Siberia and toward the Baltic Sea; trade and contact with Europe remained limited.
c. Russia became firmly established as a European power during the reign of Alexander I (1801–1825) after the defeat of Napoleon and the establishment of the Concert of Europe.
d. In 1917, the Bolshevik Revolution and the civil war that followed destroyed the centralized, bureaucratic, and repressive Russian Empire and replaced it with the equally repressive USSR.

World Politics in a New Era 6th edition Spiegel Test Bank

e. Russian influence over world politics peaked during the Cold War, but massive military spending and continued inability to compete with Western technology exhausted the USSR.
f. The Soviet Union disintegrated in 1991, and by 1992 the collapse of the empire was complete; the collapse was rapid and disorderly but mostly peaceful.

2. The Americans
a. The United States expanded westward through North America in the nineteenth century and in 1898 entered the ranks of the overseas imperialist powers by obtaining Puerto Rico and the Philippines; it seized Hawaii, Guam, and other Pacific islands, making it a major power in the Pacific.
b. The American empire was "informal," controlling economic and political development without direct colonial rule.
c. American attempts to keep "friendly" governments in power in some Third World countries often led to disaster (e.g., Vietnam).
d. There remains a latent anti-Americanism in Latin America that is typical of anticolonial movements elsewhere in the developing world.

J. Ottoman Empire
1. The Muslim empire of the Ottoman Turks was a major force in world politics for more than 500 years; at its peak it controlled the Balkans, the Middle East, North Africa, and parts of what are now southern Russia and Ukraine.
2. Fourteenth through eighteenth centuries
a. By the end of the fifteenth century, the Ottomans had conquered Constantinople, the rest of Turkey, Greece, parts of Albania, and the Balkans.
b. In the sixteenth century, the Ottomans neutralized Persia and conquered most of the Middle East, consolidating the Ottoman claim to be the protector and benefactor of Islam and bringing economic gains.
3. Nineteenth and twentieth centuries
a. The weakened Ottoman Empire increasingly came under attack from Russia and Austria.
b. The "sick man of Europe" deteriorated as the other European powers vied for parts of the crumbling empire.
c. In the four decades before World War II, the Ottomans gradually lost control of the Balkans to either Austria and Russia or to newly independent states; the resulting chaos sparked World War I and the end of the Ottoman Empire.

K. Too little, too late: German and Japanese empires
1. The bids for empire by both Germany and Japan produced numerous bloody wars between 1860 and 1945.
2. Neither was effective in creating permanent structures largely because of their defeat by other countries.

III. Decline of Imperialism
A. Under costly, fragmenting pressure from the peoples subjected to their rule, unable to bear the costs of long-distance administration, and facing competition from each other, the empires—except for the United States and the Soviet Union—were unable to survive the two world wars.
B. European ideas of nationalism and political sovereignty served to undermine the colonial powers' legitimacy.
C. Today few countries even acknowledge overseas territories as being part of an empire; empire became politically incorrect.
D. The impact of empires includes the redrawing of borders; the creation of new countries; the profound alteration of the economic, political, and social organization of the peoples of the Americas, Africa, Asia, and the Pacific; and their hold over new countries' natural resources.

IV. Impacts of Imperialism
A. Social impact of colonialism

World Politics in a New Era 6th edition Spiegel Test Bank

1. Today virtually all countries that comprise the developing world are direct descendants of European empires and colonialism; there were two forms of colonialism that most significantly affected the social organization of the colony.
    a. Settler colonialism, by which immigrants seized land from the indigenous population and became the dominant population
    b. Elite colonialism, by which the indigenous rulers were replaced by a European political and economic elite, but the native population remained essentially in place, and thus much of the culture remained intact
    c. Probably the most important factor determining whether a territory would be subjected to settler or elite colonialism was geography, more specifically, climate.
2. North America is one of the best cases of settler colonialism; settlers overwhelmed the native population and in essence transplanted their cultural traditions.
3. The Caribbean also experienced large-scale settler colonialism, but most were Africans imported as slaves to work on sugar plantations.
4. Latin America experienced a hybrid of settler and elite colonialism.
5. Most of Africa was spared European colonization until the late nineteenth century, but virtually all of the European imperialism in Africa was elite colonialism; there were a few African colonies that experienced some settler colonialism, most notably South Africa, Kenya, Rhodesia, Angola, and Algeria.
6. In Asia, Siberia experienced settler colonialism, but South Asia is one of the most obvious cases of elite colonialism.
7. The Pacific experienced a mix of elite and settler colonialism; in Indonesia and the Philippines a European elite ruled, whereas Australia is one of the most extreme cases of settler colonialism.
8. East Asia was the only part of the accessible world that avoided direct colonial rule by European powers, but Japan was forced to modernize and adopt Western ways; China was forced to sign “unequal treaties” that gave Western powers control over foreign trade and granted special legal privileges to Europeans.

