CHAPTER 2

The Historical Context of Contemporary International Relations

MULTIPLE CHOICE

1. Why should scholars of international relations study history?
   A. Historically, the world was a more peaceful place than today, therefore the past offers clues as to how to achieve peace today.
   B. Core concepts in the field, such as the balance of power, were developed and shaped by historical events.
   C. Since the international system has remained unchanged over time, there are many parallel situations in the past which are relevant today.
   D. Contemporary international relations mirror patterns often seen in the Chinese and Indian civilizations of the past.
   E. There is no point in studying history; contemporary policymakers consistently fail to learn from the past.

   ANS: B   DIF: E   REF: Page 15

2. Why is 1648 a seminal year for scholars of international relations?
   A. It marked the end of religious authority in Europe, and the rise of secular authority in the form of sovereign states.
   B. The Treaty of Westphalia failed and the Thirty Years’ War began, ushering in the era of modern warfare.
   C. It marked the rise of religious authority in the form of the Pope and the Catholic Church.
   D. The Roman Empire fell that year and Charlemagne rose to power.
   E. None of the above.

   ANS: A   DIF: M   REF: Page 16
3. Technological and economic change can shape social relations, which in turn can influence politics. How did this sequence of events play out in the late Middle Ages?
   A. Transportation routes improved and subsequently commercial activity expanded. This created a transnational business community which in turn began to acquire experiences outside the realm of the church.
   B. Persistent wars closed old transportation routes and shut down much of the existing international trade. As a result, secular businesspeople lost power, and local religious leaders gained strength.
   C. Technological developments in areas outside of Europe led to a new appreciation of non-European cultures. As a result, people began to question Catholicism.
   D. Communication and transportation routes became more developed, helping people learn more about the world outside Europe. As a result, thinkers like Machiavelli fell out of favor.
   E. None of the above.

ANS: A  DIF: M  REF: Pages 18–19

4. Feudalism, which placed authority in private hands, was:
   A. a force that united people across Europe under a single leader.
   B. based on principles established by the Islamic caliphate.
   C. a response to the disorder that prevailed following the demise of the Roman Empire.
   D. the foundation upon which the Byzantine Empire rested.
   E. involved a high degree of centralized power and authority for the Catholic church.

ANS: C  DIF: M  REF: Page 17

5. In Europe, the preeminent institution in the Middle Ages was the:
   A. monarchy.
   B. hegemon.
   C. Roman Empire.
   D. bureaucracy.
   E. church.

ANS: E  DIF: E  REF: Page 17

6. In the late eighth century, Charlemagne:
   A. offered protection to the Pope.
   B. united Western Europe in the name of Christianity.
   C. was made emperor of the Holy Roman Empire by the Pope.
   D. all of the above.
   E. none of the above.

ANS: D  DIF: E  REF: Pages 17–18
7. The most important changes that occurred during the late Middle Ages included:
   A. the establishment of practices such as embassies, consuls, and protected communication channels.
   B. the emergence of a transnational business community.
   C. the development of new technologies such as watermills and windmills.
   D. all of the above.
   E. none of the above.
   ANS: D   DIF: M   REF: Pages 18–19

8. In *The Prince*, Niccolò Machiavelli argued that leaders should:
   A. act in the state’s interest and be answerable to no moral rules.
   B. collect taxes and use the money to help feed their poorest subjects.
   C. follow the example of the Pope in administering their kingdoms.
   D. continue to pursue the dream of Christian unity.
   E. work together to establish a world capitalist economy.
   ANS: A   DIF: D   REF: Page 20

9. Why, were the explorations of Columbus, Cortés, and Pizarro an important development according to some scholars of international relations?
   A. Only with the discovery of the New World can we truly speak of an international, rather than a European, system of relations.
   B. This exploration brought underdeveloped areas of the world into the international capitalist system and economy, beginning contemporary international relations.
   C. This exploration undermined the authority of the monarchy, which had opposed such endeavors from the start.
   D. This exploration strengthened states like Germany and Norway, allowing them to conquer more territory.
   E. Indigenous populations welcomed the adoption of European practices.
   ANS: B   DIF: M   REF: Pages 20–21

