**Chapter 6: global Security, Military Power, AND Terrorism**

**What Students Should Learn from This Chapter**

Define and explain different theoretical views of security.

Explain the changes in warfare in recent years, sometimes called the “revolution in military affairs.”

Define hybrid warfare and learn about other new warfighting strategies.

Discuss the threat that nuclear weapon proliferation poses to international peace.

Define terrorism, including the role of perception in defining which groups are “terrorists” and which are legitimate groups that use unconventional methods.

Define the law-enforcement and war-on-terrorism approaches to fighting terrorists.

**Outline**

1. Introduction
	1. Can global security (a world without war and extremist violence) be achieved?
	2. Has the shape of warfare changed in the age of globalization?
	3. Relationship between national and international security
2. What Is “Security”?
	1. Contested concept
		1. Should security focus on the individual, national, or international security?
			1. During most of the Cold War the majority of the writing on the subject was dominated by national security, defined in military terms
		2. Recently a school of thought has attempted to broaden the discourse on security to include economic, environmental, social, and political issues
			1. “Societal security theorist”
			2. Widening school of international security
				1. Also known as the Copenhagen School

extend the definition of security to include economic, political, societal, and environmental policy areas

* + 1. Another branch of security analysis believes ethno-national groups should be the center of analysis
			1. dual processes of integration and fragmentation
1. Mainstream and Critical Approaches to National Security
	1. Realist and neorealist views on global security
		1. International system is an anarchic world and states will take advantage of each other
			1. Long-lasting peace will not occur
			2. States will try to balance against one another to avoid the ascension of a hegemon
		2. Structural realist assumptions
			1. Main assumptions guiding structural realists:
				1. International system is anarchic
				2. State governments will develop offensive military capabilities
				3. Uncertainty and lack of trust among states
				4. Even though states are seen as rational, miscalculations will occur, especially because states will misrepresent their capabilities in an attempt to gain an advantage
			2. The problem of cheating
				1. There is cooperation in an anarchic world, but it is limited by the prospect of one side cheating

Cooperation is hindered by the constant fear that a partner will cheat to gain an advantage