B. Economic consequences of colonialism
    1. Latin America, Africa, and the Pacific
        a. North American colonies sent furs, timber, fish, and tobacco back to France and Britain; the export of cotton from the American South helped spur Britain’s textile industry.
        b. In South America, the Spanish plundered and mined gold and silver; they also transplanted corn and the potato to Europe.
        c. The major export from Africa was coerced labor in the form of slaves, but by the late nineteenth century Africa turned to exporting cocoa, coffee, palm oil, tea, cotton, ivory, tropical hardwoods, copper, and gold.
        d. In the Pacific, Britain turned Australia and New Zealand into huge sheep and dairy farms supplying Britain with food and wool.
    2. In Asia, the purpose of colonialism was not primarily to gain natural resources but rather to control overseas trade routes.
    3. Despite economic difficulties, colonialism did create a degree of political and economic predictability that allowed for increased trading opportunities, higher levels of foreign investment, and economic growth; it also increased the building of infrastructure.

C. Cultural and ideological impact of colonialism
    1. Colonialism and culture
        a. In the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, the legacy of Anglo-Saxon traditions of rule of law, private property, and individual rights has never seriously been questioned.
        b. In areas of elite colonialism, the strategy of divide and conquer made postcolonial political cohesion and stability more difficult to achieve.

World Politics in a New Era 6th edition Spiegel Test Bank

c. European colonialism also created countries in Africa and parts of Asia that made little if any political sense, often drawing together peoples who had little in common and dividing ethnic groups across borders.

2. Colonialism and ideology
   a. European notions of liberty and democracy have been diffused to some degree over the past two centuries.
   b. The one ideological movement that virtually all developing countries have agreed on is anticolonialism, especially in areas dominated by elite colonialism.

V. Conclusion
   A. The legacy of imperialism is mixed.
   B. The era of imperialism is past, but its effects on the world economy and global politics remain.

HOW THE CHAPTER RELATES TO THE CENTRAL THEMES OF THE TEXT

Chapter 5 highlights the processes of globalization and fragmentation. The voyages of the early explorers and the creation of vast European empires (and the Ottoman Empire) were the first step toward the political and economic globalization of the modern world. Despite the brutality inflicted by European imperialism, it integrated Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the Pacific into the world economy. On the other hand, as the chapter's narrative shows, decolonization and retreat from empire typically resulted in political fragmentation, especially in the developing world. The chapter provides numerous examples of the conflicts created by the desire of indigenous populations to free themselves from colonial domination.

As the third chapter in the historical narrative, Chapter 5 outlines more events that will be used as examples and supporting evidence for concepts and theories presented in the textbook. As in Chapters 3 and 4, which outlined contending explanations for the world wars and the Cold War, this chapter offers examples and explanations from the collapse of empires for the outbreak and persistence of conflicts in former colonized areas of the world. It also demonstrates the path by which democracy was spread and its lasting impact in many areas of the world.

SUGGESTED LECTURE TOPICS

1. Discuss why European powers chose overseas expansion and what elements made that expansion possible.

2. Compare and contrast the colonial processes of the Spanish and Portuguese. Explain how their differing approaches affected their colonies and their road to decolonization.

3. Show students a map of the British Empire at its zenith to demonstrate how the "sun never set." Use examples in North America, Asia, Africa, or the Middle East to demonstrate the impact of the British Empire.

