UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD
Department of Politics and International Relations

Honour School of Philosophy, Politics, and Economics
Honour School of History and Politics

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

Academic Year 2016-17

Course Providers: Prof Edward Keene (Christ Church)

Please contact Prof Keene at Christ Church with suggested additions to, or corrections of, items on this list or with any enquiries about teaching for the paper.

Subject to departmental approval, certain graduate students and others may teach the course. The names and colleges of such tutors are printed in the *Tutorial Register*, a copy of which is available in electronic form at the Politics Department's web site.

Course Syllabus:
The formal syllabus in the *Examination Regulations* states:

> 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.
>
> *Examination Decrees and Regulations.*

Content and Structure
The era of the two world wars has had a profound influence on the subject of international relations. The purpose of this paper is to study central questions in the international history of the period 1900 to 1947, and to discuss them in relation to the major theoretical issues which they raise. Twelve topics are listed, of which students would normally choose eight.

The first topic on the causes of the First World War introduces alternative approaches to the subject: levels of analysis, the operation of the balance of power, state level explanations and processes of decision-making. The second topic looks at the way in which war aims expanded under the strain of total war, and the influence and limits of the new, idealist agenda for international relations championed by Woodrow Wilson. The fourth topic introduces the Soviet view of the international system and considers the extent to which the Soviet Union diverged from 'realist' norms of state behaviour. Three topics are concerned with the causes of instability in different regions: the conflict between imperialism and rival nationalisms in the Middle East (topic 3); the problems of West European security in the period 1919-1933 and the potential of a

new concert of powers, forming around the Locarno *détente* (topic 5); the external and internal problems of the independent states of Eastern Europe (topic 6). Topic 7 examines the nature of isolationism in the United States and the issues for international relations theory which it raises. The second half of the paper is concerned with the disintegration of the international order established after 1919, examining the causes and consequences of the great depression (topic 10), the impact of Japanese imperialism, Nazism and Fascism (topics 8 and 11), the failure to achieve 'collective security' through international organization in the League of Nations (topic 9) or to 'appease' the revisionist powers by negotiation (topic 11). The final topic (12) acts as a way of drawing together this paper and as a bridge to the paper in *International Relations in the era of the Cold War.* It considers the ways in which the war aims of the victorious powers during the Second World War were influenced by what they perceived to be the lessons of the inter-war period, their plans for the peace, including the foundation of the United Nations Organization, and the differences between the security concepts of the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union leading to the Cold War.

The reading list covers the following twelve topics:

1. The Causes of the First World War
2. War Aims and the Paris Peace Conference
3. The Middle East in the Inter-War Years
4. The Russian Revolution and Comintern
5. Western Europe: The Weimar Republic, Britain, France and the US
6. Central and Eastern Europe
7. The US and International Order in the Inter-War Years
8. The Far East in the Inter-War Years
9. The League of Nations and Collective Security
10. The International Economy in the Inter-War Years
11. The Rise of Hitler and the Coming of War in Europe
12. The Second World War: Security, Alliance and Diplomacy

Objectives:
The course objectives are:

(a) To enable students to gain an understanding of the main elements of International Relations in the Era of Two World Wars.

(b) To gain a good knowledge and understanding of the scholarly literature in the field.

(c) To enable students to use data drawn from the large resources available (*inter alia*) in the Bodleian Library to form their own interpretations of the main issues and themes of this period, and to refine the skill of thinking rigorously and critically for themselves.

Teaching arrangements
The course is taught through core lectures and tutorials. Tutorial teaching for the course is

arranged by each undergraduate's College tutor. The normal arrangement is eight tutorials during one of the three terms of the second year of the course, for which students write six essays, though the precise arrangements are the responsibility of the tutor concerned. Students are strongly advised to attend the series of twelve core lectures. These will be held in 2016/2017 on Mondays at 11 a.m. in Michaelmas and Hilary Terms in the Examination Schools. College tutors will give guidance on the relevance to this course of other lecture series listed for each term in the termly *Lecture List*, available from the Politics Department's web-site.

Course assessment

The course is assessed by means of a three-hour unseen examination according to the provisions established in the *Examination Decrees and Regulations*, a copy of which has been issued to each undergraduate student in the Politics Department. Further details are available in the *PPE Handbook*, and *Essential Information for Students*, copies of which have also been issued to each undergraduate and are also available on the Politics Department's web-site.

Preparatory Reading:

These books will contain material relevant to many, or most, of the following topics (even though they will not always be mentioned under the sections on specific topics):

Bartlett, Christopher John, *The Global Conflict, The International Rivalry of the Great Powers 1880-1970* (1984).

Bell, Philip M.H., *The Origins of the Second World War in Europe* (1986; pb 2007).

Carr, Edward H., *International Relations Between the Two World Wars* (1965; pb 1990).

Carr, Edward H., *The Twenty Years' Crisis, 1919-1939* (1939; pb 2001).

Finney, Patrick (ed), *The Origins of the Second World War* (1997).

Joll, James, *Europe since 1870* (1976; pb 1990).

Kissinger, Henry A., *Diplomacy* (1994; pb 2003).

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

Roberts, John M., *Europe, 1880-1945* (3rd edn., 2000).

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

If you have not studied International Relations or International History before, you should read one or more of the following as a basic guide:

Dunne, Timothy, Kurki, Milja & Smith, Steve (eds.), *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity*, Third Edition (2013).

Nye, Joseph, *Understanding International Conflicts: An Introduction to Theory and History* (2000; pb 2008). ##

Trachtenberg, Marc, *The Craft of International History: A Guide to Method* (2006).

Other useful surveys of the period include:

Ahmann, Rolf, Birke, Adolf M., Howard, M., *The Quest for Stability: Problems of West European Security, 1918-1957* (1993).

Andrew, Christopher M. and Noakes, Jeremy, *Intelligence and International Relations* (1987).
Best, A., Hanhimaki, J.M., Maiolo, J.A. and Schulze, K.E. *International History of the Twentieth Century and Beyond* (2008).
Casey, Steven and Wright, Jonathan (eds), *Mental Maps of the Era of Two World Wars* (2008).
Craig, Gordon A. and George, Alexander L., *Force and Statecraft: Diplomatic Problems of Our Time* (1983; pb 2006).
Craig, Gordon A. and Gilbert, Felix (eds), *The Diplomats, 1919-39* (1953; pb 1994).
Dunne, Tim, Cox, Michael and Booth, Ken (eds), *The Eighty Years' Crisis: International Relations, 1919-1999* (1998).
Duroselle, Jean-Baptiste, *Histoire des Relations Internationales de 1919 à 1945* (2000).
Gerwarth, Robert (ed), *Twisted Paths. Europe 1914-1945* (2007).
Girault, René, and Frank, Robert, *Turbulente Europe et Nouveaux Mondes, 1914-1941* (2004).
Hinsley, F.H., *Power and the Pursuit of Peace* (1962; pb 1980).
Kennedy, Paul M., *The Rise and Fall of Great Powers* (1987; pb 1989).
Kindleberger, Charles P., *The World in Depression, 1929-1939* (1987; pb 1992).
Markwell, Donald, *John Maynard Keynes and International Relations: Economic Paths to War and Peace* (2006).
Mazower, Mark, *Dark Continent: Europe's Twentieth Century* (1998; pb 2003).
Otte, Thomas G and Pagedas, Constantine A., *Personalities, War and Diplomacy* (1997).
Paret, Peter (ed), *Makers of Modern Strategy from Machiavelli to the Nuclear Age* (1986; pb 1992).
Ross, Graham, *The Great Powers and the Decline of the European States System, 1914-1945* (1983).
Wilson, Peter, and Long, David (eds), *Thinkers of the Twenty Years Crisis* (1995).