10. The authority of a state to govern matters within its own borders is known as:
    A. nationalism.
    B. sovereignty.
    C. feudalism.
    D. hegemony.
    E. realism.
    ANS: B   DIF: E   REF: Pages 22–23
11. What did French philosopher Jean Bodin mean when he argued that sovereignty was perpetual?
   A. The Catholic Church would always determine what laws a country should follow.
   B. Individual leaders could come and go, but because power was vested in the state, rather than in a particular person, the state would remain sovereign even if a particular leader died or was removed from power.
   C. The capitalist world system perpetually exploited peripheral countries, robbing them of their sovereignty.
   D. While individual states may have control over matters within their own borders, they were perpetually subject to a higher authority in their dealings with other states.
   E. None of the above.

   ANS: B  DIF: E  REF: Pages 21–22

12. The Treaty of Westphalia that ended the Thirty Years’ War:
   A. established Protestantism as a European religion.
   B. reinforced the authority of the Catholic Church in Western Europe.
   C. allowed monarchs to choose religion for their subjects.
   D. was regarded as a major threat to state sovereignty.
   E. allowed states to interfere in the domestic affairs of other states.

   ANS: C  DIF: D  REF: Page 22

13. In the 1600s, why did European monarchs begin to collect taxes?
   A. They wanted to have even more opulent palaces and luxurious lifestyles.
   B. They needed money to pay taxes to the church.
   C. They needed money to build armies that they could use to strengthen their power and capture more territory.
   D. They wanted money to improve public education and welfare programs.
   E. All of the above.

   ANS: C  DIF: E  REF: Page 21

14. Which of the following is not true of the Treaty of Westphalia?
   A. It embraced the notion of sovereignty, giving rise to the modern state system.
   B. It helped prompt the development of permanent national militaries.
   C. It established a core group of states that dominated the world until the nineteenth century.
   D. It created international institutions to maintain the newly formed world capitalist system.
   E. All of the above.

   ANS: D  DIF: M  REF: Pages 22–24
15. How did states change after the Treaty of Westphalia?
   A. Religious authorities gained power in government.
   B. States became more peaceful.
   C. States became more decentralized.
   D. Smaller territorial units gained military advantages.
   E. States obtained national armies.

   ANS: E     DIF: E     REF: Page 22

16. Scottish economist Adam Smith posits that the wealth of states and of the international system is increased when:
   A. military conquests help increase a state’s level of industrial development.
   B. governments strengthen their control of economic processes.
   C. proletarian revolutions within each state establish the collective power of the working class.
   D. each state’s market remains confined within its national borders.
   E. individuals are allowed to pursue their rational self-interests, unfettered by state regulation.

   ANS: E     DIF: M     REF: Pages 23–24

17. _____ thinkers maintained that individuals are rational, able to understand the laws that govern them, and capable of working to improve their condition in society.
   A. Catholic
   B. Enlightenment
   C. Medieval
   D. Realist
   E. Greek

   ANS: B     DIF: D     REF: Page 24

18. Two principles that rose out of the American and French Revolutions and provided the foundation for politics in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are:
   A. democracy and behavioralism.
   B. legitimacy and nationalism.
   C. sovereignty and capitalism.
   D. Marxism and nationalism.
   E. legitimacy and feudalism.

   ANS: B     DIF: D     REF: Pages 24–25
19. John Locke’s concept of legitimacy implies that political power ultimately rests with:
A. the military.
B. the monarch.
C. the people.
D. the church.
E. the capitalist class.
ANS: C    DIF: E    REF: Pages 24–25

20. _____ is the identification of the masses with their common history, language, customs, and practices.
A. Legitimacy
B. Sovereignty
C. Nationalism
D. Absolutism
E. Liberalism
ANS: C    DIF: M    REF: Page 24

21. Following the defeat of Napoleon in 1815, Europe’s five major powers:
A. ushered in a period of relative peace in the international political system.
B. included Ireland, France, Germany, Hungary, and Austria.
C. split into seven smaller countries and continued fighting.
D. became liberal democracies and established the European Union.
E. forged an alliance against invading African armies.
ANS: A    DIF: E    REF: Page 28