4. Discuss post–Cold War conflicts and their connection to the Ottoman Empire. For example, explain Ottoman control over areas in the Middle East and how that relates to the ongoing Arab–Israeli conflict, or discuss the ongoing struggle between Greece and Turkey over the island of Cyprus.

5. Pick a region (North America, the Caribbean, Latin America, Africa, Asia, or the Pacific) and discuss the social impact of imperialism. For example, explain the survival of the Aborigines in Australia and their impact.

6. Contrast the current conditions in areas that were subjected to elite colonialism (e.g., Africa) to those that were subjected to settler colonialism (e.g., North America).

World Politics in a New Era 6th edition Spiegel Test Bank

7. Discuss the concept of "failed states." Pick an example of a current failed state and describe the conditions that exist for the citizens of that state. Explain how imperialism is directly linked to these conditions.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Ask students to discuss the costs they would be willing to incur as leaders of a colonial power to keep control of colonial possessions (refer to the box "What Would You Do?" on page 160).

2. Highlighting the individual level of analysis, discuss the role of Mahatma Gandhi and Nelson Mandela in the history of colonialism. Would the outcome in India and South Africa, respectively, have been different without these two individuals?

3. Discuss how colonies earned their independence. Ask students to identify former colonies and to discuss the path they took to independence. For example, explain the hostilities over the French colony of Vietnam versus the peaceful transfer to an independent Brazil.

4. Ask students to identify cultural, economic, and social aspects of current societies derived from colonialism. For example, discuss places where democracy took root during colonialism or the almost universal ideology of anticolonialism in developing countries.

5. Solicit opinions from students about whether they believe colonialism was a positive or negative phenomenon. Ask for examples of the pros and cons of colonialism. Ask students whether they believe the imperial powers have a responsibility to assist the failed states they helped to create. If yes, how? If not, why not?

VIDEO SUGGESTIONS

Fall of the Aztec and Maya Empires (Questar, 2002)
The Ottoman Empire (*Ancient Civilizations* series, Cambridge Educational Core Curriculum Video Libraries, 1996)
Freedom Now: Colonial Rule Is Overthrown in India and Africa (People's Century, 2000)
Biography: Mahatma Gandhi (A&E, 2005)
20th Century with Mike Wallace: South Africa, Free at Last (History Channel, 1998)
Frontline: Ghosts of Rwanda (PBS, 2004)
Lawrence of Arabia (Columbia Pictures, 1962)

INTERNET RESOURCES

The Fund for Peace: Failed States Index: http://ffp.statesindex.org/rankings-2013-sortable

Africa: Colonialism: http://www.historyteacher.net/GlobalStudies/Africa_Colonialism.htm

The Complete Site on Mahatma Gandhi: http://www.mkgandhi.org/

Nelson Mandela Foundation: http://www.nelsonmandela.org/index.php

World Politics in a New Era 6th edition Spiegel Test Bank

CHAPTER 6

GLOBALIZATION AND FRAGMENTATION IN A NEW WORLD ORDER: 1991 TO THE PRESENT

WHAT STUDENTS SHOULD LEARN FROM THIS CHAPTER

- Describe the competing arguments in "The End of History" and "The Clash of Civilizations?" articles.
- Explain the arguments in the debate over whether the United States is a hegemon in decline.
- Explain the events surrounding the Persian Gulf War.
- Describe the global economic system in the post–Cold War era, including the establishment of the EU, continuing U.S. hegemony, the "Great Recession," and the "Eurozone crisis."
- Explain the crises in the former Yugoslavia, Somalia, Rwanda, and Sudan.
- Define "ethnic cleansing" and provide examples.
- Using examples, discuss the limitations of collective security.
- Outline the response, not only by the United States but also by the international community, to the September 11 terrorist attacks.
- Explain the Great Recession and the Arab Spring.
- Apply the levels of analysis to explain events in the post–Cold War environment.
- Apply realism, liberalism, and constructivism to events in the post–Cold War environment.