Note on the Reading List:
This is a Departmental Reading List that is designed to provide a broad and general coverage of the paper. Especially given the large numbers taking the paper and the demands on libraries, it contains many more items than an individual student would be expected to read. The reading is listed alphabetically by topic. Individual tutors will provide guidance on which readings are most appropriate.

= Essential Reading
*** = Theoretical Reading**

1. CAUSES OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR

(a) What are the major levels of explanation of the outbreak of the First World War?

(b) Was the outbreak of the First World War the result of the operation, or of the breakdown, of the balance of power?

(c) How far were Germany and/or Austria-Hungary responsible for the First World War?

Core Reading

Calleo, David, *The German Problem Reconsidered: Germany and the World Order 1870 to the Present Day* (1978; pb 1980).
Clark, Cristopher, *The Sleepwalkers: How Europe Went to War in 1914* (2012). ##
Evans, R.J.W. and Pogge von Strandmann, Hartmut (eds), *The Coming of the First World War*

(1988; pb 1990).

Fischer, Fritz, *World Power or Decline: The Controversy over Germany's Aims in the First World War* (1975).

Hamilton, Richard and Herwig, Holger (eds), *Decisions for War*, 1914-1917 (2005).

Joll, James and Martel, Gordon, *The Origins of the First World War* (1992; pb 2007). ##

Otte, Thomas G., *July Crisis: The World's Descent into War, Summer 1914* (2014).

Steiner, Zara and Keith Neilson, *Britain and the Origins of the First World War* (2nd ed, 2003).

Stevenson, David, *Armaments and the Coming of War. Europe 1904-1914* (1996; pb 2000).

Strachan, Hew, *The First World War*, Vol. 1, *To Arms* (2001).

Strachan, Hew, 'The Origins of the First World War' (Review Article), *International Affairs* (March 2014), pp. 429-39.

Williamson, Samuel R., *Austria-Hungary and the Origins of the First World War* (1991).

(a) Levels of Analysis

Hollis, Martin and Smith, Steve, *Explaining and Understanding International Relations* (1990; pb 1991). *

Nye, Joseph, *Understanding International Conflicts: An Introduction to Theory and History* (2000; pb 2008), chapter 2. *

Russett, Bruce, and Starr, Harvey, *World Politics: The Menu for Choice*, Part 1 (1995, pb 2005). *

Singer, J.D., 'The Level-of-Analysis Problem in International Relations', in Knorr, Klaus and Verba, S. (eds), *The International System* (1961), repr. in Rosenau, James D., *International Politics and Foreign Policy* (1969).

(b) Balance of Power

Craig, Gordon A. and George, Alexander L., *Force and Statecraft: Diplomatic Problems of Our Time* (2006).

Gellman, P., 'The Elusive Explanation: Balance of Power "Theory" and the Origins of World War I', *Review of International Studies*, 15 (1989).

Jervis, R., 'A Political Science Perspective on the Balance of Power and Concert', *American Historical Review* (1992). *

Schweller, Randal, *Unanswered Threats: Political Constraints on the Balance of Power* (2006; pb 2007)

Walt, Stephen M., *The Origins of Alliances* (1987; pb 1990).*

Wight, Martin, *Power Politics* (1978; pb 1995), chapter 16 ('The Balance of Power.') *

Further Reading

Afflerbach, Holger & Stevenson, David (eds.), *An Improbable War? The Outbreak of World War I and European Political Culture Before 1914* (2007).

Ferguson, N., 'Germany and the Origins of the First World War: New Perspectives', *Historical Journal* (1992).

Fischer, Fritz, *Germany's Aims in the First World War* (1967). ##

Foley, Robert, *German Strategy and the Path to Verdun: Erich von Falkenhayn and the Development of Attrition, 1870-1916* (2005).

Geiss, Imanuel, *July 1914, The Outbreak of the First World War: Selected Documents* (1967; pb 1974).

Hamilton, Richard and Herwig, Holger (eds), *The Origins of World War One* (2003).

Hewitson, Mark, *Germany and the Origins of the First World War* (2004).

Howard, Michael, *The Continental Commitment: Britain's Defence Policy During the Twentieth*

Century (1972; pb 2005).
Keiger, John F.V., *France and the Origins of the First World War* (1983).
Kennedy, Paul M., *The Rise of the Anglo-German Antagonism, 1860-1914* (1980; pb 1987).
Koch, Hans W., *The Origins of the First World War* (1972; pb 1991).
Langdon, John, *July 1914: The Long Debate, 1918-1990* (1993).
Lieven, Dominic C.B., *Russia and the Origins of the First World War* (1983).
May, Ernest R. (ed), *Knowing One's Enemies. Intelligence Assessment before the Two World Wars* (1984; pb 1986).
McMeekin, Sean, *The Russian Origins of the First World War* (2011).
Miller, Sean E., Lynn-Jones, S.M. and Van Evera, S. (eds), *Military Strategy and the Origins of the First World War* (1991).
Mombauer, Annika, *The Origins of the First World War: Controversies and Consensus* (2002).
Mommsen, W.J., 'Domestic Factors in German Foreign Policy before 1914', *Central European History*, (1973).
Onea, Tudor A., 'Between Dominance and Decline: Status Anxiety and Great power Rivalry', *Review of International Studies* (January 2014), pp. 125-52.
Rotberg, Robert, Raab, Theodore K. et al, *The Origin and Prevention of Major Wars* (1989).
Schöllgen, Gregor, *Escape into War? The Foreign Policy of Imperial Germany* (1990).
Schroeder, P. W., 'Alliances, 1815-1914: Weapons of Power and Tools of Management' in Klaus Knorr (ed), *Historical Dimensions of National Security Problems* (1976).
Schroeder, P.W., 'The Nineteenth Century System: Balance of Power or Political Equilibrium?', *Review of International Studies*, 15 (1987).
Schroeder, P.W., 'Economic Integration and the European International System in the Era of World War I', *American Historical Review*, 98 (1993).
Trachtenberg, Marc, *History and Strategy* (1991; pb 1992), chapter 2 ('The Coming of the First World War').
White, John Albert, *Transition to Global Rivalry* (2002).
Wilson, Keith (ed.), *Decisions for War* (1995).
Winter, Jay (ed.), *Cambridge History of the First World War*, Three Vols. (2014).