22. Which of the following is not offered as an explanation for the relative peace enjoyed in nineteenth-century Europe?
A. European nations enjoyed a feeling of solidarity.
B. Two big issues facing European states, the unification of Germany and of Italy, were internal.
C. Each of the core European states had in common a democratic form of government.
D. Europeans believed that they were “civilized” compared to the rest of the world.
E. European elites were united in their fear of mass revolution.
ANS: C    DIF: D    REF: Page 29
23. What political consequences did industrialization have?
A. It gave European states the military capacity to engage in territorial expansion.
B. The struggle for economic prowess led to the exploitation of colonial areas such as Africa and Asia.
C. Britain lead the process of industrialization, gaining financial power to become the banker for the rest of Europe.
D. All of the above.
E. None of the above.
ANS: D  DIF: E  REF: Pages 30–31

24. Colonialism was motivated by:
A. a desire for economic gains.
B. the goal of spreading Christianity and European culture.
C. finding a new arena to play out European political rivalries.
D. all of the above.
E. none of the above.
ANS: D  DIF: E  REF: Page 31

25. All of the following countries were imperial powers except:
A. France.
B. England.
C. China.
D. United States.
E. Portugal.
ANS: C  DIF: M  REF: Pages 31–32

26. At the Congress of Berlin:
A. Germany was given colonies in Africa.
B. Germany became a unified country.
C. the European powers established new trade rules.
D. European states got the right to decide their own religion.
E. a treaty ending WWI was signed.
ANS: A  DIF: M  REF: Page 32

27. The Second Anglo-Boer War
A. first established England’s rule over South Africa.
B. showed that colonists could now more effectively resist European powers.
C. was very popular in Europe.
D. united England and Germany in a common cause.
E. led to independence for Boerland.
ANS: B  DIF: D  REF: Page 32
28. As part of the nineteenth-century balance of power system in Europe:
   A. independent states enjoyed relatively equal power.
   B. treaties were designed to prevent the emergence of a hegemon.
   C. alliances were formed to counteract potentially more powerful factions.
   D. all of the above.
   E. none of the above.
   ANS: D DIF: E REF: Pages 33–35

29. What roles did Britain and Russia play in the balance of power system?
   A. Britain sought to be the hegemon.
   B. Russia sought to be the hegemon.
   C. Russia played the role of balancer.
   D. Britain sought to build alliances.
   E. None of the above.
   ANS: E DIF: D REF: Pages 33–35

30. While the Concert of Europe provided a long period of peace in Europe, what happened in the rest of the world?
   A. Conflict escalated in some areas as Europeans fought to retain their colonies.
   B. The countries of Africa fought wars of independence, expelling European colonizers.
   C. The United States denounced the practice of colonization and looked inward.
   D. Spain and Portugal retained their colonial influence in Central and South America.
   E. All of the above.
   ANS: A DIF: M REF: Pages 34–35

31. Among the factors leading to World War I and ending Europe’s balance of power system was:
   A. the ascendancy of Archduke Franz Ferdinand to the Austrian throne.
   B. French dissatisfaction with Britain’s control of the seas.
   C. the solidification of previously flexible alliances between the European powers.
   D. Italy’s invasion of Ethiopia despite warnings from the Concert of Europe.
   E. the growth of fascism in Germany and Italy.
   ANS: C DIF: E REF: Pages 35–36
32. Among the significant outcomes of World War I was the:
   A. proliferation of nationalism following the demise of three major European empires.
   B. creation of the United Nations as an arbiter of future international conflicts.
   C. establishment of three new European empires to replace those which collapsed.
   D. development of nuclear weapons technology that launched the Cold War.
   E. none of the above.
   ANS: A    DIF: M   REF: Pages 37–38

33. The Treaty of Versailles that ended World War I:
   A. destroyed the League of Nations, the international organization designed to prevent war.
   B. reformulated the Austro-Hungarian Empire and initiated “the long peace”.
   C. signaled the demise of self-determination as a major factor in international conflict.
   D. fueled German dissatisfaction by making the country pay the economic cost of the war.
   E. marked the beginning of an era characterized by open diplomacy.
   ANS: D    DIF: M   REF: Pages 38–39