OUTLINE

I. Globalization and Fragmentation
   A. The end of the Cold War came as a shock to most, and optimism was the prevailing sentiment beginning in 1989.
      1. The optimism is best illustrated by Francis Fukuyama's work "The End of History," which is idealistic and upbeat over the long term.
      2. Fukuyama's central point is that humankind's political and social evolution has an endpoint, which is the kind of democratic, liberal, capitalist system and society that the western European powers are closest to achieving.
      3. Other supporting evidence provided by Fukuyama includes worldwide economic liberalization; the failures of monarchy, fascism, and then communism; and the spread of Western ideals and culture.
      4. Fukuyama suggests that most countries are still mired in history, far from reaching the end, with serious obstacles in their way; the end of history is still a long way off.
   B. Despite the optimism, globalization walked hand in hand with fragmentation following the end of the Cold War.
      1. The most prominent view from the fragmentationist camp is that of Samuel P. Huntington in his work "The Clash of Civilizations?"
      2. In Huntington's view, the conflicts of the future will not be economic or ideological but rather cultural as globalization brings disparate people ever more into contact.
      3. People from different cultures can be motivated by opposing worldviews, ethical beliefs, and behavioral standards.
      4. Huntington's conclusions also build on the phrase "the West versus the rest," with the most striking cultural divide being Western culture versus Islamic civilization.
   C. Promised unfulfilled? U.S. hegemony

World Politics in a New Era 6th edition Spiegel Test Bank

1. In 1991, President George H. W. Bush envisioned a system wherein states would cooperate against common threats, declaring the establishment of a "new world order"; the post–Cold War world would be less confrontational.
2. Bipolarity came to an end, to be replaced by a system in which the United States was unchallenged militarily.
3. Some states welcomed this situation, but larger regional rivals (e.g., Russia, China, and India) were not as enthusiastic.
4. Is the United States a hegemon in decline?
    a. Robert Kagan's argument
        i. Contests the widespread notion that American supremacy is in decline
        ii. More concerned the United States will commit "preemptive suicide" by buying into the rhetoric of its own decline
        iii. He argues the U.S. economic position has not changed, the U.S. military remains unmatched, and the U.S. inability to get its way in the international system is not new (and the belief that it is relies on "nostalgic fallacy").
        iv. Timing must also be considered because the decline of a great power must be looked at over a longer period of time than just a few years.
    b. Charles Kupchan's argument
        i. Argues that power is flowing away from the United States to the developing nations
        ii. Believes the U.S. responsibility is to ensure the transition occurs smoothly
        iii. The decline of U.S. Western allies adds to the problem of maintaining U.S. hegemony.
        iv. Emerging powers may challenge the United States, not ally with it.
        v. Resistance to U.S. goals in the international system is growing.
    c. The coming decades will resolve this debate; historically, hegemons have risen and fallen.
        i. Power-transition theory is one of many attempts to explain the rise and fall of hegemons.
        ii. This theory recognizes that when a hegemon is dragged down by the strains of its responsibilities, rising states challenge it, and a system shift can occur.

II. A New World Order?
A. War in the Gulf
1. Following the eight-year struggle with Iran, Iraq owed substantial debt to Gulf Arab states; Iraq also possessed the fourth-largest conventional army in the world (roughly equal to the size of Kuwait's entire population).
2. In an attempt to gain a dominant position in the Persian Gulf, Iraq invaded and annexed its neighbor, Kuwait, in 1990.
    a. The naked aggression shocked the international community.
    b. The United States took the lead in forming an international coalition, supported by UN Security Council resolutions, to expel Saddam Hussein's forces from Kuwait.
    c. The victory was swift; the first phase consisted of unprecedented air bombardment, and the second phase consisted of a ground campaign lasting approximately 100 hours.
    d. The offensive was halted before taking Baghdad or deposing Saddam Hussein (a task that would be completed in 2003).
    e. The defeat led to a system of UN inspections in an attempt to verify Iraq's disposal of its weapons of mass destruction (WMD) capabilities, and the seeds of future conflict were planted.

B. The European Union
1. Freed from the constraints of the Cold War, the European Community formed an economic and political union.