2. WAR AIMS AND THE PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE

(a) Assess critically the influence of Woodrow Wilson on war aims and on the Paris peace treaties.

(b) How did British and French war aims change during the war and at Paris?

(c) Were German and other criticisms of the treaties justified?

Core Reading

Ambrosius, Lloyd E., *Woodrow Wilson and the American Diplomatic Tradition: The Treaty Fight in Perspective* (1987; pb 1990). ##
Boemeke, Manfred E., Feldman, Gerald D., and Glaser, Elisabeth (eds), *The Treaty of Versailles: A Reassessment after 75 Years* (1998). ##
Clark, Ian, 'The Spoils of War and the Spoiling of Peace,' *Journal of Contemp History*, 38, (2003).
Keynes, John Maynard, *The Economic Consequences of the Peace* (1920, pb 2007). ##

Lentin, A., 'What Really Happened at Paris?', review article in *Diplomacy and Statecraft*, 1, (1990).
Macmillan, Margaret, *Peacemakers: The Paris Conference of 1919 and its Attempt to end War* (2001; pb 2003).
Marks, Sally, *The Illusion of Peace: International Relations in Europe 1918-1933* (2003), chapter 1 ##
Nicolson, Harold, *Peacemaking 1919* (1933, pb 2001).
Sharp, Alan, *The Versailles Settlement: Peacemaking in Paris, 1919* (1991). ##
Steiner, Zara, *The Lights that Failed: European International History, 1919-1933* (2005; pb 2007). ##
Stevenson, David, *The First World War and International Politics* (1988; pb 2001).

(a) Wilson

Ambrosius, Lloyd E., *Wilsonian Statecraft: Theory and Practice of Liberal Internationalism during World War I* (1993), esp. Introduction [historiographical claims].
Ambrosius, Lloyd E., *Wilsonianism: Woodrow Wilson and His Legacy in American Foreign Relations* (2002).
Cooper, John Milton, *Breaking the Heart of the World: Woodrow Wilson and the Fight for the League of Nations* (2001).
Cooper, John Milton (ed.), *Reconsidering Woodrow WIlson* (2008).
Hodgson, Godfrey, *Woodrow Wilson's Right Hand: The Life of Colonel Edward M. House* (2006; pb 2008).
Hoffmann, Stanley, *Janus and Minerva. Essays in the Theory and Practice of International Politics* (pb. 1987), chapter 18 ('Liberalism and International Affairs') *
Knock, Thomas J., *To End All Wars. Woodrow Wilson and the Quest for a New World Order* (1992; pb 1995).
Link, Arthur S., *Woodrow Wilson: Revolution, War and Peace* (1979; pb 1985).
Mayer, Arno J., *Politics and Diplomacy of Peacemaking* (1967). (See review by Lloyd Ambrosius in *Diplomatic History* [1977]).
Ninkovich, Frank, *The Wilsonian Century. U.S. Foreign Policy since 1900* (1999; pb 2001).
Pierce, Anne R. *Woodrow Wilson and Harry Truman* (2003; pb 2007).
Steigerwald, D., 'The Reclamation of Woodrow Wilson', *Diplomatic History*, 23 (1999).
Throntveit, Trygve, 'The Fable of the Fourteen Points: Woodrow Wilson and National Self-Determination', *Diplomatic History* 35 (2011).
Tucker, Robert, *Woodrow Wilson and the Great War: Reconsidering America's neutrality* (2007).
Wertheim, Stephen, '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).

(b) Britain and France

Burk, Kathleen, *Britain, America and the Sinews of War, 1914-1918* (1985).
Dockrill, Michael and Fisher, John, *The Paris Peace Conference 1919: Peace Without Victory?* (2001).
Goldstein, Erik, *Winning the Peace: British Diplomatic Strategy. Peace Planning and the Paris Peace Conference, 1916-1920* (1991).
Lentin, A., *Lloyd George and the Lost Peace: From Versailles to Hitler, 1919-1940* (2001).
McDougall, Walther A., *France's Rhineland Diplomacy, 1914-1924* (1978).
Newton, Douglas, *British Policy and the Weimar Republic, 1918-1919* (1997).
Rothwell, Victor H., *British War Aims and Peace Diplomacy 1914-18* (1971).
Stevenson, David, *French War Aims against Germany 1914-1919* (1982).

Stevenson, D., 'French War Aims and the American Challenge', *Historical Journal*, (1979).
Temperley, Harold W.V. (ed), *A History of the Peace Conference of Paris* (1920), vol. 1, chapter 5 ('Public and Official War Aims').

(c) Germany and Criticisms of the Treaties

Burk, K., 'Economic Diplomacy between the Wars', *Historical Journal* (1981). ##
Calleo, David, *The German Problem Reconsidered: Germany and the World Order 1870 to the Present Day* (1978, pb 1980), chapter 3.
Fried, Marrin B, 'Brockdorff-Rantzan and the Struggle for a just peace', *Diplomacy and Statecraft*, 16/2, 2005.
Hardach, Gerd, *The First World War 1914-1918* (1977, pb 1992) esp. chapters 1, 8 to end (History of the World Economy in the 20th Century).
Kent, Bruce, *The Spoils of War: The Politics, Economics and Diplomacy of Reparations 1918-1932* (1989, pb 1991).
Kindleberger, Charles P., *A Financial History of Western Europe* (1984, pb 2007), chapter 3.
Mantoux, Etienne, *The Carthaginian Peace* (1946, pb 1978).
Schroeder, Hans-Jürgen (ed), *Confrontation and Co-operation: Germany and the United States in the Era of World War I, 1900-1924* (1993).
Trachtenberg, Marc, *Reparations and World Order: France and European Economic Diplomacy 1916-1923* (1980).
Weinberg, Gerhard, *Germany, Hitler and World War II* (1995, pb 1996), chapter 1 ('The Defeat of Germany in 1918 and the European Balance of Power').
Wheeler-Bennett, John W., *Brest Litovsk: The Forgotten Peace* (1938, pb 1971).

3. THE MIDDLE EAST IN THE INTER-WAR PERIOD

(a) What were the special characteristics of the state system which replaced the Ottoman Empire at the end of the First World War?

(b) In what sense can the inter-war period be described as 'Britain's Moment in the Middle East'?

