

PSCI2601 Final Exam Review (Week 8 -12)

Week 8 - War & International Security

1. What are the three elements of Clausewitz's "trinity" explaining the nature of war?
 - War consists of various combinations of passion, chance, and reason.
 - Passion
 - In the motives for fighting and in the enmities that inspire and sustain killing in war
 - Chance
 - Anything can happen. The different elements in war create unpredictable combinations that shape the outcomes of wars and the fates of peoples.
 - Reason
 - Political leaders seek to achieve objectives through war.

2. What is the difference between a limited war and a total war?
 - Total war - the political existence is at stake
 - Limited war - is fought for a purpose less than political existence, such as a "territorial dispute"
 - But, could be both at the same time

3. Give one example of a sub-state conflict.
 - Kurds in Syrian war
 - Ethnic Conflict, Genocide, and Terrorism

4. How does globalization challenge traditional understandings of war? Which new forms of warfare appeared in the last decades?
 - Change in the scale of the war with modern states.
 1. Cold war - fear of nuclear power
 2. Modern warfare - increase in budget
 3. Global war on terror
 4. Cyber warfare

5. What has been the impact of technology on war? Use a specific example as a case study illustrate your argument
 - Technology is used as a form of warfare - cyber warfare. Cybersecurity have been under a threat of cyber attacks.
 - Ex. Russian hacking in the American elections.

6. Do you agree with the democratic peace theory that democracy creates peace among states?
 - Democracies are less likely to engage in conflict with other democracies

- The evidence overwhelmingly proves that democracy, in fact, does create peace among states.
 - The factors which contribute to this argument include:
 1. Democratic political institutions
 2. Accountability to the public
 3. Democratic norms and values
 4. Rational explanation: peaceful relations serve long-term interests
 5. Economic explanation: Democracies are wealthiest = more to lose + less reasons to go to war
 6. Realist explanation: statistically less possibilities
 - HOWEVER, I personally believe power is more explainable for warfare. Democracies have not existed for long enough to prove that democracy actually assures peace among states.
7. What does the statement ‘war making = state making’ mean?
- Wars were the core factor in the development of modern states
 - The seeking for resources end up in emerging of new states
8. Why is the concept of ‘security’ difficult to define
- The term is defined as “freedom from physical threats for individuals and groups”
 - There is a debate whether the main focus of inquiry should be on individual, national, international, or global security.
 - Prior to the cold war period the term security was dominated by the idea of national security, which is largely defined in militarized terms.
 - However, recently scholars have been arguing that this method of defining security is too narrow, instead the concept has to be expanded.
 - Some argue that security should include political, economic, societal, and environmental as well as military aspects.
 - The traditional view of security only focuses on national security, as security of interests of the state. However, the “human security”, which focuses on individuals should be considered.
9. In a context of globalization, why might we want to broaden the concept of security?
- Globalization unfolds new threats and dangers for individuals and communities
 - Such as : international terrorism, global warming, cyber conflict, nuclear accidents, natural hazards, and possible breakdown of the global monetary system
10. What are the determining factors explaining the US invasion of Iraq in 2003? What was the US justification for the war?

Realism:

- continuing American hegemony - Thucydides - the strong did what they willed and the weak accepted what the must
- The 'new unilateralism'
- The rationalistity of Saddam Hussein

Bush's justification for war

- Iraq is a hostile threat for America as they support terror and use violence against their citizens.
 - To deprive Saddam Hussein of his weapons of mass destruction - which posed an imminent threat to the security of the West.
 - They linked Saddam Hussein and Iraqi regime with 9/11
 - But some did not believe that there is sufficient evidence but "the strong did what they willed and the weak accepted what the must"
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Week 9