* + - 1. The problem of relative gains
				1. States are more concerned about relative gains rather than absolute gains when cooperating in the international system
	1. Liberal institutionalist views on global security
		1. For the liberal institutionalist, international institutions promote stability and cooperation in the international system
			1. Bretton Woods regime, European Union, NATO, Association of Southeast Asian Nations
			2. Institutions created after Second World War in Western Europe have diminished concerns of a general European war
			3. States investing in these institutions is evidence of their belief that they are beneficial to the international system
			4. Security community
				1. The North Atlantic is a security community where war has been eliminated as a means of solving disputes
			5. Democratic peace thesis
	2. The constructivist approach to global security
		1. Fundamental structures of the international system are social rather than material
		2. Viewing structure as a product of social relationships
			1. Created by shared knowledge, practices, and material resources
		3. Security dilemma is a social structure composed of inter-subjective judgments
			1. Leaders of states are distrustful and therefore view security in worst-case-scenario terms, whereas a security community is a different social structure. Actors have shared knowledge and can thus resolve conflicts without war.
			2. Norms and ideas may also influence states, not just the behavior of other states in the system
	3. The feminist approach to global security
		1. Challenge the central role of the state in security analysis
			1. States are a source of security and insecurity
		2. Reconceptualize security
		3. Women are affected as much or more than men in war
			1. The use of rape as a tool of war
			2. Majority of refugees are women and children
		4. Masculinization of security and war
	4. Marxist and Radical Liberal or Utopian Approaches to Security
		1. Support a transformation of the current economic and political system
		2. Globalization has spread capitalist ideas
		3. Capitalism as a source of conflict and inequality
		4. Secular radicals
		5. Marxist terrorists
1. The Changing Character of War
	1. Changing nature of security and war
		1. Postmodernity: domestic and international affairs are intertwined in the international system
		2. War for the past two centuries was seen as an instrument of state policy typified by the two world wars. But today war and security have been altered due to more amorphous threats such as terrorism.
	2. After the end of the Cold War warfare became more asymmetrical
		1. States began fighting nonstate actors
			1. Conflicts usually occur in urban or remote rural settings
			2. Major difference in weapon capacity and technology between state and nonstate actors in conflicts
	3. Multidimensional battlefield—not only soldier on the ground
		1. Cyberspace, space (satellites), wavebands, unmanned drones, and so on
2. The Nature of War
	1. Clausewitz: war as a means to an end
		1. War is not random violence but a rational political decision
		2. War as an act of violence to compel one’s opponent to fulfill one’s will
	2. Development of war
		1. If war is a political decision, it too develops as our understanding of politics develops
		2. Contemporary wars are local wars fought on a wider field
			1. Television, Internet, intergovernmental organizations, and nongovernmental organizations have influenced the nature of war
			2. Global media helps to induce “war fatigue”
		3. *Nature* vs. *character* of war as described by Clausewitz and Gary
3. The Revolution in Military Affairs
	1. The introduction of technological advancement in weaponry and communication to reduce uncertainty and increase efficiencies of a fighting force
		1. Idea introduced after “effortless” victory in the Gulf War
		2. Overlooks non-technological factors and creates oversimplified picture of a more complex phenomenon
4. Postmodern War
	1. Changing modes of production and eventual outputs in advanced societies are altering the character of war
		1. Transferring of military functions to third parties such as Blackwater (aka Xe Services LLC)
	2. Globalization has weakened normal forms of identity (nationalism) and at the same time there has been a resurgence of older forms of identity (ethnic, clan, religious)
	3. Changing “modes of information”
		1. The role of broadcasting and journalist in conflicts
			1. Journalists are no longer observers but active participants
	4. Rise in asymmetric conflicts
		1. Insurgency and guerilla tactics to mitigate military imbalance
		2. Met with a counterinsurgency (COIN) response with mixed results
			1. Providing security for the local population and preventing attacks against civilians
			2. Protecting infrastructure and providing safe regions for civilians
			3. Helping local government provide basic services for citizens, and
			4. Helping shift loyalties from insurgents to local authorities.
		3. Alternative is counterterrorism
			1. Counterterrorism is less expensive, less direct, and requires less commitment to long-term state building in comparison to COIN
				1. Identification, tracking, and elimination of terrorist networks
				2. Using technology to hunt and track the enemy
				3. Sharing intelligence with other states
				4. Targeting insurgent leadership with unmanned drones and covert operations
			2. Bacevich: US strategy relies on two assumptions that may actually increase the amount of time wars will require
				1. Sustained US military action is the only way of defeating terrorism
				2. Physical presence of US troops in fragile Muslim-majority states makes them less hospitable to terrorist networks
	5. Hybrid warfare
		1. Gray zone tactics: cyberattacks, propaganda, subversion, economic blackmail, sabotage, sponsorship of proxy wars, and at times aggressive military expansion
		2. Used by nation-states, including Russia, China, and Iran to secure their interests
		3. Example: Russia in the Crimea
		4. Data breaches and malware attacks
		5. Hybrid warfare allows inferior militaries to deter superior ones
	6. Postmodern war
		1. Globalization alters concepts such as state and nation
		2. Rise of privatized military firms (PMFs)
			1. Academi (Xe, Blackwater)
			2. PMFs reflect a broader global trend toward the privatization of public assets
		3. Use of private soldiers
		4. Reinvigoration of older entities as primary loyalty, rather than the state
5. Globalization and New Wars
	1. Emergence of “new” wars since the 1980s where the conflict is characterized by the disintegration of the state