(c) Account for the failure to reconcile the conflicting claims of Arab and Jewish nationalism in Palestine in the inter-war period.

Core Reading

Brown, L. Carl, *International Politics and the Middle East* (1984). ##
Cohen, Michael J. 'The Superpowers in the Middle East', *Int History Rev,* vol. XVII (1995) 339.
Fieldhouse, D. K., *Western Imperialism in the Middle East, 1914-1958* (2006, pb 2008).
Fromkin, David, *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). ##
Gingeras, Ryan, *Sorrowful Shores: Violence, Ethnicity and the End of the Ottoman Empire, 1912-1923* (2011).
Monroe, Elizabeth, *Britain's Moment in the Middle East, 1914-71* (1981). ##
Morris, Benny, *Righteous Victims: A History of the Zionist-Arab Conflict, 1881-1999* (1999, pb 2001).
Rogan, Eugene, 'The Emergence of the Middle East into the Modern State System' in Louise

Fawcett (ed), *The International Relations of the Middle East* (2005).##
Shlaim, Avi, *Politics of Partition: King Abdullah, the Zionists and Palestine* (1990, pb 1998).
Shlaim, Avi, *War and Peace in the Middle East: A Concise History* (1995, pb 1999). ##
Sykes, Christopher, *Cross-Roads to Israel: Palestine from Balfour to Bevin* (1967). ##
Yapp, Malcolm E., *The Near East since the First World War* (1991, pb 1996). ##

Further Reading

American Historical Review, (Special Issue, December 1991), esp. articles by Khalidi and Reich.
Anderson, Mathew S., *The Eastern Question 1774-1923* (1966, pb 1966).
Antonius, George, *The Arab Awakening* (1938, pb 2001).
Brown, Carl, *Imperial Legacy: The Ottoman Imprint on the Balkans and Middle East* (1996, pb 1997).
Bullard, Sir Reader, *Britain and the Middle East* (3rd. edn., 1964).
Cohen, Michael J., *The Origins and Evolution of the Arab-Zionist Conflict* (1987, pb 1992).
Dann, Uriel (ed), *The Great Powers in the Middle East, 1919-1939* (1988).
Darwin, John, *Britain, Egypt and the Middle East: Imperial Policy in the Aftermath of War 1918-22* (1981).
Friedman, Isaiah, *Palestine: A Twice Promised Land? The British, the Arabs and Zionism, 1915-1920* (2000).
Halliday, Fred. *The Middle East in International Relations: Power, Politics and Ideology* (2005).
Kedourie, Elie, *In the Anglo-Arab Labyrinth: The McMahon-Husayn Correspondence and its Interpretations, 1914-1939* (1976, pb 2000).
Khalidi, Walid (ed), *From Haven to Conquest: Readings in Zionism and the Palestine Problem Until 1948* (1971, pb 1987).
Levene, M., 'The Balfour Declaration: a Case of Mistaken Identity', *English Historical Review* (1992).
Lockman, Zachary, *Contending Visions of the Middle East* (2004; pb 2004).
Manela, Erez, 'The Wilsonian Moment and the Rise of Anticolonial Nationalism: the Case of Egypt' *Diplomacy and Statecraft*, 12, (2001).
Mansfield, Peter, *The Ottoman Empire and its Successors* (1973).
Mansfield, Peter, *A History of the Middle East* (1991, pb 2003).
Nevakivi, Jukka, *Britain, France and the Arab Middle East, 1914-20* (1969).
Owen, Roger, *State, Power and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East* (1991, pb 2003).
Paris, Timothy J., *Britain, The Hashemites and Arab Rule, 1920-1925: The Sherifian Solution* (2003).
Provence, Michael, *The Great Syrian Revolt and the Rise of Arab Nationalism* (2005).
Reynolds, Michael, *Shattering Empires: The Clash and Collapse of the Ottoman and Russian Empires, 1908-1918* (2011).
Yapp, Malcolm E., *The Making of the Modern Near East, 1792-1923* (1987), chapters 5 and 6.
Yergin, Daniel, *The Prize: The Epic Quest for Oil, Money and Power* (1991, pb 1993).
Woodward, David R. *Hell in the Holy Land* (2006).

4. SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY

(a) How was the course of international politics affected by the doctrine of 'Socialism in One Country'?

(b) What was the role of the Comintern, and Communist parties abroad, in Soviet foreign policy?

(c) 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?

(d) Does the theory of `realism' adequately explain Soviet foreign policy from 1917 to 1941?

Core Reading

Armstrong, David, *Revolution and World Order. The Revolutionary State in International Society* (1993). ## *

Degras, Jane (ed), *Soviet Documents on Foreign Policy* (1951-53).

Gorodetsky, Gabriel, *Grand Delusion: Stalin and the German Invasion of Russia* (1999, pb 2001).

Haslam, Jonathan, *The Soviet Union and the Struggle for Collective Security in Europe, 1933-39* (1984).

Jacobson, Jon, *When the Soviet Union Entered World Politics* (1994).

Mawdsley, Evan, *The Russian Civil War* (1987, pb 2008).

Mawdsley, Evan. *Thunder in the East* (1993; pb 2007).

Neilson, Keith, *Britain, Soviet Russia and the Collapse of the Versailles Order* (2005).

Overy, Richard, *Russia's War* (1997, pb 1999).

Roberts, Geoffrey, *The Soviet Union and the Origins of the Second World War* (pb 1995). ##

Saul, Norman, E., *Friends or Foes? The United States and Soviet Russia 1921-1941* (2006). ##

Service, Robert, *Lenin: A Biography* (2000, pb 2002).

Tucker, Robert C., *Stalin in Power. The Revolution from Above, 1928-1941* (1990, pb 1992).

Ulam, Adam B., *Expansion and Co-existence: The History of Soviet Foreign Policy, 1917-1967* (1974).

Uldricks, Teddy J. '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).

(b) Comintern

Carr, Edward H., *The Twilight of the Comintern 1930-1935* (1982).

Claudin, Fernando, *The Communist Movement: from Comintern to Cominform* (1975). ##

Deakin, Frederick W., Shukman, Harold and Willetts, H., *A History of World Communism* (1975).

Degras, Jane (ed), *The Communist International 1919-43: Documents and Commentary*, 3 vols. (1956-65).

Joll, James, *The Second International 1889-1914* (2nd edn., 1974, pb 1999) .

McDermott, Kevin and Agnew, J., *The Comintern: A History of International Communism from Lenin to Stalin* (1996).

McLane, Charles, *Soviet Policy and the Chinese Community, 1931-1946* (1958).

McMeekin, Sean, *The Red Millionaire: A Political Biography of Willi Muenzenberg, Moscow's Secret Propaganda Tsar in the West, 1917-1940* (2004).