1. What do we mean when we speak of the 'paradox' of international law?
 - International law is not truly law, because there is no sufficient way to enforce it. Real law is created and enforced by a central authority, while in the IR there is no central authority - it is in a state of anarchy. Moreover, the states can often simply opt-out of certain treaty/laws. In IL the enforcement mechanisms are either weak or non-existent. The implementation of these law are solely based on goodwill and trust.
2. What factors contributed to the emergence of international law in the 19th century?
 - Emergence of laws of war through the Geneva conventions and The Hague Conventions
 - Before 19th c. - Jus ad bellum - laws pertaining to when/how states can engage in war; war as fundamental right of sovereign state.
 - Since 19th c. - Jus in bello - laws pertaining to conduct of hostilities during war; limitations on what is permissible on context of war
3. What do you think of the claim that states create an international legal framework to maintain world order and security?
 - a. Geneva convention is an example of that
4. Among the approaches covered, which one do you find most persuasive to explain the existence of international law?
 - a. All
 - i. Realism - peace through law
 - ii. Liberalism - IL as regulatory institution
 - iii. Social constructivism - institutionalization of legal norms

- iv. Critical legal studies - criticism of liberal ideology behind international legal framework
- 5. What would be the biggest weakness of the international legal regime?
 - a. There is a tension between global justice and national sovereignty
 - b. Global war on terror: disrespect of international law and norms
- 6. Could we imagine a form of global governance? Could international law become supranational law?
 - a. No - conflict of national sovereignty
- 7. What factors can explain the increasing growth of IOs since 1945?
 - a. Prevention of war
- 8. Why are IOs important?
 - a. International organizations facilitate cooperation, which is the closest thing that it could get to international order.
- 9. Which IR approach do you find most convincing to explain the creation of international organizations? Why?
 - a. Liberalism - IOS create collective goods
 - i. Promote peace
 - ii. Long-term benefits in cooperation
 - b. Realism - IOS have no weight in IR
 - i. Form of power politics
 - ii. IOs mirror interests of powerful states
 - c. Marxism
 - i. IOs promote economic interests (ex. IMF and World Bank)

Week 10

1. To what extent are human rights a new creation?
 - a. It is a modern concept which only emerged from 18th century ideas of Enlightenment, and the French Declaration of the Rights of Man of the citizen.
2. What led to the drafting of the French Declaration in 1789?
 - a. One group-one vote = about political representation and civil rights
3. What are the three main generations of human rights? Provide an example for each
 - a. Liberty - Political and Civil Rights
 - i. Negative protect the individual from excess of the state
 - ii. Ex. right to life, freedom of speech, voting rights
 - b. Equality - Social and Economic Rights
 - i. Ex. right to be employed in just and favourable condition, rights to food, housing and health care, unemployment benefits.
 - c. Fraternity - Collective and Developmental Rights
 - i. Ex. the right to speak one's native language; the right of cultural preservation; environmental rights; the right to national self-determination
4. In what ways has there been progress since human rights have been introduced in the mainstream of international politics? In what ways has it become worse?

- a. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights
- b. New norms are emerging - women's rights
- c. National security is costing us the right of privacy - drones flying over houses as part of government surveillance program
- d. Weakness - the rights are new so there are some mistakes / conflict between rights
5. Traditionally, states guarantee the implementation of human rights. What are the limits with that system of implementation?
 - a. It depends on states to implement them, and they can opt-out of inter. Treaties
 - b. UN Human Rights Council is toothless
6. What criticism can we address to the international human rights regime?
 - a. Universality and cultural relativism; western norms imposed on others; it's new so a lot of important rights aren't there
7. What are the defining features of the principle of the R2P?
 - a. Sovereignty is conditional, not a right. It is based on how protected are the citizens
8. In the debate about the legitimacy of humanitarian intervention, which side do you find most convincing?
 - a. Humanitarian intervention
 - b. The national government has the duty to protect its citizens, if it fails - the international community has to step in.
9. Should we privilege concerns of international order or concerns of international justice and protection of human rights? Why?
 - a.

Week 11

1. What are the connections between globalization and environmental change?
 - a. Environment is a global issue:
 - b. Liberal/Positive vision - cooperation to regulate transboundary environmental problems
 - c. Realist - tensions between economic growth and environment
 - d. Social constructivist - development of international environmental law and norms over the last three decades
2. Are international trade and the protection of the environment compatible? Why?
 - a. Environmental concerns are costly to international trade
3. What does the term "tragedy of the commons" refer to? What is the problem of global commons?
 - "Areas and resources that do not fall under sovereign jurisdiction"
 - Oceans
 - Atmosphere
 - Outer Space
 - Antarctica
 - Problem: absence of compliance and existence of free-riders
4. When was the Kyoto Protocol adopted? When did it come into force?
 - a. 1997, implemented 2005