		1. Caused by the pressures and effects of globalization
	2. States lose control of various sectors of economy and areas of national territory
		1. Taxes inevitably decrease, making it increasingly harder for the state to re-impose control
	3. New rules for NATO?
		1. Three collective security actions
			1. Intervention in Kosovo
			2. Response to 9/11 attacks
			3. Intervention in Libya
		2. Greater independence for European states
			1. France in Mali
			2. Permanent structured cooperation (PESCO): EU can take action independent of NATO
6. Nuclear Proliferation and Non-Proliferation
	1. Impact of nuclearization on denuclearization
	2. The collapse of the Soviet Union was the only instance in which a nuclear state disintegrated
		1. The importance of co-operative threat reduction programs and agreements
			1. Established framework for former Cold War adversaries to handle the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the implications for its nuclear weapons
	3. Proliferation optimism and pessimism
		1. Nuclear deterrence theory: more states with nuclear weapons means more security because of fear of retaliation in kind if used
		2. Non-proliferation regime
			1. Product of a bygone first nuclear age (1950–1990)?
				1. The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons as a means of disarmament or a means of limiting new nuclear weapons
	4. Nuclear weapons effects
		1. Difference between nuclear weapons production and nuclear power production
			1. For nuclear weapons a chain reaction is required, whereas for power generation a moderation of the reaction is required
				1. Separate processes are needed for each
		2. Nuclear weapons effects
			1. Weapons of mass destruction (WMD)
			2. Chemical, biological, radiological, and nuclear (CBRN)
			3. Three forms of energy with a nuclear explosion
				1. Blast, heat/thermal, and nuclear radiation
		3. Nuclear defense
			1. US National Missile Defense Act of 1999
				1. Brought into question the ABM treaty
				2. Debate over stationing of US ballistic missile defense in Poland and Czech Republic
		4. Nuclear weapons and diplomacy
			1. Iran nuclear treaty
				1. US pullout, EU enforcement
			2. Proliferation in East Asia
				1. North Korea and possibly Japan in the future
	5. The Current Nuclear Age
		1. From mutually assured destruction (MAD) to a new age where states might use nuclear weapons to secure a strategic advantage
			1. US and Russian nuclear weapons modernization programs
		2. Theorizing nuclear proliferation
			1. What is nuclear proliferation?
				1. Acquiring a nuclear weapon or the process of constructing a nuclear weapon
			2. Why haven’t nuclear weapons been used?
				1. Nuclear weapons are only good in their non-use (i.e., as a deterrent)
	6. Nuclear motivations
		1. Shift from nuclear weapons being war-winning weapons to weapons of deterrence
		2. Transnational actors and the procurement of nuclear weapons
	7. Nuclear capabilities and intentions
		1. Difficulty of reaching international consensus on noncompliance
			1. Cases of Iraq and Iran highlight difficulty on both sides
		2. Post–Cold War anti-proliferation efforts
			1. Missile Technology Control Regime and the Hague Code of Conduct
			2. Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty and lack of consensus
7. Terrorism and Extremism
	1. Defining Terrorism
		1. Characterized by the use of violence
		2. Historically ambiguous term
			1. Prior to the past half-century terrorism was state violence against citizens
			2. Over the past half-century terrorism has described violence by small nonstate actors in an attempt to achieve political change
		3. Cronin’s four terrorist groups
			1. Left-wing terrorists
			2. Right-wing terrorists
			3. Ethno-nationalist/separatist terrorists
			4. Religious or “sacred” terrorists
		4. Issues concerning what constitutes terrorism
			1. Terrorism is legitimate only if it meets the criteria of the “just war” tradition
			2. Terrorist justifications and methods are not easily co-opted into international relations theory
			3. Determining the legitimate use of force
				1. Libya
				2. US and Britain
		5. Terrorism as a weak way of achieving political change
			1. Rarely have broader support of population
			2. Potentially alienate support
			3. Need to be in the headlines to achieve goals
		6. Globalization and terrorism
			1. Improve reach and efficiency of terrorist groups
8. Terrorism: From Domestic to Global Phenomenon
	1. In the 19th and 20th centuries terrorists relied on the railroad and telegraph
		1. Impact rarely went beyond state borders, partially because they were attempting internal change
	2. Three factors leading to transnational terrorism in 1968
		1. Expansion of commercial air travel
		2. Availability of news coverage
		3. Political and ideological causes converged among terrorists
	3. In 1980s, three developments emerged concerning terrorism:
		1. Fewer but deadlier indiscriminate attacks
		2. Increasing sophistication of attacks
		3. Greater propensity for suicide attacks
	4. Resources for Marxist-Leninist groups dissolved with the end of the Cold War
		1. With decline of Marxist-Leninist groups emerged militant Islamic terrorism
9. Terrorism: The Impact of Globalization
	1. Explaining militant Islam
		1. Cultural explanation
			1. Violence is the only manner in which to defend against Westernization and materialism
			2. Safeguarding identity
			3. Samuel Huntington and “clash of civilizations”
		2. Economic explanation
			1. Defense against Western economic imperialism
			2. Exploitation of less developed countries vis-à-vis World Bank, International Monetary Fund, and so on
			3. Sense of alienation and lack of opportunity in less developed countries
			4. The “tenuous” link between inequality and terrorism
		3. Religion and “New” Terrorism
			1. Postmodern terrorism or new terrorism and the constructivist international relations theory
			2. New terrorism as an explanation for global *jihad*
				1. Infidels and apostates
			3. Difference between secular and religious terrorist
				1. Difference of deterrence between types of terrorism
		4. The current challenge: the persistence of the Islamic State
			1. Territorial caliphate no longer exists, but the organization and its strategy persist
			2. Acted like a regular state—providing basic services, taxing the people, and providing law and order, but heavily repressive
			3. Use of Al Qaeda’s seven stage strategy for achieving an Islamic global caliphate
				1. Stage I: The Awakening Stage (2000–2003): The September 11, 2001, attacks