Thorpe, Andrew, *The British Communist Party and Moscow, 1920-1943* (2000).

(d) Realism

Hoffmann, Stanley, *Janus and Minerva. Essays in the Theory and Practice of International Politics* (pb. 1987), chapter 4 ('Hans Morgenthau: The Limits and Influence of "Realism"').*

Keohane, R., 'Realism, Neorealism and the Study of World Politics' in Robert O. Keohane, ed, *Neorealism and Its Critics* (1986). * ##

Morgenthau, Hans, *Politics among Nations* (1993, pb 2005).*

Schweller, Randall, *Deadly Imbalances: Tripolarity and Hitler's Strategy of World Conquest* (1998).

Further Reading

Avineri, Shlomo, 'Marxism and Nationalism', *Journal of Contemporary History*, (1991).

Best, Antony, '"We Are Virtually at War with Russia": Britain and the Cold War in East Asia, 1923-40', *Cold War History* 12 (2012).

Carley, Michael, 'Behind Stalin's Moustache: Pragmatism in Early Soviet Foreign Policy', *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, 12 (2001).

Carr, Edward H., *German-Soviet Relations between the Two World Wars, 1919-39* (1951, pb 2001).

Daniels, Robert, *A Documentary History of Communism*, vol. 2 (1984, pb 1986).

Dirlik, Arif, *The Origins of Chinese Communism* (1989).

Erickson, John, *The Soviet High Command 1918-1941* (1962, pb 2001).

Fink, Carole, Frohn, Axel and Heideking, Jürgen, *Genoa, Rapallo and European Reconstruction in 1922* (1991, pb 2002).

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5. WESTERN EUROPE: THE WEIMAR REPUBLIC, BRITAIN, FRANCE AND THE US—TREATY ENFORCEMENT AND REVISION

(a) Why, despite its military power, was French policy towards Germany unsuccessful between 1919 and 1924?

(b) Assess the different views held by France, Britain and the United States about the German problem in the period 1924-1933.

(c) 'The Dawes Plan and the treaties of Locarno committed Germany to the peaceful settlement of disputes. They worked well until they were swept away by the depression.' Do you agree?

(d) Were the revisionist aims of Weimar foreign policy incompatible with European security?

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6. CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

(a) Why did the states of Central and Eastern Europe find it so difficult to form adequate defensive alliances between the Wars?

(b) Assess the handling of minority problems in Central and Eastern Europe, 1919-45.

(c) Compare the Czech and Polish approach to international politics, 1919-45.

(d) What assets did the Soviet Union deploy, and what obstacles did it encounter, in realising its policies towards East-Central Europe, 1939-47?

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7. THE US AND INTERNATIONAL ORDER IN THE INTER-WAR YEARS

(a) Was the USA isolationist? What were the domestic influences on US foreign policy-making?

(b) In what respects was the US a world power in the inter-war years? Were its policies well adapted to its national interests?

(c) Can the theory of 'realism' account for the foreign policy of the United States in the inter-war period?

(d) What influences in the years 1937-41 took the US from isolationism to war?

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8. THE FAR EAST IN THE INTER-WAR YEARS

(a) What was the impact in the Far East of the peace settlement and the Washington conference of 1921-2? Were Chinese and Japanese perceptions of discrimination and inequality justified?

(b) 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.

(c) 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?

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9. THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND COLLECTIVE SECURITY

(a) Assess the League's impact on the conduct of international relations. Were its failures intrinsic to its Covenant and organisation?

(b) Did the 1925 Locarno Agreements and the 1928 Kellogg-Briand Pact strengthen or weaken the League?

(c) Why, between the wars, was so much effort devoted, with so little result, to the pursuit of disarmament?

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10. THE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMY IN THE INTER-WAR PERIOD

(a) What were the main consequences of World War I for the structure of the international economy?

(b) Can the theory of 'hegemonic decline' account for the rapid deterioration of international economic relations from the late 1920's?

(c) What relationship is there between the economic and the political collapse of the inter-war international order?

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11. THE RISE OF HITLER AND THE COMING OF WAR IN EUROPE

(a) 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?

(b) What was 'appeasement'? Is it a useful concept? Can the appeasement of the 1930s be defended?

(c) Was the Soviet Union the only power genuinely committed to 'collective security' in 1933-39?

(d) Assess Italy's influence on international politics, 1935-41.

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(c) Soviet Union

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12. THE SECOND WORLD WAR: SECURITY, ALLIANCE AND DIPLOMACY

(a) How far were the war aims of the various victorious Powers influenced by the `lessons' of the inter-war period?

(b) How far was military strategy in the Second World War influenced by the lessons of the First World War?

(c) `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?

(d) Consider the following perspectives on the collapse of the Grand Alliance:

(i) `Why did you Americans wait till right now to begin opposing us in the Balkans and Eastern Europe? You should have done this three years ago. Now it's too late and your complaints only arouse suspicion here.' (Litvinov, June 1945).

(ii) `We must not let British balance-of-power manipulations determine whether and when the U.S.A. gets into war ... it is essential that we look abroad through our own American eyes and not through the eyes of either the British Foreign Office or a pro-British and anti-Russian press.' (Henry Wallace, Sept. 1946).

(e) Do you agree that in 1944-47, as in 1939-41, Stalin unwisely over-played his hand?

(f) What alternatives did the United States have, in 1944-47, to a policy of `containment'?

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(c) and (d) World War Two and the Origins of the Cold War

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(e) Soviet Union [see also readings for (c) and (d) above]

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Djilas, Milovan, *Conversations with Stalin*, (1962; pb 1963).
Gori, F., and Pons, S. (eds), *The Soviet Union and Europe in the Cold War 1945-1953* (1996).
Mastny, Vojtech, *Russia's Road to the Cold War* (1979; pb 1980).
Mastny, V., 'The Cassandra in the Commissariat: Maxim Litvinov and the Cold War Era', *Foreign Affairs* (1975-6).
Pechatnov, Vladimir O., *The Big Three after World War II: New Documents on Soviet Thinking about Post War Relations with the United States and Great Britain* (Cold War History Project, Working Paper no. 13, 1995.)
Raack, R.C., *Stalin's Drive to the West, 1938-1945: The Origins of the Cold War* (1995). ##
Roberts, Geoffrey, *Stalin's Wars: From World War to Cold War, 1939-1953* (2007; pb 2008).
Swain, G., 'The Cominform: Tito's International?', *Historical Journal* (1992).
Taubman, W., *Stalin's American Policy: From Entente to Détente to Cold War* (1982; pb 1985). ##
Ulam, Adam B., *Expansion and Coexistence: The History of Soviet Foreign Policy* (1974). ##
Zubok, V., Pleshakov, C., *Inside the Kremlin's Cold War: From Stalin to Khrushchev* (1996).