5. What is the argument behind the idea of climate justice? What do we mean by common, but differentiated responsibilities?
 - a. Reducing emissions fairly - fair redistribution among countries
 - b. Common but differentiated responsibilities
 - c. 6 countries are responsible for over 70% of world's CO2 emissions (including China, US, and EU)
6. In what ways are indigenous communities affected by climate change? What role can they play in the protection of the environment?
 - a. Indigenous communities are most vulnerable to climate change and human-induced disasters; as well as food insecurity, rising seas, and deforestation.
 - b. They are key actors in struggle against climate change due to their Land-rights which can be used to protect environment
7. Among the different IR frameworks, which one seems to provide the most persuasive account of environmental change in international politics?
 - a. Realism - environment absent from traditional and realist IR theories; but there is an issue with the relationship between climate change and security
 - b. Liberalism - vision of global environmental governance
 - c. Social constructivism - creation of 'epistemic communities' : role of knowledge
 - d. Critical - capitalism and neoliberal ideology as culprits

Week 12

1. Which came first: nations or nationalism?

From about the mid-seventeenth century an order of sovereign, territorial states developed in Europe; then Nationalism transformed these states from monarchies into nation states; finally, globalization threatens this political order by eroding territorial sovereignty and national identity.

2. What are some of the historical factors explaining the origins and spread of modern nationalism?
 - a. In the first phase, Britain and France set the tone for nationalist developments elsewhere, but by 1900 German and Japanese models also became important, and after 1918 and especially after 1945 US and Soviet models mattered most.
 - b. Waves of new state formation - 1918, 1945, and 1989.
3. What is the difference between civic and ethnic nationalism?
 - a. Civic nationalism - commitment to a state and its values. State membership determines nationality, as in the multi-ethnic immigrant society of the US
 - b. Ethnic nationalism - commitment to a group of (imagined) common descent. Nation precedes states, as in ethno-national states formed in modern Europe.
4. Is the distinction between state-supporting and state-opposing nationalism helpful? Why?

- a. The end of cold war era saw a wave of state-opposing nationalism
5. What author wrote that the nation “is an imagined political community”, imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign?
 - a.
6. How can we define self-determination?
 - a. The right of distinct national groups to become sovereign-states
7. What was the relationship between nationalism and decolonization in the 20th century?
 - a. There was a shift of nationalism based on NSD principle providing a legitimation for the world political order.
8. How can we understand the relationship between globalization and nationalism?
 - a. Globalization led to the shift of nationalism from a state focus towards concerns with devolution, cultural recognition, and transnational linkages.
 - b. Globalization created opportunities for developments of new forms of nationalism.
 - i. Capital, goods, and information moves across the world more freely, which develops new cultures.
 - c. Since the cold war involvement of non-state actors into state affairs became prominent. Such as UN, NATO.
 - i. Which is a new way that new nationalists frame their demands. Because nationalism today presents their cause as a movement for human rights, including cultural recognition. Instead of dependence they demands devolution or multiculturalism.
 - d. Nationalism is more and more framed for cultural recognition, rather than ethnically.
9. Do you agree with the following claim “contemporary globalization undermines the nation-state but not nationalism”?
 - a. Globalization poses threats to the nation-state, as a result there is a rising state-supporting nationalism.
 - b. The nation-state appears to decline as the central legitimate political unit. This stimulates state-supporting nationalism in defence of nation-state, as with the rise of radical right nationalism in Europe, opposed to mass immigration and the EU.

Essay Q1:

Reflecting on the nature of war in international relations also means reflecting on the conditions of its absence: peace. What prevents conflicts from happening at an international level? Do you agree with the claim of democratic peace theory that democracy creates peaceful relations among states? Using IR theories, present the arguments in favour of democratic peace theory and highlight the limits of this theory in explaining contemporary events. Make sure to define the concepts you are using

- There are many methods of preventing conflict between states including International Organizations, Economic interdependence, and international law & treaties. Contemporary scholars argue that the most prominent method of preventing international war and conflict is

existence of democracy. This belief comes from the democratic peace theory developed by Immanuel Kant. The theory claims that democratic states will not go to war with other democratic states. While this theory does present many convincing arguments, it does have some weaknesses. This essay will discuss the strength and limitation of the democratic peace theory using the International Relation Theories. Particularly, first, this essay will use liberalism theory to present why democracy, indeed, guarantees peace among democratic nations, second, the essay will use realism to present why democratic peace theory is flawed.