 reawakened the caliphate

* + - * 1. Stage II: The Eye-Opening Stage (2003–2006): US invasion of Iraq

began a prolonged war to weaken the United States and the West

* + - * 1. Stage III: The Rising Up and Standing on the Feet Stage (2007–2010): Extremism and terror tactics to new venues across Africa and globally are expanded
				2. Stage IV: The Recovery Stage (2010–2013): After the death of bin Laden, ISIS regroups and takes advantage of the changes promoted by the Arab Spring to topple apostate regimes like Syria
				3. Stage V: Declaration of the Caliphate Stage (2013–2016): ISIS moves ahead of Al Qaeda by establishing rule over a large area and acting like a state
				4. Stage VI: The Total Confrontation (2016–2020) The caliphate is created, and

leaders create an Islamic army to fight the holy war between believers and nonbelievers

* + - * 1. Stage VII: The Definitive Stage (2020–2022) The caliphate triumphs over the

entire world

* + - 1. ISIS may have been in Stage V, attempting to initiate Stage VI
1. Globalization, Technology, and Terrorism
	1. Globalization
	2. Technology
		1. Proselytizing
			1. Internet: cheap and access to large audience
		2. Coordination
			1. Globalization has allowed for coordinated terrorist attacks in multiple countries
		3. Security
			1. Terrorist organizations place high priority on security
			2. Use of ciphers and Internet encryption along with novel uses of technology (i.e., “dead letters”)
		4. Mobility
			1. Ease of movement within a globalizing world (i.e., Schengen agreement)
		5. Lethality
			1. Use of chemicals and potential for weapons of mass destruction
				1. Sarin gas in Tokyo
2. Combating terrorism
	1. Steps taken by the UN and Interpol
	2. International Civil Aviation Organization, Hague Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Seizure of Aircraft, and Public Safety and Terrorism Sub-Directorate
	3. Counterterrorism activities
		1. Develop a thorough understanding of the variety of economic, political, and sociocultural issues and conditions that contribute to decisions by individuals or groups to use terrorist tactics
		2. Completely assess the capabilities of terrorist groups and design programs that reduce their ability to attack
		3. Review and understand the intentions of terrorists and make certain not to reward any of their activities with concessions
		4. Create a defense based on counterterrorist measures that would convince terrorists that it is not worth an attack (deterrence)
	4. War method versus law enforcement method
	5. Pragmatic issues
		1. Locating and identifying terrorists
3. Conclusion
	1. Globalization has altered the scope of terrorism but not its nature

**How the Chapter Relates to the Central Themes of the Text**

Perceptions play an important role in the decisions that states make regarding war and peace. This chapter shows the ways in which theories of international relations help to shape those perceptions. The chapter also shows the effects of globalization on key aspects of security: the changing nature of warfare and nuclear weapons proliferation.

Globalization is often seen as both a cause of the resurgence of terrorist methods and a method for the nonstate groups that use violence. Groups around the world perceive the spread of Western cultural artifacts and ideas as a threat to their own way of life. Moreover, the technologies associated with the globalized economic system make recruiting new members as well as planning and executing events easier for groups that employ terrorist methods.

**Suggested Lecture Topics and Class Activities**

Analyze the ways in which the IR theories presented in Chapter 3 explain war, the notion of “cheating,” and relative gains.

Discuss the terms “national security” and “global security.”

Challenge the students to agree or disagree with the notion that the character of war has changed. Compare and contrast the reasons for the 1991 war with Iraq and the 2003 war with Iraq. Discuss the Mearsheimer dissent from the second war.

Discuss the concept of Revolution in Military Affairs by comparing and contrasting the strategic bombing campaigns against Germany and Japan during the Second World War with the 1991 campaign against Iraq.

Put students into groups and have them research war in the developing world from 1948 to 2010.

Discuss nuclear proliferation from the perspective of countries in the developing world.

Trace the recent history of groups that use terrorist methods; contrast that with the anarchist and nihilist groups of nineteenth-century Europe and North America.

Discuss the ways in which the IR theories presented in Chapter 3 perceive the concept of terror and terrorists.

Compare and contrast “guerrillas as freedom fighters” versus “guerrillas as terrorists.” Cases to explore: Molly Malones, Irish Republican Army, Stern Gang, Viet Cong, Palestine Liberation Organization, Sendero Luminoso, Al Qaeda.

Put students into groups. Assign each to research a political or religious group that has used terrorist methods. Have the students present their findings in class.

Discuss the methods that states employ to combat terror. Include the moral and ethical aspects, comparing these with practical and political aspects.

Discuss how globalization has been a cause of terrorism and has provided groups that employ the methods with the technology to operate.

**Discussion Questions**

Why is security a “contested concept”?

What is distinctive about constructivist views of international security?

Is the tension between national and global security resolvable?

Has international security changed since 9/11?

What are the main arguments for and against the proliferation/spread of nuclear weapons?

What nuclear proliferation concerns have stemmed from the dissolution of the Soviet Union?

Does the nonstate actor represent a new nuclear proliferation challenge?

To what extent is globalization a cause of war?

Why do some authors believe that war between the current great powers is highly unlikely?

What is “asymmetric warfare”?

How is gender important in understanding war?

What is the relationship between children and contemporary war?

Why is linking terrorism with globalization so difficult to do theoretically? What does this difficulty suggest about the limits of political theory?

When did terrorism become a truly global phenomenon, and what enabled it to do so?

In what ways are the technologies and processes associated with globalization more beneficial to states? to terrorists?

Given that terrorism has been both a transnational and a global phenomenon, why has it not been more successful in effecting change?

Of all of the factors that motivate terrorists, is any one more important than others, and if so, why?

What has changed in terrorism over the past half-century and have any factors remained the same? If so, what are they and why have they remained constant?

What is the role that technology plays in terrorism, and will it change how terrorists operate in the future? If so, how?

What are the dilemmas that terrorist groups face with respect to weapons of mass destruction?

What is the primary challenge that individual states and the international community as a whole face in confronting terrorism?

How can globalization be useful in diminishing the underlying causes of terrorism?

