

## **International Relations in the Era of Two World Wars (212)**

### **Tutorial Guidelines & Reading List**

#### **Overview**

The formal syllabus in the *Examination Regulations* defines the course content as:

The relations between the major powers; the twentieth-century origins of the First World War and the origins of the Second World War; war aims, strategies, and peace-making; the disintegration of war-time alliances; the League of Nations and the establishment of the United Nations; the impact of major political movements (Communism, Fascism, nationalism) on international society; monetary and economic developments as they affected international politics. Knowledge of events before 1900 and after 1947 will not be demanded, nor will questions be set on extra-European developments before 1914.

#### **Topics**

The departmental guidelines contain 12 topics, for which I have selected eight for us to cover below. I am willing to change one or two of these if they exclude something you really want to study. Please let me know if you wish to do this as soon as possible.

1. The Causes of the First World War
2. War Aims and the Paris Peace Conference
3. The Middle East in the Inter-War Period
4. The Russian Revolution and Comintern
5. The US and International Order in the Inter-War Years
6. The Far East in the Inter-War Years
7. The Rise of Hitler and the Coming of War in Europe
8. The Second World War: Security, Alliance and Diplomacy

#### **Essays Etc.**

You will write five essays over the term. You can choose what weeks you wish to write essays on. In the weeks when you do not write an essay, I'd still like you to write an essay plan, 1-2 sides of A4, with a bullet pointed argument, references to appropriate academics and events, and so forth.

*If you are writing an essay:* Essays are between 1500-2500 words, and contain citations. I know some tutors don't care about citations, but I think it's helpful to properly reference your work, it is particularly important in IR, will make your essays more useful for revision, and will help you gain familiarity with the literature for collections and finals. However, I am deeply uninterested in prescribing a particular citation style for you to use – anything comprehensible will be fine.

I am not fond of the practice of students having to read their essays out in tutorials. As such, you must e-mail your essay to me by **3pm the day before the tutorial** – that is your deadline. I will return marked essays back to you by the day after the tutorial.

*Free advice:* This may be obvious, but is worth highlighting. Good essays in IR need to show three crucial things: familiarity with the literature, use of ‘real world’ examples, and engagement with counter-arguments. So you need to read the views of academics that disagree with arguments you make, so you can address their objections, and not look foolish. The same goes for essay plans.

### **What Reading You Need To Do**

In each week, **all** the ‘Preliminary’ readings in my reading list below should be read regardless of whether you are writing an essay or not (with the possible exception of those that seem completely irrelevant for a particular essay question – there should be very few such cases). But reading them alone is not sufficient. You should ideally then read two to three further items of your choice from the Further Reading section. On all topics go and look for more reading on the departmental reading list when necessary.

I have given chapter or page references for many readings. Where I have not, this doesn’t mean you should read the whole book (unless I specify otherwise). Choose an interesting and useful chunk of it to read.

If you’ve any serious problems with the reading, or any other questions, then get in touch with me at [jonathan.leadermaynard@politics.ox.ac.uk](mailto:jonathan.leadermaynard@politics.ox.ac.uk). I expect us to avoid any occurrence of people missing deadlines for essays, but if there is some serious problem you *must* let me know well in advance so that we can see if there is a solution. I really hope, however, that this does not happen.

## **Reading List**

### **General Preparatory Reading (over the Holidays)**

Definitely: Joseph Nye, *Understanding International Conflicts* (2000), Ch. 2, 3 & 4

Definitely: Paul Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of Great Powers* (1989), Ch. 5 [though perhaps only the latter half of the chapter] & 6 [whole chapter]

Optionally: Sally Marks, *The Ebbing of European Ascendancy: An International History of the World, 1914-1945* (2002).

Optionally: Zara Steiner, *The Lights that Failed: European International History, 1919-1933* (2005; pb 2007); and *The Triumph of the Dark: European International History 1933-1939* (2011).

## Week One - The Causes of the First World War

### Essay Questions:

1. What are the major levels of explanation of the outbreak of the First World War, and which is most useful?
2. Was the outbreak of the First World War the result of the operation, or of the breakdown, of the balance of power?
3. How far were Germany and/or Austria-Hungary responsible for the First World War?
4. To what extent were the great powers in World War I 'realist'?