- Liberalism is a school of thought within international relations theory which believes in the rational qualities of individuals, put faith in human's ability to learn from history and hence to achieve social progress, and they are convinced that humans are willing and able to cooperate and construct a more peaceful society. The democratic peace theory was developed by Immanuel Kant, who is a famous proponent and influential developer of the liberalism in IR. Therefore, it is no surprise that the democratic peace theory is inherently "liberal". The democratic peace theory, just like liberalism, claims that International relations are in a state of anarchy, therefore, to preserve peace countries should abide by law (domestic and international). The core idea of democratic peace theory is that in a democracy, the domestic law constitutes that citizens elect the political position of the country. Democratic peace theory argues that humans are rational, thus they seek peace, therefore individuals are less likely to choose to go to war, therefore, a democratic country is less likely to choose to go to war. The second important argument of the democratic peace theory is that democracies follow democratic institutions, which settle international disputes diplomatically. Third, democracies follow a similar set of policies, therefore they do not see each other a threat. Finally, democracies tend to be more wealthy, therefore war is more costly than beneficial to these states. The most convincing prove to this theory is that in fact, empirical evidence shows that democracies have not gone to war with each other. Therefore, from a liberal point of view the democratic peace theory presents a number of convincing arguments which proves the theory is correct.
- An analysis from a realist point of view demonstrates that democracy, does not necessarily prevent war. Realism believes that human nature is inherently violent and it is prone to seek power and ultimately leads to war. The public is not peaceful, therefore there is no guarantee that they will not choose to go to war with another democratic state. Realism argues that nation-states, just like humans ultimately seek to maximize power, even it is as the cost of a war. Democracy is a recent invention, and nation-states have not been in state of democracy for long enough to trust the empirical evidence. A realist would argue that a democratic nation-state would go to war with another democratic country if its needed to maximize its power, the only reason why this has not happened yet is because democratic rule has only become widespread since the end of Cold War. Finally, a realist would argue that the reason why countries have been going to war less lately is due to economic interdependence. It just happens to be that democratic countries are more likely to be economically interdependent. However, there are cases where a democracy and an authoritative regime are economically interdependent. For example, USA and China follow completely different political ideologies, however a realist would argue that they are less likely to go to war with one another due to their close economic ties. Therefore, from a sense of realism, the democratic peace theory does not provide sufficient enough arguments to prove itself.

- In conclusion, the democratic peace theory is justifiable if analyzing from the lens of liberalism IR theory. However, an analysis of the democratic peace theory from a realist point of view reveals that it has many limitations. In my opinion, democratic peace theory is not fully reliable, just like most theories it does not predict all the complexities of International Relations. However, I also do not fully agree with the realist argument that democratic peace theory is not at all true. I would argue that democracy, indeed, makes it less likely for democratic countries to fight among one another. However, democracy does not guarantee peace among democratic states. While, there is no empirical evidence to my argument, as realists point out democracies have only existed for a short period of time, therefore it is difficult to say that just because it has not happened yet, it will never happen in the future.

Essay Q2:

What do we mean when we speak of the “paradox of international law”? According to different IR theories, what are the contributions and limits of an international legal framework? Using the example of the International Criminal Court, expose the international politics behind the creation of the Court and highlight the main criticisms addressed to the ICC.