**Video Suggestions**

*Distorted Morality: A War on Terrorism?* 2003

*Frontline World* videos, found at [http://www.pbs.org/frontlineworld/stories/bytheme.html#02](http://www.pbs.org/frontlineworld/stories/bytheme.html%252302)

*Frontline: The Torture Question*, 2005

*Race For the Superbomb* (PBS, 1999)

*The Dark Side,* 2006

*The French Revolution* (History Channel, 2005)

*The Target for Tonight*(Classic Pictures Entertainment, 2004)

*Vietnam: A Television History* (PBS, 1976)

*War and Peace in the Nuclear Age* **(**Boston: WGBH-TV, 1988)

*White Light/Black Rain: The Destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki* (HBO, 2007)

*Torturing Democracy*, found at <http://www.torturingdemocracy.org>

**Internet Resources**

First World War.com/Vintage Photographs/Home Front, <http://www.firstworldwar.com/photos/homefront.htm>

Part of a larger private First World War hobbyist site, the photos are useful for student activities

Global Security: Reliable Security Information, <http://www.globalsecurity.org/>

This website has an extensive section of information about the armed forces of most countries. It also has current news from the world of international security.

Imperial War Museum, <http://www.iwm.org.uk/>

The definitive war museum has a large and growing online collection.

International Institute for Strategic Studies/International Institute for Strategic Studies, <http://www.iiss.org/>

An academic source for information about international policy.

International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, <https://www.ippnw.org/>

A leading NGO committed, as its name suggests, to ending the threat of nuclear war.

Battle of Salamis, Aeschylus, <http://www.poetry-archive.com/a/the_battle_of_salamis.html>

Poetry provides a most unacademic insight into war.

International Atomic Energy Agency, [www.iaea.org](http://www.iaea.org)

The international organization created to control the dissemination of nuclear technology. More recently at the center of debate regarding Iran’s nuclear program.

Terrorism Research Center, <http://www.terrorism.org/>.

This useful site has an excellent links section, including links to relevant reports and terrorism news.

This Is Baader-Meinhof, [www.baader-meinhof.com](http://www.baader-meinhof.com)

This site contains information related to transnational terrorism and in particular the German Baader-Meinhof group.

US State Department—Patterns of Global Terrorism Annual Report, <https://www.state.gov/background-information-country-reports-on-terrorism-and-patterns-of-global-terrorism/>

Archived from 1995 upwards, these reports contain valuable information and trends analysis on American perceptions of terrorism and the threat it poses.

Special Operations website, [www.specialoperations.com](http://www.specialoperations.com)

Exhaustive collection devoted to all aspects of special operations, including national counterterrorism units and historical operations.

Test Questions

*Multiple-Choice Questions*

Question type: factual

Page number: 207

1) What percentage of twenty-first century conflicts have taken place in Asia?

a. 14%

b. 23%

\*c. 39%

d. 78%

Question type: applied

Page number: 207

2) What relationship does ungoverned territory have with terrorism?

a. there is no relationship

b. terrorism always precedes ungoverned territory

\*c. ungoverned territory can facilitate the development of terrorist groups

d. terrorism only exists in ungoverned spaces

Question type: factual

Page number: 218

3) The idea that war should be a means to an end is commonly associated with which writer?

a. Ernst Van der Graaf

\*b. Carl von Clausewitz

c. Curtis LeMay

d. Antonio Gramsci

Question type: factual

Page number: 224

4) Kaldor's "new wars" concept seems to be supported by evidence that shows \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ of conflicts have occurred within states during the last decade.

a. almost none

b. 34%

\*c. 95%

d. all

Question type: conceptual

Page number: 219

5) A \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ would view the expansion of organizations such as the EU and NATO as beneficial for regional and global security.

a. post-liberal Kantian

\*b. liberal institutionalist

c. global absolutist

d. neostructural realist

Question type: conceptual

Page number: 215

6) The “Widening School” of international relations is also called the \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ school.

\*a. Copenhagen

b. Stockholm Syndrome

c. Munich

d. West River

Question type: applied

Page number: 214

7) Which of the following is/are seen as evidence of the obsolescence of war?

a. security communities such as those in Europe

b. democratic peace theory

c. civil conflict in Africa

\*d. security communities such as those in Europe and democratic peace theory

Question type: applied

Page number: 236

8) The nonstate actors involved in conflict achieve a global presence using means that include(s)

\*a. media.

b. nongovernmental organizations.

c. international organizations such as the UN.

d. all of the above

Question type: conceptual

Page number: 221

9) A conflict that turns on one side’s ability to force the other side to fight on their own terms is \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ war.

a. “new”

b. postmodern

\*c. asymmetric

d. civil

Question type: conceptual

Page number: 239

10) Paramilitary forces blur the distinction between

\*a. soldier and civilian.

b. state militaries and civil society.

c. paratroopers and irregular infantry.

d. terrorism and counterterrorism.

Question type: applied

Page number: 223

11) Patrick Lin asserts that drone warfare can lead to a “fourth D,” which is

a. dull.

b. Dungeness.

c. dangerous.

\*d. dispassion.

Question type: conceptual

Page number: 225

12) The campaign called Operation Unified Protector targeted which country?

\*a. Libya

b. Chechnya

c. Syria

d. Bhutan

Question type: applied

Page number: 210

13) Human interest should take priority over national interest is a tenet of which school of thought?

a. realist

b. liberal

c. Marxist

\*d. global humanist

Question type: factual

Page number: 224

14) Academi (formerly Xe, formerly Blackwater) is an example of a(n)

a. Popular Mobilization Force (PMF).

b. national security corporation.

c. mercenary company.