### CORE READING

- Christopher Clark, *The Sleepwalkers: How Europe Went to War in 1914* (2012) [definitely Ch. 7-12, Ch. 3-6 useful for deeper background]
- Hew Strachan, 'The Origins of the First World War' (Review Article), *International Affairs* (March 2014), pp. 429-39.
- P. Gellman, 'The Elusive Explanation: Balance of Power "Theory" and the Origins of World War I', *Review of International Studies*, 15 (1989).
- Tudor A. Onea, 'Between Dominance and Decline: Status Anxiety and Great Power Rivalry', *Review of International Studies* (January 2014), pp. 125-52. [As I write this, the article is not yet electronically available, but hopefully will be by the start of term.]
- Jack Snyder, *The Ideology of the Offensive: Military Decision Making and the Disasters of 1914* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984), [definitely Ch.1, then which country chapters interest you.]

### FURTHER READING

- Holger Afflerbach & David Stevenson (eds.), *An Improbable War? The Outbreak of World War I and European Political Culture Before 1914* (2007).
- James Joll and Gordon Martel, *The Origins of the First World War* (1992; pb 2007).
- P.W. Schroeder, 'The Nineteenth Century System: Balance of Power or Political Equilibrium?', *Review of International Studies*, 15 (1987)

### Germany

- Niall Ferguson, 'Germany and the Origins of the First World War: New Perspectives', *Historical Journal* (1992).
- Fritz Fischer, *World Power or Decline: The Controversy over Germany's Aims in the First World War* (1975).
- Fritz Fischer, *Germany's Aims in the First World War* (1967)
- W.J. Mommsen, 'Domestic Factors in German Foreign Policy before 1914', *Central European History*, (1973)

## **Week Two – War Aims and the Paris Peace Conferences**

### *Essay Questions:*

1. Assess critically the influence of Woodrow Wilson on war aims and on the Paris peace treaties.
2. Were German and other criticisms of the treaties justified?
3. How did British and French war aims change during the war and at Paris?

### **CORE READING**

- Macmillan, Margaret, *Peacemakers: The Paris Conference of 1919 and its Attempt to end War* (2001; pb 2003). [definitely Introduction and Ch. 1, 2 & 4, other chapters if they interest you.]
- Sally Marks, *The Illusion of Peace: International Relations in Europe 1918-1933* (2003), Ch. 1
- A. Lentin, ‘What Really Happened at Paris?’, review article in *Diplomacy and Statecraft*, 1, (1990).
- Ian Clark, ‘The Spoils of War and the Spoiling of Peace,’ *Journal of Contemporary History*, 38 (2003)
- Trygve Thrøntveit, ‘The Fable of the Fourteen Points: Woodrow Wilson and National Self-Determination’, *Diplomatic History* 35 (2011).

### **FURTHER READING**

- Manfred E. Boemeke, Gerald D. Feldman, and Elisabeth Glaser (eds), *The Treaty of Versailles: A Reassessment after 75 Years* (1998).
- John Maynard Keynes, *The Economic Consequences of the Peace* (1920, pb 2007)
- Alan Sharp, *The Versailles Settlement: Peacemaking in Paris, 1919* (1991).
- K. Burk, ‘Economic Diplomacy between the Wars’, *Historical Journal* (1981)

### **America & Wilson**

- Lloyd E. Ambrosius, *Woodrow Wilson and the American Diplomatic Tradition: The Treaty Fight in Perspective* (1987; pb 1990)
- Stephen Wertheim, ‘The League that Wasn’t: American Designs for a Legalist-Sanctionist League of Nations and the Intellectual Origins of International Organization, 1914-1920’, *Diplomatic History*, 35 (2011).

### **Germany**

- Gerhard Weinberg, *Germany, Hitler and World War II* (1995, pb 1996), Ch. 1 (‘The Defeat of Germany in 1918 and the European Balance of Power’).