World Politics in a New Era 6th edition Spiegel Test Bank

2. In 1993, the European Community became the EU, consisting of a single market for capital, goods, services, and labor; a European Parliament with powers to pass legislation binding on all members; an executive body; and a Court of Justice.
3. In 2002, the euro became legal tender in most member-states, and in 2003, the EU expanded.
4. The road traveled by the EU has not been without its potholes because several countries delayed entrance or rejected the acceptance of the common currency; critics charge that its rules and regulations fail to consider the concerns of individual countries, provinces, or local communities.
5. Regardless of its problems, the EU has provided the political and economic framework for an unprecedented era of peace and prosperity for its members.

C. U.S. economic hegemony endures
1. In the post–Cold War period, the U.S. role shifted from that of a traditional hegemon to steward of an increasingly integrated international economic system.
   a. U.S. economic hegemony derived its dominance in global trade and finance from the size of its markets and from the role of the dollar as a reserve currency and unit of international exchange.
   b. The principal roles of the United States in the IMF, the World Bank, and the Group of 8 also promote its continued hegemony.
2. Other countries' misfortunes and obstacles to growth contributed to U.S. dominance.
   a. Germany and Japan each experienced social, political, and economic setbacks that undermined their competitiveness.
   b. China and Russia continue to have serious structural weaknesses in their economies; China's economy is developing rapidly but is based on labor and is handicapped by logistics and corruption; Russia also suffers from corruption and the long-term effects of stultifying Soviet policies.
   c. Many African economies have been destroyed by AIDS and loan interest payments; the Southeast Asian "Tigers" have experienced financial crises; promising economies in Latin America have also floundered.
   d. Globalization means, however, that the United States is dependent on other states' financial decisions for its own economic security.

D. The United Nations, collective security, and humanitarian intervention
1. Several crises in the post–Cold War world highlighted the need for effective, unified international responses when diplomatic efforts at conflict resolution failed.
2. Yugoslavia fragmented into ethnic-based republics after a bloody civil war.
   a. The United Nations underwent a disastrous intervention in Bosnia in 1995.
   b. Although reluctant to do so, the United States led a NATO military intervention against Serbian forces in 1999 to halt violence in Kosovo.
3. Somalia was being torn apart by competing warlords who were using famine as a weapon against the population.
   a. The United Nations attempted to intervene with a small humanitarian operation, which failed, prompting the United States to lead an international task force to provide humanitarian assistance.
   b. Anxious to expand the mission to nation building, the United Nations pressured the United States to redirect its mission to capture or kill Mogadishu warlord Mohamed Farah Aideed; in their efforts, two Black Hawk helicopters were shot down, and 18 American soldiers were killed.
4. Genocide in Rwanda in 1994 culminated in nearly a million deaths and demonstrated a profound failure of collective action for which the UN Security Council accepted responsibility in 2000. See details in Chapter 5.
5. The genocide in the Darfur region of Sudan has also demonstrated the international community's toothlessness in dealing with humanitarian crises.

World Politics in a New Era 6th edition Spiegel Test Bank

a. Forces of the Sudanese government and ethnic militia have undertaken a systematic campaign of ethnic cleansing to crush rebel forces in Darfur.
b. The African Union and the United Nations have taken actions to help the people of Sudan.

6. Despite the success of collective security in the Gulf War, its limitations have been apparent in the post–Cold War world as several difficulties have become clear.
   a. The "free-rider" problem: many countries used the expectation of international action as an excuse to avoid acting themselves (e.g., in the former Yugoslavia, neither the United States nor the European states were willing to undertake the burden of intervention, instead waiting for the other to act).
   b. National sovereignty: UN peacekeeping forces can enter a country only with the permission of the state in which they will operate, and without that consent military action would have to be authorized by the Security Council (a step that has been taken only twice by the United Nations: against North Korea in 1950 and Iraq in 1991); thus, if states are serious about collective security, they must be willing to violate the principles of national sovereignty, something most states are reluctant to do.
   c. Despite these problems, collective security has not been without its successes: for example, missions to provide food, medicine, and other basic needs to nations hit by the Indian Ocean tsunami of 2004; UN-managed peaceful democratic transitions in Namibia and Cambodia.