\*d. privatized military firm (PMF).

Question type: conceptual

Page number: 221

15) The Revolution in Military Affairs

\*a. has partially facilitated the rise of asymmetric warfare.

b. demonstrates that technological advantage is decisive in warfare.

c. negates the idea of postmodern warfare.

d. has partially facilitated the rise of asymmetric warfare, demonstrates that technological advantage is decisive in warfare, and negates the idea of postmodern warfare.

Question type: applied

Page number: 226

16) Inthe Sagan-Waltz discussion, the topic was

a. disputes about resources like oil.

\*b. nuclear proliferation.

c. disputes about land.

d. the fundamentally bad nature of all people.

Question type: conceptual

Page number: 209

17) “Security is a contested concept” means scholars

a. who write about it study violence.

b. who write about it are fundamentally violent.

\*c. disagree about what the term means.

d. agree on what the term means.

Question type: conceptual

Page number: 210

18) “Societal security” theorists believe that only \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ can adequately deal with the new threats to security (e.g., terrorism, global warming, etc.).

a. individual domestic political units

b. reformed society structures

c. informed society structures

\*d. the global community

Question type: applied

Page number: 228

19) Constructivists would most likely view \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ as the primary factor influencing “new wars.”

\*a. identity

b. the balance of power

c. class inequality

d. gendered politics

Question type: applied

Page number: 211

20) According to the text, academic disagreements about definitions of terms like “war” and “security” matter because

a. warriors need to know why they risk death in the name of the state.

\*b. scholars often make policy recommendations to politicians.

c. students must have clear-cut answers to highly technical problems.

d. none of the above

Question type: concept

Page number: 209

21) According to the text, during much of the Cold War period, most writing on the subject was dominated by the idea of \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_, which was largely defined in \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ terms.

a. international security . . . economic

b. state security . . . domestic political

\*c. national security . . . militarized

d. internal security . . . gendered

Question type: applied

Page number: 236

22) Gray zone tactics refer to

a. a littoral zone, as it relates to naval operations.

\*b. the tools of hybrid warfare.

c. the amorality of counterterrorism and counterinsurgency.

d. state military action contrary to the Geneva Conventions.

Question type: conceptual

Page number: 236

23) Hybrid warfare allows inferior militaries to

a. selectively breed supersoldiers.

b. increase their conventional military capacity by assigning their forces different roles.

\*c. overcome advantages held by superior ones.

d. leverage their conventional military forces in a defensive land war.

Question type: conceptual

Page number: 228

24) Realists and constructivists disagree on whether \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ influence(s) state behavior.

a. anarchy

\*b. norms

c. other states’ behavior

d. uncertainty

Question type: conceptual

Page number: 213

25) According to realists, trust is often difficult between states because of the problem of

a. sovereignty.

b. cooperation.

c. semiotics.

\*d. anarchy.

Question type: applied

Page number: 230

26) A powerful alliance of defense contractors that have a large degree of influence in politics would be most alarming to

a. Marxist pacifists.

\*b. radical liberals.

c. neoclassical realists.

d. liberal reformists.

Question type: factual

Page number: 231

27) Weapons of mass destruction (WMD) includes

\*a. chemical, biological, nuclear, and radiological weapons.

b. atomic, or nuclear, weapons only.

c. chemical weapons, nerve agents, and atomic weapons.

d. Any nuclear weapon and conventional bombs with a high enough explosive yield.

Question type: conceptual

Page number: 223

28) Liberal or Grotian theorists encourage collective security as a means of

a. enhancing cooperation.

b. protection of the national interest.

c. sharing resources.

\*d. all of the above

Question type: conceptual

Page number: 215

29) According to constructivists, the fundamental structures of international politics are \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ rather than \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_.

a. economic . . . political

b. material . . . social

c. social . . . political

\*d. social . . . material

Question type: factual

Page number: 230

30) Secular radicals who seek to create systems of governance that provide for basic human needs through violent means are called

\*a. Marxist terrorists.

b. anarcholiberators.

c. atheistic terrorist networks.

d. liberation theologists.

Question type: applied

Page number: 226

31) In Latin America, the South Pacific, Southeast Asia, and Central Asia, the trend has been toward

a. nuclearization and militarization.

\*b. denuclearization and nuclear-weapon-free zones.

c. militarization and war.

d. denuclearization and war.

Question type: applied

Page number: 234

32) State A sends its military to support State B’s political structure and fight State B’s non-state enemies. This is an example of

\*a. counterinsurgency.

b. counterterrorism.

c. peace enforcement.

d. hybrid warfare.

Question type: factual

Page number: 225–226

33) Which countries are NPT-declared weapons states?

a. Israel, Iran, North Korea, and United Kingdom

\*b. United Kingdom, France, United States, Russia, and China

c. Australia, North Korea, Iran, and India

d. India, China, France, and Cuba

Question type: factual

Page number: 228

34) At the 1995 NPT review conference, the signatories

\*a. agreed to extend the treaty indefinitely.

b. voted to ban Iran, North Korea, and Nauru from further meetings.

c. could decide nothing; as a result, the meeting broke up in disarray.

d. changed the name from NPT to NST, to recognize the changing global political situation.