### **Britain & France**

- D. Stevenson, ‘French War Aims and the American Challenge’, *Historical Journal*, (1979)
- Kathleen Burk, *Britain, America and the Sinews of War, 1914-1918* (1985)

## **Week Three – The Middle East in the Interwar Period**

### *Essay Questions:*

1. What were the special characteristics of the state system which replaced the Ottoman Empire at the end of the First World War?
2. In what sense can the inter-war period be described as ‘Britain’s Moment in the Middle East’?
3. Account for the failure to reconcile the conflicting claims of Arab and Jewish nationalism in Palestine in the inter-war period.

### **CORE READING**

- Avi Shlaim, *War and Peace in the Middle East: A Concise History* (1995, pb 1999), Intro and Ch. 1
- William L. Cleveland, *A History of the Modern Middle East* (2000), Ch. 9, 11, 12 & 13
- David Fromkin, *A Peace to End All Peace: The Fall of the Ottoman Empire and the Creation of the Modern Middle East* (1989, pb 2001 and 2009)
- Eugene Rogan, ‘The Emergence of the Middle East into the Modern State System’ in Louise Fawcett (ed), *The International Relations of the Middle East* (2005)
- Elizabeth Monroe, *Britain’s Moment in the Middle East, 1914-71* (1981)

### **FURTHER READING**

- Malcolm E. Yapp, *The Near East since the First World War*
- Carl L. Brown, *International Politics and the Middle East* (1984)

### **Britain**

- D. K. Fieldhouse, *Western Imperialism in the Middle East, 1914-1958* (2006, pb 2008)

### **Ottoman Collapse**

- Michael Provence, *The Great Syrian Revolt and the Rise of Arab Nationalism* (2005)
- Ryan Gingeras, *Sorrowful Shores: Violence, Ethnicity and the End of the Ottoman Empire, 1912-1923* (2011)
- Michael Reynolds, *Shattering Empires: The Clash and Collapse of the Ottoman and Russian Empires, 1908-1918* (2011)

### **Arab-Israeli Conflict**

- Benny Morris, *Righteous Victims: A History of the Zionist-Arab Conflict, 1881-1999* (2001)
- Christopher Sykes, *Cross-Roads to Israel: Palestine from Balfour to Bevin* (1967)

## **Week Four – Soviet Foreign Policy**

### *Essay Questions:*

1. How was the course of international politics affected by the doctrine of ‘Socialism in One Country’?
2. What was the role of the Comintern, and Communist parties abroad, in Soviet foreign policy?
3. What was the Soviet view of the international system and its institutions in the inter-war years? Did the Soviet government hold a consistent view of its own role in this system?
4. Does the theory of ‘realism’ adequately explain Soviet foreign policy from 1917 to 1941?

### **CORE READING**

- David Armstrong, *Revolution and World Order. The Revolutionary State in International Society* (1993).
- Adam B. Ulam, *Expansion and Co-existence: The History of Soviet Foreign Policy, 1917-1967* (1974)
- Keith Neilson, ‘Stalin’s Moustache: The Soviet Union and the Coming of War’, *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, 12 (2001).
- Michael Carley, ‘Behind Stalin’s Moustache: Pragmatism in Early Soviet Foreign Policy’, *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, 12 (2001)
- Teddy J. Uldricks, ‘Soviet Security Policy in the 1930s.’ In Gorodetsky, G. (ed), *Soviet Foreign Policy 1917-1991. A Retrospective* (1994), or Finney, P. (ed) *The Origins of WWII* (1997).

### **FURTHER READING**

- Robert C. Tucker, *Stalin in Power. The Revolution from Above, 1928-1941* (1990, pb 1992).
- Geoffrey Roberts, *The Soviet Union and the Origins of the Second World War* (pb 1995).
- Jane Degras (ed), *Soviet Documents on Foreign Policy*

### **Comintern**

- Fernando Claudin, *The Communist Movement: from Comintern to Cominform* (1975).
- Edward H. Carr, *The Twilight of the Comintern 1930-1935* (1982).