(f) United States [see also readings for (c) and (d) above]

Casey, Steven, *Cautious Crusade: Franklin Roosevelt, American Public Opinion, and the War against Nazi Germany* (2001; pb 2004).
Gaddis, John Lewis, *Strategies of Containment* (1982; pb 2004).
Hogan, Michael J., *The Marshall Plan. America, Britain and the Reconstruction of Western Europe* (1991).
Leffler, Melvyn P., *A Preponderance of Power: National Security, the Truman Administration and the Cold War* (1992; pb 1993). ##
Mark, E., 'American Policy towards Europe and the Origins of the Cold War, 1941-1946. An Alternative Interpretation', *Journal of American History* (1981).
McAllister, James, *No Exit: America and the German Problem, 1943-1954* (2002).
Offner, Arnold A., *Another Such Victory: President Truman and the Cold War, 1945-1953* (2002; pb 2003).
Saul, Norman E., *Friends or Foes? The United States and Soviet Russia, 1921-1941* (2006).
Yergin, Daniel, *Shattered Peace. The Origins of the Cold War and the National Security State* (1978; pb 1990).

September 2016

UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

Department of Politics and International Relations

Honour School of Philosophy, Politics, and Economics
Honour School of History and Politics

International Relations in the Era of the Cold War (Paper 213)

Academic Year 2016-17

Course Provider: Dr Jonathan Leader Maynard (New College)

In addition to staff members, certain graduate students and others may teach the course: their names and colleges are listed on the *Tutorial Register*, which is available on the DPIR web site.

Syllabus

The formal syllabus in the Examination Decrees and Regulations states that candidates will be expected to show knowledge of:

> 'The relations among the major powers, 1945-91, including domestic and external factors shaping foreign policy: the origins and course of the Cold War including détente and the end of the Cold War; East-West relations in Europe, with particular reference to the foreign policies of France and the Federal Republic of Germany; European integration; the external relations of China and Japan, particularly with the Soviet Union and the United States; the Soviet Union's relations with eastern Europe; decolonization and conflict in the developing world.'

Content and structure of the reading list:

The main phases of superpower relations:

1. Origins of the Cold War (1945-53)
2. Cold War, Peaceful Co-existence, and Containment (1953-68)
3. Cold War and Détente (1969-85)
4. The End of the Cold War (1985-91)

Area-related topics:

5. China (1949-91)
6. Japan (1952-91)
7. France, Germany, and East-West Relations in Europe (1945-91)
8. European integration (1945-91)
9. Decolonization and the International Economic Order (1945-91)
10. The Soviet Union's Relations with Eastern Europe (1945-91)
11. The Middle East (1945-91)
12. South-East Asia (1945-91)

Objectives

The era mainly defined by east-west tension was also one in which decolonization transformed the international system. It has always generated writing of high quality, which was been further enlivened by the steady release of new archive material. The paper gives students the opportunity to assess the international relations of a transformative and often dangerous era. This paper links strongly with the Politics 'core' 'International Relations' course by providing an empirical referent for many of Paper 214's theoretical approaches, and historical background for its treatment of the

post-1990 world. In addition, the paper links back to the Further Subject 'International Relations in the Era of Two World Wars' [Paper 212], especially as many post-war statesmen were deliberately seeking to avoid the mistakes of that earlier period.

Teaching arrangements

A series of lectures will be given in Michaelmas Term and the early weeks of Hilary Term on topics related to those of this reading list. In addition, the minority of students who have not taken the International Relations core paper [Paper 214] may find it useful to attend the lectures for that paper, given in both Michaelmas and Hilary Terms, in order to be introduced to relevant concepts and theories. A number of other lectures, given for other papers and/or by visiting scholars, may also be useful for parts of this paper. Most students will have eight tutorials (groups, generally, of from one to three pupils, meeting with a tutor), during which questions are discussed and debated. Many students will cover topics 1-4 to obtain an overview of the period and then pick four of the eight area-related topics. They are normally expected to produce 6 essays for their tutorials, and to be prepared to offer an oral presentation in weeks in which they are not writing essays.

Course assessment

The course is assessed by means of a three-hour unseen examination according to the provisions set out in the *Examination Decrees and Regulations*, a copy of which has been issued to each undergraduate. Further details are available in the *PPE Handbook*, and *Essential Information for Students*, copies of which have also been issued to each undergraduate and are also available on the DPIR's web site.

Notes on Reading List:

i) This is a course with an unusually rich literature. Therefore, to prevent students chasing the same items, and to minimize the arbitrary exclusion of meritorious books and articles, each topic list contains many more items than you can be expected to read.

ii) Items marked * or ** are specially recommended; **those in bold are new to the list and are flagged up to help librarie**s.

iii) Periodicals: abbreviations are as follows:

CQ *China Quarterly*
CS *Comparative Strategy*
CWIHPB *Cold War International History Project Bulletin* (online at cwihp@si.edu)
DH *Diplomatic History*
EHQ *European Historical Quarterly*
FA *Foreign Affairs*
FP *Foreign Policy*
HJ *Historical Journal*
IA *International Affairs*
IJ *International Journal*
IS *International Security*
IO *International Organization*
JAH *Journal of American History*
JCH *Journal of Contemporary History*
JCR *Journal of Conflict Resolution*
JCWS *Journal of Cold War Studies*
JEIH *Journal of European Integration History*
JP *Journal of Peace Research*
JSS *Journal of Strategic Studies*
O *Orbis*
PR *Pacific Review*
POC *Problems of Communism*

PSQ	*Political Science Quarterly*
RIS	*Review of International Studies*
S	*Survival*
WEP	*West European Politics*
WP	*World Politics*
WT	*World Today*

iv) Major works of reference and documentation:
International Institute of Strategic Studies publications:
Adelphi Papers
The Military Balance
Strategic Survey
Foreign Relations of the United States (multi-volume collection of documents)
Documents on British Policy Overseas (multi-volume collection of documents)
(Similar collections of documents exist for other major countries, eg France and Germany, as well)

Preparatory Reading
For a short introduction, see: Harper, John Lamberton, *The Cold War* (2011)

For comprehensive accounts, particularly recommended are:
**Leffler, Melvyn., and Westad, Odd Arne (eds), *The Cambridge History of the Cold War, 3 vols, 2010:* vol 1 is 'Origins', vol.2 'Crises and Détente', and Vol.3 'Endings'
**Dunbabin, John P.D., *International Relations since 1945,* 1994/2008
Vol.1 *The Cold War: the Great Powers and their Allies*
Vol.2 *The Post-Imperial Age: the Great Powers and the Wider World*