Question type: conceptual

Page number: 226

35) According to the text, nuclear globalization caused

a. the Antarctic Demilitarized Zone.

b. the South Pacific Nuclear-Free Zone.

\*c. a regionally differentiated world.

d. bans on the sale, ownership, or manufacturing of landmines and cluster bombs.

Question type: conceptual

Page number: 232

36) An aspect of globalization after the Cold War is the declining centrality of the state; this trend has created

a. rapid fluctuations in the spot market for bullets, depleted Uranium munitions, and spare parts for aircraft.

b. the need for a renewed interest in the European Commission.

\*c. space for groups with subnational or supranational agendas to act.

d. an end to traditional methods of arms sales and transfers.

Question type: applied

Page number: 226

37) What term is used to describe the acquisition of nuclear weapons by states?

a. nuclear proliferation

\*b. nuclearization

c. arms race

d. weaponization

Question type: factual

Page number: 213

38) A study by the Institute for Economics and Peace estimates that in 2014 militarized conflicts killed \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ people and cost \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ of the world’s GDP.

a. around 750,000 . . . roughly 23%

b. around 80,000 . . . roughly 5.7%

\*c. around 180,000 . . . roughly 13.4%

d. an unknown number of ….a phenomenal

Question type: factual

Page number: 218

39) In what year was the term “weapons of mass destruction” coined and by whom?

\*a. 1948, UN Commission for Conventional Armaments

b. 1953, US President Eisenhower

c. 2001, US President George W. Bush

d. 1968, Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons

Question type: factual

Page number: 226

40) When did India and Pakistan cross the so-called nuclear threshold?

a. August 1978

b. November 1992

\*c. May 1998

d. July 2004

Question type: factual

Page number: 236

41) The Black September group is most commonly associated with which event?

\*a. 1972 Munich Olympics

b. Palestine Liberation Organization’s fight for control of Gaza in 2010

c. Israel’s invasion of Lebanon in 1982

d. Afghanistan’s first democratic elections, during the US-led occupation

Question type: factual

Page number: 236

42) The term “Al Qaeda” means

\*a. the Base.

b. the Chosen.

c. the Rooftop.

d. the Watchtower.

Question type: applied

Page number: 232

43) The text says terrorism and globalization share one quality, which is that both

a. began in 1972.

b. rely upon media coverage.

c. are open to subjective interpretations.

\*d. have subjective definitions.

Question type: conceptual

Page number: 240

44) What type of terrorism seeks to kill as many outgroup members as possible?

\*a. new/postmodern

b. secular

c. radical

d. state

Question type: factual

Page number: 235

45) In what decade did terrorism become a transnational phenomenon?

a. 1940s

\*b. 1960s

c. 1970s

d. 1990s

Question type: applied

Page number: 234

46) What factor has most improved terrorist capabilities?

a. increased international sympathy

b. charismatic leadership (i.e., Osama bin Laden)

\*c. technologies associated with globalization

d. expanded recruitment base due to oppression and poverty

Question type: conceptual

Page number: 236

47) What is “the oxygen that sustains terrorism”?

a. international drug trafficking

b. radical ideologies

c. poverty and oppression

\*d. media coverage

Question type: factual

Page number: 236

48) Some scholars assert the end of the Cold War changed the international system, creating a world in which domestic and international affairs are intertwined, national borders are permeable, and states have rejected the use of force for resolving conflict. This condition is often called

\*a. postmodernity.

b. global new alternate world.

c. a phantasm, never likely to happen.

d. poststructural realism.

Question type: factual

Page number: 246

49) The Entebbe raid, which occurred in \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_, freed passengers that anti-Israeli guerrillas held on hijacked aircraft.

a. 2002

b. 1955

\*c. 1976

d. 1987

Question type: conceptual

Page number: 247

50) Some counterterrorism experts believe that \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ is an important first step is stopping would-be transnational terrorists.

\*a. diplomacy, including persuasion and various incentives to encourage foreign governments to suppress groups

b. appeasement, because some things are not worth dying for

c. cost–benefit analyses of the need to stop transnational groups

d. none of the above

Question type: factual

Page number: 244

51) What is the word used to describe the dissemination and communication of terrorist ideology through various media?

a. propaganda

b. mobilizing

c. rhetoric

\*d. proselytizing

Question type: factual

Page number: 249

52) It is difficult to prevent suicide attacks when a person believes the promise of \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ offers more than \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_.

\*a. private goods . . . a public good

b. money . . . fame

c. fighting the enemy . . . simple martyrdom

d. better weapons . . . the present situation

Question type: conceptual

Page number: 232

53) Terrorism is

\*a. the use of violence to inspire fear in order to effect political change.

b. the use of violence by any nonstate group.

c. spreading fear through nonviolent means, like propaganda.

d. practiced only by the weak.