## **Week Five – The US and International Order in the Interwar Years**

### *Essay Questions:*

1. Was the USA isolationist? What were the domestic influences on US foreign policy-making?
2. Can the theory of 'realism' account for the foreign policy of the United States in the inter-war period?
3. In what respects was the US a world power in the inter-war years? Were its policies well adapted to its national interests?
4. What influences in the years 1937-41 took the US from isolationism to war?

### **CORE READING**

- K. Burk, 'The Lineaments of Foreign Policy: The United States and a "New World Order" 1919-39', *Journal of American Studies*, 26 (1992).
- Robert Dallek, Robert, *FDR and American Foreign Policy 1932-45* (1979)
- John A. Thompson, 'Conceptions of National Security and American Entry into World War II', *Diplomacy and Statecraft*, 16/14, 2005.
- A.A. Offner, 'Appeasement Revisited: The US, GB and Germany 1933-40', *Journal of American History*, 69 (1977-8)
- W.S. Cole, 'Roosevelt and Munich,' *Diplomatic History* (Winter 1999)

### **FURTHER READING**

- Michael H. Hunt, *Ideology and US Foreign Policy* (1987), Ch.5
- Brian McKercher, *Transition of Power: Britain's Loss of Global Pre-eminence to the United States, 1930-1945* (1999, pb 2006)
- Barbara Rearden Farnham, *Roosevelt and the Munich Crisis: A Study of Political Decision-Making* (1997, pb 2000)
- Frank C. Costigliola, *Awkward Dominion: American Political, Economic and Cultural Relations with Europe, 1919-1933* (1984, pb 1988)

### **Isolationism and World War II**

- Manfred Jonas, *Isolationism in America 1935-1941* (1966, pb 1990)
- Divine, Robert A., *The Reluctant Belligerent: American Entry into World War II* (1979)
- Offner, Arnold A., *The Origins of the Second World War: American Foreign Policy and World Politics, 1917-1941* (1975, pb 1986)

## **Week Six – The Far East in the Inter-War Years**

### *Essay Questions:*

1. Why did Anglo-Japanese relations deteriorate so badly after the First World War?
2. What were the main sources of ideology and decision-making in Japan? Explain the evolution of Japanese overseas expansionism from January 1931 to December 1941.
3. What options were open to China, the League of Nations, the European powers and the US in dealing with the Far Eastern crisis from Manchuria to Pearl Harbour?

### **CORE READING**

- William G. Beasley, *Japanese Imperialism, 1894-1945* (1987)
- Akira Iriye, *The Origins of the Second World War in Asia and the Pacific* (1987)
- Christopher Thorne, *The Limits of Foreign Policy: the West, the League of Nations and the Far Eastern Crisis* (1972).
- Aron Shai, 'China in World Affairs', *Int History Rev* vol. XV (1993)
- Ian Nish, *Japanese Foreign Policy in the Interwar Period* (2002)

### **FURTHER READING**

- Ian Nish (ed), *Anglo-Japanese Alienation 1919-52* (1982)
- James W. Morley (ed), *The Fateful Choice: Japan's Advance into South-East Asia* (1980)
- Dorothy Borg, *The United States and the Far Eastern Crisis, 1932-1937* (1964)
- Donald Jordan, *Chinese Boycotts versus Japanese Bombs: the Failure of China's "revolutionary diplomacy", 1931-32* (1991)
- Youli Sun, *China and the origins of the Pacific War, 1931-1941* (1993; pb 1996)
- Greg Kennedy, *Anglo-American Strategic Relations and the Far East, 1933-1939* (2002)
- Akira Iriye, 'Japanese Aggression and China's International Position, 1931-1949.' In *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 13 (1986)



## Week Seven – The Rise of Hitler and the Coming of War in Europe

### Essay Questions:

1. What was the impact of Hitler on German foreign policy 1933-41? How far can Germany's foreign policy be explained in terms of Hitler's intentions?
2. Was German foreign policy 1933-1942 realist?
3. What was 'appeasement'? Is it a useful concept? Can the appeasement of the 1930s be defended?
4. Was the Soviet Union the only power genuinely committed to 'collective security' in 1933-39?