- International law - the formal rule of conduct that state acknowledge or contract between themselves. It emerged from the laws of war of Geneva Conventions and the Hague Conventions. Particularly, jus ad bellum, which govern when the use of force is legitimate, and jus in bello, which govern how war may be conducted.
- Paradox of international law - International law is not truly law, because there is no sufficient way to enforce it. Real law is created and enforced by a central authority, while in the IR there is no central authority - it is in a state of anarchy. Moreover, the states can often simply opt-out of certain treaty/laws. In IL the enforcement mechanisms are either weak or non-existent. The implementation of these law are solely based on goodwill and trust.
- Nevertheless, international law has been progressive since the end of World War 2. Many countries wish to avoid another detrimental international conflict, thus most of the time they abide by the international law. The international law has brought many contributions to the modern politics, including the preservation of peace, creation of new norms regards to human and women’s rights, and the increasing diplomacy among states. However, international law also has certain drawbacks. Using the example of ICC this essay will show the strengths and limitations of international law. Liberalism lens will present the strengths of ICC, and Marxist/Critical theory will reveal the weaknesses of international law.
- The International Criminal Court (ICC or ICCT) is an intergovernmental organization and international tribunal that sits in The Hague in the Netherlands, which opened in 2002.. The ICC has the jurisdiction to prosecute individuals for the international crimes of genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes.
- From a liberal point of view it is a great source of cooperation.
- Marxism/Postcolonialism: International law is a cast of Western, or even imperial, institution. Its roots lie in the European intellectual movements of the 16th and 17th centuries. It is based on the

idea of natural law, which claims that all Christians are equal, however non-Christians are beneath.

- Human rights law imposes a set of Western values about individual rights on non-Western societies where such ideas are alien. This is also seen in the framework of humanitarian intervention, where western powers have a privileged position on the Security Council to intervene in the domestic politics of developing countries.
 - However, non-western states have been involved in the development of the human rights regime. And, non-western states have been proponents of these legal norms. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights is the product of a deliberate and systematic process of intercultural dialogue.
 - This is reflected in the fact that the ICC has been accused of bias and as being a tool of Western imperialism, only punishing leaders from small, weak states while ignoring crimes committed by richer and more powerful states. This sentiment has been expressed particularly by African leaders due to an alleged disproportionate focus of the Court on Africa, while it claims to have a global mandate; until January 2016, all nine situations which the ICC had been investigating were in African countries
- Realists: They look at liberal idea of peace through law with great scepticism. Realists do not quite believe that international law is law at all because there is an absence of central authority to legislate, adjudicate, and enforce international law. There are very few sanctions as enforcement mechanisms for law in the international community, thus IL is weak.
 - The ICC is realistically ineffective. First of all, it has to cooperate with the state. Second, some states, like US, opt-out from joining the ICC.

Essay Q3:

International organizations (IOs) such as the United Nations, the OECD, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank are an essential part of international politics. How do different IR theories (such as liberalism, realism, social constructivism and critical theories) look at international organizations and their role in global politics? In spite of their potential contribution, IOs have faced many criticisms. Using the example of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) as a case study, expose some of these criticisms.

IMF

- IMF provides states suffering from a balance of payments deficit with the ability to borrow foreign currency. Member states put capital into the IMF commensurate with the size of their economy so they can then borrow up to that amount in foreign currency. They borrow if they need to restore economic stability should they suffer from an economic or financial crisis or not have enough foreign reserves to pay international creditors.
- IMF is an intern org which provides states suffering from a balance of payments deficit/ economic recession to borrow foreign currency.

Postcolonialism/Marxism

- The IMF has a weighted voting system, where the 'quota' of capital provided by a member state determines its share of the vote. As the US is the largest contributor, it has the largest vote. US has 16% of the votes, which provides with a "veto" to stop decisions (which requires over 85% of votes)
 - IMF became known for demanding intrusive and large-scale economic reforms of its borrowers. From the 1980s the IMF increased the number of conditions it attached to its programmes (loan) to ten; by 90s it became 30. These conditionalities were basis for wide-range economic reforms known as the Washington Consensus.
 - US and its allies are argued to have the most advantages position in the IMF.
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- Liberalism : IOs can contribute to individual prosperity and peace. IOs can be used as means of international cooperation that benefits all states.
 - Liberalism - IOs contribute to individual prosperity and peace. IOs can be used for means of international cooperation which benefits everyone
 - Realists: IOs are tools for states to achieve their interests. IOs have no independent effects on world politics. Cooperation only occurs when states see greater benefit from it.
 - Realism - IOs are do not have real weigh in IR. They are only used for states to achieve personal interests. Cooperation occurs only when states see a greater benefit in it.
 - Marxism: IOs extend capitalism globally through their programmes and policies in order to reinforce the power of capitalist states and elites. They seek to demonstrate how consensus is constructed over the global capitalist system through operations of IOs.