Question type: factual

Page number: 232–233

54) Using technology to hunt and track the enemy, sharing intelligence with other states, and targeting insurgent leadership with unmanned drones and covert operations are the components of

a. counterinsurgency (COIN).

b. counterintelligence (COINTEL).

\*c. counterterrorism.

d. all of the above

Question type: factual

Page number: 232

55) The four kinds of terrorism are

\*a. left-wing terrorism, right-wing terrorism, ethno-nationalist/separatist terrorism, and religious terrorism.

b. religious terrorism, political terrorism, traditional terrorism, and postmodern terrorism.

c. Christian terrorism, Jewish terrorism, Muslim terrorism, and Buddhist terrorism.

d. nonstate terrorism, ethnic terrorism, state-sponsored terrorism, and transnational terrorism.

Question type: applied

Page number: 246

56) The globalization of commerce has

a. encouraged a neorealist anti-terrorism movement sponsored by TNCs.

\*b. improved terrorists’ mobility.

c. created a self-determination movement in the Third World sponsored by the United States.

d. reduced terror attacks in capitalist countries.

Question type: conceptual

Page number: 234-235

57) Counterinsurgency and counterterrorism are strategies used in

\*a. the war on terrorism.

b. counterintelligence operations.

c. essential state-making activities.

d. Western imperialism.

Question type: factual

Page number: 245

58) A group of terrorists or intelligence operatives who remain dormant in a target country until ordered to carry out their mission is known as

a. an undercover operation.

\*b. a sleeper cell.

c. a clandestine operation or “black-ops” group.

d. a wake-up cell.

Question type: conceptual

Page number: 240

59) Economic explanations for terrorism rest on the assumption that

a. all terrorists are recruited from poor families.

\*b. a Western-dominated, globalized economy allows for great inequalities that must be remedied, possibly by violent means.

c. governments break the social contract with their citizens by encouraging outsourcing.

d. both b and c

Question type: conceptual

Page number: 238

60) The Shanghai Cooperation Organization

\*a. is group of authoritarian states seeking to combat terrorism.

b. was a creation of the Chinese government to legitimize its expansion into the South China Sea.

c. utilizes Kondratiev long-cycle models to explain the connections between globalization and terrorism.

d) none of the above

*Short-Answer Questions*

1. What is the Revolution in Military Affairs?
2. Define virtual war in 30 words or less.
3. Briefly, what is the media’s role in postmodern war?
4. Give three examples of sub-state conflict.
5. Briefly explain the difference between “old” and “new” wars.
6. Define collective security.
7. Name three causes of war and the theoretical paradigms that use them.
8. According to social constructivists, how do material things acquire meaning?
9. Define nuclear proliferation in 25 words or less.
10. What is meant by political and prestige benefits regarding nuclear weapons?
11. List the three core treaties that you think are the most important for limiting the spread and use of nuclear weapons and explain your answer.
12. What is vertical proliferation of nuclear weapons? What is horizontal proliferation?
13. What strategies do states use to combat transnational terrorist networks?
14. What do terrorism and globalization share?
15. What were the three factors that led to the birth of transnational terrorism?
16. What are the four types of terrorist groups?
17. What does the word “jihad” mean? Expand the definition beyond “holy war.”
18. Briefly, what is the difference between secular terrorism and sacred terrorism?
19. What are the five areas in which globalization technology has improved the capabilities of terrorist groups?
20. What are examples of new types of global actors involved in violent conflict?
21. Name three advantages the state has over terrorist groups in combating terrorism and why.
22. What are economic explanations for terrorism?
23. On what grounds is state violence justified, that are distinct from terrorism? What problems does this argument cause?
24. Why are definitions of terrorism so unsatisfactory?
25. Name three transnational terrorist networks.
26. Why can terms like terrorism, guerrilla warfare, and asymmetric conflict easily be confused?
27. Why did transnational terrorism develop after 1968?
28. How has hybrid warfare changed the way in which great powers engage in conflict in the sense of Clausewitz’s characterization of war?
29. What is materialism? How is it related to the spread of terrorism, according to those who link terrorism to cultural explanations?
30. Define postmodern or “new” terrorism.

*Essay Questions*

1. Is general war between “great powers” now obsolete?
2. How does globalization challenge traditional understandings of war?
3. What are the economic explanations for terrorism? Are they convincing?
4. Does contemporary war have a different role for women and children? How so?
5. Is the security dilemma always with us, or can it be mitigated?
6. What have been the major events in the diffusion of nuclear technology?
7. Should states like Israel, India, Iran, Pakistan, or North Korea be allowed to acquire or possess nuclear weapons? If so, why? If not, on what grounds? Are there any limits or exceptions to your answer?
8. What are the causes of terrorism? What are its motives?
9. Is there a difference between terrorism and state violence? Why?
10. Evaluate the effectiveness of current anti-terror strategies as pursued by the “coalition of the willing” and traditional law-enforcement agencies. Can the “war on terror” be won? If so, how? If not, why not?