34. The ultimate failure of the League of Nations to accomplish its mandate can be attributed to which of the following factors?
   A. The United States joined the League but refused to vote on the most important issues.
   B. President Wilson, the architect of the League, disagreed with the mandate’s wording.
   C. The League lacked the needed political weight, legal instruments, and legitimacy.
   D. The states who lost World War I constantly disrupted League meetings.
   E. All of the above.
   ANS: C    DIF: M   REF: Page 38

35. Problems that characterized the interwar years and helped lead to World War II were:
   A. Germany’s desire to right the “wrongs” of the Treaty of Versailles.
   B. Italy overrunning Ethiopia and Japan’s invasion of Manchuria.
   C. clashes between liberalism, fascism, and communism.
   D. the collapse of the world economy.
   E. all of the above.
   ANS: E    DIF: E   REF: Page 39
The Historical Context

36. In order to stop the rise of fascism in Germany, Italy, and Japan, which alliance formed prior to and during World War II?
   A. an alliance between communists and the church.
   B. an alliance between communists and liberal democracies.
   C. an alliance between liberal democracies and feudal monarchies.
   D. an alliance between communists and feudal monarchies.
   E. a revival of the Concert of Europe.

   ANS: B  DIF: E  REF: Page 41

37. According to the text, the most important outcome of World War II was:
   A. the creation of the United Nations and the strengthening of the U.S.-Soviet alliance.
   B. the emergence of two superpowers and the decline of Europe as the epicenter of world politics.
   C. the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the rise of nationalism.
   D. the development of “buffer” states in Eastern Europe and U.S. “sponsorship” of modern Japan.
   E. none of the above.

   ANS: B  DIF: E  REF: Page 45

38. Following World War II, the United States and the Soviet Union:
   A. cooperated to develop technologies that made them both military superpowers.
   B. experienced fundamental incompatibilities in terms of their national interests and ideologies.
   C. signed a treaty that formalized their alliance and instituted “the long peace”.
   D. were reluctant powers that worked to forge the United Nations into a world government.
   E. continued working together in an anti-fascist alliance.

   ANS: B  DIF: M  REF: Page 47

39. Why, following World War II, did the Soviet Union use its newfound superpower status to solidify control over Eastern European states like Poland and Czechoslovakia?
   A. It wanted to support the independence movements of what President Truman called the “free peoples”.
   B. It wanted to increase its chances of joining the European Union.
   C. It feared another invasion from the west and wanted a buffer zone of friendly nations to protect it.
   D. It wanted to ensure free elections and capitalism.
   E. All of the above.

   ANS: C  DIF: M  REF: Page 45
40. Containment, designed to prevent the expansion of Soviet influence, was:
   A. initially condemned in the Truman Doctrine of 1947.
   C. the fundamental doctrine of U.S. foreign policy during the Cold War era.
   D. part of a bigger plan to establish a formal alliance with the Soviet Union.
   E. condemned by George Kennan in his famous “X” article.

ANS: C  DIF: M  REF: Page 44

41. What differences existed between the United States and the Soviet Union during the Cold War?
   A. Differences in the economic ideologies of capitalism and socialism.
   B. Differences over foreign economic policy: what the United States viewed as free trade, the Soviet Union called hostile imperialism.
   C. Disagreements over the status of Berlin.
   D. Disagreements over each side’s use of troops in Korea.
   E. All of the above.

ANS: E  DIF: E  REF: Pages 45–50

42. Although the Cold War did not involve direct military conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union, it can be characterized as a period during which:
   A. each of the two superpowers extended their colonial holdings in Latin America.
   B. interstate wars raged throughout Western Europe despite the example set by the superpowers.
   C. the two superpowers frequently reached the brink of nuclear war.
   D. German resentment toward the two superpowers gave rise to a new form of fascism.
   E. differences between the two were played out indirectly using proxies on third party stages.

ANS: E  DIF: D  REF: Page 47
43. What happened to the colonial system after World War II?
   A. The United States and the Soviet Union, the new superpowers, took over the former German and Japanese colonies.
   B. The colonial system met its demise in a series of bloody wars, beginning in India.
   C. The colonial system met its demise due to Germany and Japan’s defeat, the weak economic position of other former colonizers, and the U.N.’s endorsement of national self-determination.
   D. Colonialism was strengthened because the end of the war in Europe meant that European countries could devote more resources to their colonies.
   E. Colonialism was strengthened because the newly formed United Nations endorsed the practice.