III. The Terror of September 11 and Its Aftermath

A. On September 11, 2001, hijackers crashed two jet airliners into the World Trade Center in New York City and another into the Pentagon in Washington, D.C.; a fourth was brought down by passengers in rural Pennsylvania.
   1. A network of Islamic terrorist organizations led by Osama bin Laden, known as al-Qaeda, was responsible (this was not their first successful attack: they were responsible for attacks in Saudi Arabia, Kenya and Tanzania, and Yemen).
   2. The response was a multinational military campaign against the Taliban in Afghanistan (which had been a base of operations for al-Qaeda) and a global "war on terror" that would rely on diplomacy, law enforcement, intelligence, and military operations; the response was criticized for failing to deal with the "root causes" of terrorism.
   3. The fight against the Taliban continues (despite the fact that their removal of power was relatively quick); peace initiatives have been attempted to no avail; foreign (NATO) troops remain in Afghanistan.
   4. Osama bin Laden was killed by U.S. Navy SEALS in his compound in Pakistan in May 2011.
   5. Despite the toppling of the Taliban in Afghanistan and Hussein in Iraq, terrorists continue to shock the world with high death tolls; Great Britain, Indonesia, Spain, Egypt, and India have all been targets of significant terrorist acts since the inception of the war on terror.

B. War in Iraq
   1. In 2002, President George W. Bush characterized Iraq, Iran, and North Korea as the "axis of evil"; using evidence to indicate that Saddam Hussein had not complied with UN Security Council resolutions to disarm, the United States (with the support of Great Britain and "the coalition of the willing") ousted Saddam Hussein from power in 2003 (without UN approval).
   2. Saddam Hussein was found at the end of 2003, tried for war crimes and crimes against humanity in 2006, and executed on December 30, 2006.
   3. Although the goal of toppling Hussein's regime was attained quickly, the long-term effects are still uncertain; the challenges of building democracy in Iraq are formidable, and a complex set of insurgencies and terrorist movements continues to wreak havoc on Iraqi police and civilians.
   4. On August 31, 2010, President Obama officially declared the end of the U.S. combat presence in Iraq.

World Politics in a New Era 6th edition Spiegel Test Bank

5. The impacts of the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq on the conflicts in the Middle East as well as U.S. credibility remain unclear.

C. The Great Recession and debt crisis in the EU
   1. The United States entered a recession in December 2007.
      a. The crisis was global; most developed states suffered a recession, whereas developing and emerging economies led economic growth.
      b. The crisis can be traced to the bursting U.S. housing bubble, which damaged global financial institutions.
      c. The bursting bubble was caused by risky policies (lending practices, assumptions on the housing market, and questionable bank, borrower, and government practices).
      d. The crisis caused unemployment, evictions and foreclosures, downturns in global stock markets, business failures, and decline in trade.
      e. Emergency measures were taken, but significant damage had been done.
   2. The Great Recession contributed to a financial crisis in the EU (Eurozone Crisis)
      a. The main component is the inability of certain states in the Eurozone to finance their government debt without the assistance of the EU.
      b. Greece serves as the prime example of the debt crisis.
         i. Reliance on tourism contributed to Greece being hard hit by the recession.
         ii. Government spending to keep the economy afloat increased debt.
         iii. Greece received bailout money from the EU and IMF, but it came with demands for austerity measures loudly protested by the Greek public.
         iv. The Greek public was used to high public-sector wages and pensions (and tax evasion is a common problem), but the protests did not stop the austerity measure from going into effect.
      c. A debate has ensued over the future of the EU and specifically over whether Greece should leave the Eurozone and return to its own currency.