Other surveys:
* Ball, S. J., *The Cold War: An International History, 1947-1991,* 1998
*Hanhimaki, Jussi, *The Cold War: a History in Documents and Eye Witness Accounts* (2014)
*Leffler, Melvyn P, *For the Soul of Mankind: the United States, the Soviet Union and the Cold War*, 2007 (good but selective)
*Lundestad, Geir, *East, West, North, South: Major Developments in International Politics, 1945-1990,* 6th ed 2010
*Keylor, William R., *A World of Nations: The International Order Since 1945,2nd ed* 2009
*Reynolds, David, *One World Divisible: a Global History since 1945,* 2001

For more analytical or thematic treatment, it is helpful to read at least one of:
*Woods, Ngaire ed., *Explaining International Relations since 1945,* 1996
*Nye, Joseph S., Jr., *Understanding International Conflicts: An Introduction to Theory and History,* 1994
*Kissinger, Henry, *Diplomacy,* 1994
**Westad, O A, *Global Cold War: third world interventions and the making of our times,* 2005

1. Origins of the Cold War 1945-53
(a) To what extent can the deterioration of superpower relations from 1945 to 1953 be explained at the level of the international system?

(b) Do you agree that the two key episodes in the early evolution of the Cold War were the Marshall Plan and the Korean War?

(c) In explaining the early stages of the Cold War, how much importance should be attached to countries other than the USA and the USSR?

(d) Was the partition of Germany the main cause, or the main consequence, of the Cold War?

For all questions:

DePorte, A.W., *Europe between the Superpowers,* 1990

*Engerman, David, 'Ideology and the Origins of the Cold War', in Leffler, M. and Westad, O. A., The Cambridge History of the Cold War, vol.1 (2010)

**Gaddis, John Lewis, 'The Emerging Post-Revisionist Synthesis on the Origins of the Cold War', *Diplomatic History,* 1983

*Gaddis, John Lewis, *The Cold War,* 2005 ***or*** *We Now Know. Rethinking Cold War History,* 1997

*Gould-Davies, Nigel, 'Rethinking the Role of Ideology in International Politics during the Cold War', *JCWS,* 1999

Hopf, Ted. *Reconstructing the Cold War: the Early Years 1955-58* (2012)

Kramer, Mark, 'Ideology and the Cold War', *RIS,* 1999

**Leffler, M, and Westad, O A, *The Cambridge History of the Cold War, vol.1* esp. chs 2, 4-5

Leffler, Melvyn P., and Painter, David S. eds, *Origins of the Cold War: An International History,* 1994/ 2005

Leffler, Melvyn P., *The Specter of Communism: The United States and the Origins of the Cold War, 1917-53,* 1994

Leffler, Melvyn P., The Struggle for Germany and the Origins of the Cold War P. Xerox 281 – German Historical Institute, Washington, Occasional Paper no. 16 – 1996

Senarclens, Pierre de, *From Yalta to the Iron Curtain: the Great Powers and the Origins of the Cold War,* 1995

*Wohlforth, William C., *The Elusive Balance: Power and Perceptions during the Cold War* (1993)

USSR

*Gaiduk, Ilya, 'Stalin: Three Approaches to One Phenomenon' [review article], *DH,* 1999

*Gati, Charles, 'Hegemony and Repression in the Eastern Alliance', in Leffler, *Origins*

*Haslam, Jonathan, *Russia's Cold War: From the October Revolution to the Fall of the Wall,* 2011 chs 2-4

Hasanli, Jamil, *Stalin and the Turkish Crisis of the Cold War, 1945-1953* (2011, p/n 2013)

*Leffler, Melvyn, 'Inside Enemy Archives: the Cold War reopened', *FA* 75, 1996

MacDonald, Douglas J., 'Communist Bloc Expansion in the Early Cold War: Challenging Realism, Refuting Revisionism', *IS,* 20, 1995-96

*Mark, Eduard, 'Revolution by Degrees: Stalin's National-Front Strategy for Europe, 1941-1947', CWIHP *Working Paper* no. 31

Mastny, Vojtech, *The Cold War and Soviet Insecurity. The Stalin Years,* 1996

McCauley, M.M. ed., *Communist Power in Europe, 1944-1949,* 1979

Nevakivi, Jukka, 'Finland and the Cold War', *Scandinavian Journal of History* 10, 1985

Petchanov, Vladimir, ' "The Allies are Pressing on You to Break Your Will" … Foreign Policy Correspondence between Stalin and Molotov ,Sept. 1945 – Dec. 1946', CWIHP *Working Paper* no. 26

Parish, Scott D., and Narinsky, Mikhail, 'New Evidence on the Soviet Rejection of the Marshall Plan, 1947', CWIHP *Working Paper* no. 9

Roberts, Geoffrey, *Stalin's wars: from world war to cold war, 1939-1953,* 2006

Westad, Odd Arne ed., *The Soviet Union in Eastern Europe, 1945-89,* 1994

*Zubok, Vladislav, and Pleshakov, Constantine, *Inside the Kremlin's Cold War: From Stalin to Khrushchev,* 1996

USA

Anslover, Nicole J., *Harry S. Truman: the Coming of the Cold War* (2014)

Cox, M., and Kennedy-Pipers, C., 'The Tragedy of American Diplomacy? Rethinking the Marshall Plan', *JCWS 7, 2005*

*Gaddis, John L., *The United States and the Origins of the Cold War 1941-1947,* 1972

**Gaddis, John L., *Strategies of Containment: a critical Appraisal of post-War American national Security Policy*, 1982 (a classic)
**Jervis, Robert, 'Was the Cold War a Security Dilemma?', *JCWS*, 3 2001.
*Leffler, Melvyn P., *A Preponderance of Power: National Security, the Truman Administration, and the Cold War*, 1992
Mark, Eduard, 'American Policy towards Europe and the Origins of the Cold War, 1941-6. An Alternative Interpretation', *JAH*, 1981
Paterson, Thomas G., *Meeting the Communist Threat: Truman to Reagan*, 1989 edn

Mainly for (b):
Chen, Jian, *China's Road to the Korean War: the Making of the Sino-American Confrontation*, 1994
Christenson, Thomas, *Useful Adversaries: Grand Strategy, Domestic Mobilisation and Sino-American Conflict, 1947-1958*, 1996
Foot, Rosemary, 'Making Known the Unknown War' *DH* 153, Summer 1991
Hogan, Michael J., *The Marshall Plan: America, Britain and the Reconstruction of Western Europe, 1947-1952*, 1987
*Jervis, Robert, 'The Impact of the Korean War on the Cold War' *JCR* Dec.1980.
Kaufman, Burton I., *The Korean War: Challenges in Crisis, Credibility and Command*, 1997
Lee, Steven Hugh, *The Korean War*, 2001
Milward, Alan S., 'Was the Marshall Plan Necessary?', *DH*, 1989
Shen, Zhihua, 'Sino-Soviet Relations and the Origins of the Korean War: Stalin's Strategic Goals in the Far East', *JCWS* ii 2000
Stueck, W.W., *The Korean War: An International History*, 1995
*Weathersby, Kathryn, "Should we Fear This?" *Stalin and the Danger of War with America* [Korean War] CWIHP *Working paper* no. 39.
Zubok, V., and Pleshakov, C., *Inside the Kremlin's Cold War*, 1996