ANS: C  DIF: M  REF: Pages 46–47

44. During the Cold War, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Warsaw Pact were:
   A. blocs of states that represented U.S. and Soviet interests, respectively.
   B. blocs of states that represented Soviet and U.S. interests, respectively.
   C. formal alliances that subsequently served as models for the United Nations.
   D. organizations that worked together to make superpower cooperation a reality.
   E. alliances whose work proved invaluable to the success of a revitalized League of Nations.

ANS: A  DIF: E  REF: Page 49

45. What similarities were there between Germany and Korea during the Cold War?
   A. Each was a site of direct military skirmishes between U.S. and Soviet troops.
   B. Each was an example of how the United Nations was used to preserve the peace between the two superpowers.
   C. Each country attempted to preserve its neutrality and not take sides in the Cold War.
   D. Each country was devastated by nuclear attacks from the superpowers.
   E. Each country was ultimately divided between a communist and a non-communist half.

ANS: E  DIF: M  REF: Pages 50–53
46. In the Cuban Missile Crisis:
   A. the Soviet Union objected to the United States placing missiles in Cuba.
   B. the United States objected to the Soviet Union placing missiles in Cuba.
   C. both the United States and the Soviet Union were threatened by the Cubans’ attempts to develop nuclear missiles and become a third superpower.
   D. both superpowers sought to provoke each other into a direct confrontation in order to test their nuclear missiles.
   E. the United Nations sought to implement arms control agreements that neither the United States, U.S.S.R., nor Cuba wanted.

ANS: B  DIF: E  REF: Page 52

47. The Cuban Missile Crisis, the Berlin airlift, and the Korean War are all examples of:
   A. failed United Nations peacekeeping operations.
   B. unanticipated cooperation between the U.S. and the Soviet Union.
   C. Cold War confrontations between the superpowers.
   D. what can happen when international treaties are broken.
   E. the poor leadership that characterized the Cold War era.

ANS: C  DIF: M  REF: Pages 47, 55

48. What did the “domino effect” concern?
   A. Soviet fears about the spread of capitalism from country to country in Asia.
   B. U.S. fears about the spread of communism from country to country in Asia.
   C. A United Nations belief that ending conflict among the superpowers’ proxies in one region could in turn lead to peace in another region.
   D. The Soviet Union’s need for buffer states to prevent another German invasion.
   E. None of the above.

ANS: B  DIF: D  REF: Page 53

49. United States involvement in the Vietnam War:
   A. led to a clear-cut military victory.
   B. strained the United States relationship with its allies such as Canada.
   C. tore apart the Soviet alliance with Warsaw Pact countries.
   D. proved the domino effect.
   E. guaranteed the establishment of liberal democracy in postwar Vietnam.

ANS: B  DIF: M  REF: Page 53
50. During the Cold War, the superpowers often did not respond militarily when their opponents took aggressive action within their own spheres of influence. Which of the following is *not* an example of this pattern?

A. When the Soviet Union invaded Hungary in 1956.
B. When the Soviet Union invaded Czechoslovakia in 1968.
C. When the United States invaded Afghanistan in 1979.
D. When the United States invaded Grenada in 1983.
E. When the United States invaded Panama in 1989.

ANS: C  DIF: D  REF: Page 54

51. How did the superpowers act toward the Middle East and Africa during the Cold War?

A. They made ample use of proxies to fight their battles for them.
B. The United States allied with Israel.
C. They intervened in African affairs when geostrategic locations such as the Horn of Africa were at stake.
D. The Soviet Union allied with Arab states.
E. All of the above.

ANS: E  DIF: M  REF: Pages 57–58

52. The “long peace” of the Cold War is commonly attributed to five factors, including:

A. deterrence, a division of power between the United States and the Soviet Union, and American economic hegemony.
B. effective treaties, the rise of fascism, and economic liberalism.
C. nationalism, the United Nations, and deterrence.
D. economic liberalism, German reunification, and *glasnost*.
E. democracy, nuclear weapons, and Soviet membership in NATO.