### CORE READING

- PMH Bell, *The Origins of the Second World War in Europe* (1986) [The whole book – it's not too long.]
- Norman J.W. Goda, 'AJP Taylor, Adolf Hitler and the Origins of the Second World War', *Rev Int Hist* (1996) 97.
- Robert Boyce and Joseph A. Maiolo, *The Origins of World War Two: The Debate Continues* (2003)
- Donald Cameron Watt, *How War Came: The Immediate Origins of the Second World War, 1938-1939* (1989; pb 1990).
- Ian Kershaw, *The Nazi Dictatorship: Problems and Perspectives of Interpretation* (2000), Ch. 6 ['Nazi foreign policy']
- Sidney Aster, 'Appeasement: Before and After Revisionism', *Diplomacy and Statecraft*, 19 (2008).

### FURTHER READING

- Alan J. P. Taylor, *The Origins of the Second World War* (1962)
- Ian Kershaw, 'Hitler and the Uniqueness of Nazism', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 39 (2004).
- Tucker, Robert C., *Stalin in Power. The Revolution from Above, 1928-1941* (1991)
- Cassels, A., 'Was there a Fascist Foreign Policy?' *Int History Review*, (1983) [mainly on Italy]
- Richard J. Overy, *The Dictators: Hitler's Germany and Stalin's Russia* (2004), Ch. 12
- Paul Schroeder, 'Historical Reality vs. Neo-realist Theory', *International Security* (1994)

## Week Eight – The Second World War: Security, Alliance and Diplomacy

### Essay Questions:

1. How far were the war aims of the various victorious Powers influenced by the 'lessons' of the inter-war period?
2. How far was military strategy in the Second World War influenced by the lessons of the First World War?
3. 'With the defeat of the Reich ... there will remain only two Great Powers capable of confronting each other - the United States and Soviet Russia. The laws of both history and geography will compel these two powers to a trial of strength, either military or in the field of economics and ideology.' (Hitler, 1945). Is this an adequate explanation of the advent of the Cold War?
4. Do you agree that in 1944-47, as in 1939-41, Stalin unwisely over-played his hand?

### CORE READING

- Ian Kerhaw, 'Did Hitler Miss his Chance in 1940?', in Gregor, Neil (ed), *Nazism, War and Genocide* (2005; pb 2008).
- Victor Rothwell, *War Aims in the Second World War. The War Aims of the Major Belligerents, 1939-1945* (2006; pb 2006).
- Roger Chickering, Stig Förster, Bernd Greiner (eds) *A World at Total War: Global Conflict and the Politics of Destruction, 1937-1945* (2005) [definitely Ch. 2, 5 & 6, other chapters may be of interest, Ch.15 & 16 on aerial bombing are excellent if you're interested in that]
- Richard Overy, *Why the Allies Won* (1995; pb 2006).

### FURTHER READING

#### War Aims and Strategy

- Ernest May, 'Lessons' from the Past: Use and Misuse of History in American Foreign Policy, (1973)
- Jonathan Haslam, 'Stalin and the German Invasion of Russia in 1941: A Failure of the Reasons of State', *International Affairs*, (2000)
- Robert Dallek, *FDR and American Foreign Policy 1932-45* (1979)

#### Origins of the Cold War

- John Lewis Gaddis, 'The Emerging Post-Revisionist Synthesis on the Origins of the Cold War', *Diplomatic History*, (1983)
- J.L. Richardson, 'Cold War Revisionism: a Critique', *World Politics* (1972)
- Anne Deighton (ed), *Britain and the First Cold War* (1990).
- G. Lundestad, 'Empire by Invitation? The United States and Western Europe, 1945-1952', *Journal of Peace Research*, 23 (1986)

#### Soviet Union

- R.C. Raack, *Stalin's Drive to the West, 1938-1945: The Origins of the Cold War* (1995)
- Adam B. Ulam, *Expansion and Coexistence: The History of Soviet Foreign Policy* (1974).
- W. Taubman, *Stalin's American Policy: From Entente to Détente to Cold War* (1982; pb 1985).