D. Arab Spring
   1. Significant protests throughout the region that began in Tunisia after the self-immolation of a fruit vendor in December 2010
   2. Massive protests in Tunisia caused the president to flee.
   3. Protests in Egypt turned this into a coherent regional uprising.
      a. Eighteen days of protests riveted global audiences to television and social media.
      b. Although stubborn at first, when President Mubarak lost support of the military, he was forced to resign.
   4. Outcomes—The euphoria during the protests has given way to reality, and the protests have yielded mixed results.
      a. Although some states experienced significant protests (Tunisia, Egypt, Yemen, and Bahrain), others mustered only weak protests inhibited by internal struggles (Algeria, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Palestine).
      b. In Egypt, military rule followed Mubarak's resignation; Mohamed Morsi was elected president in June 2012, but was overthrown in a military coup in July 2013; the situation remains tense.
      c. With assistance from Saudi Arabia, the Bahraini regime violently crushed the protest movement in Bahrain.
      d. Moammar Qaddafi responded brutally to protests in Libya; the opposition succeeded in capturing cities and areas of the country; the United Nations intervened, instituting a no-fly zone and NATO bomber targets in Libya to enforce it; Qaddafi was eventually killed by rebel forces.
      e. A civil war in Syria continues to be waged; protests broke out in March 2011 to the rule of President Bashar al-Assad; Assad responded to protests with a violent crackdown that

World Politics in a New Era 6th edition Spiegel Test Bank

resulted in civil war; outside powers, including the United States, have aided the rebels, but violence continues.

f. Profound impact on Israel; although there was little concern this could topple the Israeli government, Israelis took to the streets in protest; a bigger concern in Israel is the fate of its neighboring Arab states and peace agreements with Egypt and Jordan; Israel's concerns center around the fear that its neighbors will become extremist Islamic states under the control of the Muslim Brotherhood

E. The role of nonstate actors
   1. Nonstate actors (international institutions, terrorist organizations, transnational corporations, and NGOs) are increasing in importance.
   2. Robert Keohane, in his book *After Hegemony*, looks to what help cooperative institutions might be when there are no hegemonic powers but instead numerous institutions and regimes.
   3. There are both positive and negative aspects to the role of nonstate actors.

IV. Conclusion
   A. The events discussed in this chapter have raised many questions for the future.
   B. This chapter has demonstrated that understanding the post–Cold War world is a difficult undertaking, not only for world citizens but also for leaders.
   C. Realists, liberals, and constructivists would view the post–Cold War era in different ways.

HOW THE CHAPTER RELATES TO THE CENTRAL THEMES OF THE TEXT

Chapter 6 begins with a look at the competing trends of globalization and fragmentation and how they continue to coexist in the aftermath of the Cold War. The works of Francis Fukuyama and Samuel Huntington are used to demonstrate the optimistic (globalization) view of the post–Cold War era versus the more pessimistic (fragmentation) view. Further, the debate concerning the potential decline of U.S. hegemony is presented through the works of Robert Kagan and Charles Kupchan.

Like the text's other historical chapters, Chapter 6 provides examples of events, policies, and personalities that are used to illustrate concepts and theories presented in other chapters. The chapter also demonstrates that conflict and cooperation have continued to ebb and flow in the post–Cold War world in the absence of superpower rivalry. Dramatic cooperation to expel Saddam Hussein from Kuwait in 1991 can be contrasted with the reluctance of any member of the international community to act in response to the violence in the disintegrating Yugoslavia or the genocides in Rwanda and Sudan.

Globalization and fragmentation (as well as cooperation and conflict) are symbolized by the terrorist attacks on September 11 and the events that followed. The broad coalition created to expel the Taliban from Afghanistan is juxtaposed against the failure of President George W. Bush to obtain UN approval for the U.S. invasion of Iraq in 2003. The Arab Spring provides fodder for an interesting discussion about the competing trends in world politics, as does the impact of the Great Recession and Eurozone crisis.

SUGGESTED LECTURE TOPICS

1. Compare and contrast the views of Francis Fukuyama and Samuel Huntington. Critically analyze the aspects of each argument, and discuss how they have been proven or disproven in the post–Cold War world.
2. Discuss whether the United States is a hegemon in decline. Contrast the arguments made by Robert Kagan and Charles Kupchan.
3. Explain how George H. W. Bush created the international coalition to expel Iraq from Kuwait. Discuss the changes in the international system that made this possible and how the coalition maintained itself through the Persian Gulf War.

World Politics in a New Era 6th edition Spiegel Test Bank