ANS: A  DIF: M  REF: Pages 56–57

53. *Perestroika* and *glasnost*, two domestic processes initiated by Mikhail Gorbachev and other Soviet reformers:

A. were intended to save the Soviet system but ultimately contributed to its demise.
B. became an important factor in ending the Cold War between the superpowers.
C. led to changes in the orientation of Soviet foreign policy.
D. all of the above.
E. none of the above.

ANS: D  DIF: E  REF: Page 57
54. Which of the following has been posited as an explanation for the peaceful demise of the Soviet Union?
   A. The West’s strong military preparations for war.
   B. Events within the Soviet Union such as the failure of socialist economics.
   C. The failure of the Soviet bureaucratic system.
   D. All of the above.
   E. None of the above.
   ANS: D    DIF: M    REF: Pages 60–61

55. How can the 1990s be characterized?
   A. A decade marked by U.S. primacy paralleled by civil and ethnic strife in places like Yugoslavia and Rwanda.
   B. A decade marked by Soviet primacy paralleled by civil and ethnic strife in places like Yugoslavia and Rwanda.
   C. A decade with no clear power.
   D. A decade of increasing hostility between the United States and the Soviet Union.
   E. None of the above.
   ANS: A    DIF: M    REF: Page 61

TRUE/FALSE

1. In the Middle Ages three civilizations emerged from the collapse of the Roman Empire including the Arabic civilization, the Byzantine Empire, and the Holy Roman Empire.
   ANS: T    DIF: D    REF: Page 16

2. During the Middle Ages in Africa, Latin America, and Asia, power became centralized in empires while traditional rulers were left in place at the local level.
   ANS: T    DIF: M    REF: Page 18

3. As feudalism was replaced by an increasingly centralized monarchy, the masses welcomed the new order.
   ANS: F    DIF: M    REF: Page 21

4. The peacefulness witnessed during the Concert of Europe was unsurprising given that there were few major economic, technological, or political changes in Europe during this period.
   ANS: F    DIF: E    REF: Pages 27–28
5. By 1914 Europe controlled four fifths of the world including parts of China and Africa.
   ANS: T DIF: E REF: Page 32

6. During WWII, Germany and the Soviet Union fought against the United States and England.
   ANS: F DIF: M REF: Page 43

7. Unlike European states, the United States was not an imperial power and had no colonies.
   ANS: F DIF: M REF: Page 32

8. Woodrow Wilson’s Fourteen Points included calls for open diplomacy and economic liberalism.
   ANS: T DIF: D REF: Pages 38–39

9. Ho Chi Minh of Vietnam’s and Chou En-lai of China’s experiences living in Europe led them to reject communism as a model for their countries during the Cold War.
   ANS: F DIF: D REF: Page 47

10. During the Cold War troops fought in Angola and Ethiopia using Soviet-made weapons.
    ANS: T DIF: M REF: Page 55

ESSAY

1. Explain the importance of the Treaty of Westphalia for international relations. What significant concepts and principles informed this treaty? What notable changes in international relations did the treaty signal or set in motion? Discuss how contemporary international relations might be different (or not) without the Treaty of Westphalia, and provide support for your answer.
   ANS: Answers will vary.

2. What are the most important reasons for the relative peace that characterized nineteenth-century Europe? Why do you consider these particular reasons to be most important? In light of your answer, do you think any of the principles of nineteenth-century European politics are applicable to contemporary international relations? Why or why not?
   ANS: Answers will vary.
3. What started the Cold War, and how was this war different from previous ones within the international system? Now that the Cold War is over, what do you think are some of its lasting effects on U.S.-Russian relations and/or international relations?

ANS: Answers will vary.

4. John Lewis Gaddis and a number of other scholars have referred to the Cold War as “the long peace”. Do you agree or disagree with this characterization? Explain your answer and include in your response a discussion of some of the reasons for Gaddis’s assertion.

ANS: Answers will vary.

5. Did the end of the Cold War really mark the beginning of a “New World Order”, or did it have little effect on the general course of international relations? Present a response to this question that draws on your knowledge of history and uses specific events from recent years to support your position.

ANS: Answers will vary.