Mainly for (c) and (d):
Becker, Josef, and Knipping, Franz, *Power in Europe: Great Britain, France, Italy and Germany in a Postwar World, 1945-1950* 1986.
Deighton, Anne ed., *Britain and the First Cold War*, 1990
**Deighton, Anne, 'The Cold War in Europe, 1945-1947: Three Approaches' in Woods *Explaining International Relations*
Deighton, Anne, *The Impossible Peace: Britain, the Division of Germany and the Origins of the Cold War*, 1990/1993 or her chapter in her *Britain and the First Cold War*, 1990
*DePorte, A.W., *Europe Between the Superpowers*, 1990
Kuniholm, Bruce R., *The Origins of the Cold War in the Near East*, 1980
*Lundestad, Geir, 'Empire by Invitation? The United States and Western Europe, 1945-52', *JP*, 23, 1986
Mark, Eduard, 'The War Scare of 1946 and its Consequences', *DH*, 1997
Nachmani, A., 'Civil War and Foreign Intervention in Greece, 1946-49', *JCH*, 1990
Naimark, Norman, *The Russians in Germany: A History of the Soviet Zone of Occupation, 1945-1949*, 1995
Raack, R.C., 'Stalin Plans his Post-War Germany', *JCH*, 1993
*Reynolds, David ed., *The Origins of the Cold War in Europe*, 1994
*Reynolds, David, 'The Origins of the Cold War: the European Dimension, 1944-51', *HJ* 1985
Shlaim, Avi, 'The Partition of Germany and the Origins of the Cold War', *Review of International Studies*, 1985**.**

2. Cold War, 'Peaceful Coexistence', and Containment 1953-68
(a) 'A policy of increasing ambition yet declining credibility.' Discuss this view of Western containment policy, 1953-68.

(b) What did Khrushchev's policy of "peaceful coexistence" amount to in practice?

(c) Did West Germany's entry into NATO produce an easing of East-West tensions; if so, when and why?

(d) Why did so much seem to be at stake over Cuba?

For all questions:

*Beschloss, Michael, *The Crisis Years: Kennedy and Khrushchev,* 1991
Fink, Carole ed, *1956: European and global perspectives*, 2006
Fink, Carole, *1968: The world transformed,* 1998
Gaddis, John Lewis, 'Grand Strategies in the Cold War,' in Leffler, M, and Westad, O A, *The Cambridge History of the Cold War, vol.2.*
Gray, Colin S., 'Strategy in the Nuclear Age: The United States, 1945-91', in Murray, Williamson, Knox, MacGregor, Bernstein, Alwin, *The Making of Strategy: Rulers, States and War,*1994
Keal, Paul, *Unspoken Rules and Superpower Dominance,* 1983
Lebow, Richard Ned, and Stein, Janice G., *We All Lost the Cold War,* 1994
Trachtenberg, Marc, *A Constructed Peace: the Making of the European Settlement 1945-1963,* 1999
*Stevenson, R.W., *The Rise and Fall of Détente,* 1985
**Waltz, Kenneth, 'The Stability of a Bipolar World', *Daedalus,* 1964

Mainly for (a):

**Leffler, M, and Westad, O A, *The Cambridge History of the Cold War, vol.1* , ch.14; vol.2 , ch.6
*Gaddis, John L., Gaddis, John L., *Strategies of Containment: a Critical Appraisal of post-War American National Security Policy,* 1982
*Gaddis, John L., *The Long Peace,* 1987
Gaddis, John L., *We Now Know,* 1998
Bury, Helen, *Eisenhower and the Cold War Arms Race* (2014)
Deighton, Anne, 'A Different 1956: British Responses to the Polish Events, June-November, 1956, *CWH*, 6/4, November 2006
Colman, Jonathan, *The Foreign Policy of Lyndon Baines Johnson: The United States and the Cold War, 1963-1969* (2010, p/b 2012)
Paterson, Thomas G., *Meeting the Communist Threat: Truman to Reagan,* 1988
Immerman, Richard H. ed., *John Foster Dulles and the Diplomacy of the Cold War,* 1990
*EITHER Paterson, Thomas G. ed., *Kennedy's Quest for Victory: American Foreign Policy, 1961-1963,* 1989
*OR Freedman, Lawrence, *Kennedy's Wars: Berlin, Cuba, Laos and Vietnam,* 2000
Fish, M. Steven, 'After Stalin's Death. The Anglo-American Debate over a New Cold War', *DH* 10, 1986
Articles on 'Containment: 40 Years Later', *FA,* Spring 1987
*Kissinger, Henry, 'Reflections on Containment', *FA* 73, 1994

Mainly for (b):

*Haslam, Jonathan, *Russia's Cold War: From the October Revolution to the Fall of the Wall*, 2011 ch. 5-7 (particularly good on Khrushchev)
*Zubok, Vladislav, and Pleshakov, C, *Inside the Kremlin's Cold War: From Stalin to Khrushchev,* 1996
Mastny, Vojtech, *The Cold War and Soviet Insecurity: The Stalin Years,* 1996; ch. 10
Taubman, William, *Khrushchev: the man and his era,* 2003, chs 13-19
Kramer, Mark, 'The early Post-Stalin Succession Struggle and Upheavals in East-Central Europe: Internal-External Linkages in Soviet Foreign Policy', *JCWS,* 1999
Nordlander, David, 'Khrushchev's Image in the Light of Glasnost and Perestroika', *Russian Review* 52, 1993

**Leffler, M, and Westad, O A, *The Cambridge History of the Cold War,* vol.2 ch.7
Evangelista, Matthew, *"Why Keep Such an Army?": Khrushchev's Troop Reductions*, CWIHP *Working Paper* no. 19 1997
Zaloga, Steven, *Target America: the Soviet Union and the Arms Race, 1945-64* 1993 OR Holloway, David, *The Soviet Union and the Arms Race* 1984
*Heikal, Mohammed, *Sphinx and Commissar: The Rise and Fall of Soviet Influence on the Arab World* 1978, esp. pp.57-9 and chs. 3-7
*Beschloss, Michael, *The Crisis Years: Kennedy and Khrushchev, 1960-1963* 1991

Mainly for (c):
Bischof, Gunther and Saki Dockrill (eds), *Cold War Respite: the Geneva Summit of 1955,* 2000
**Hanrieder, Wolfram ed., *West German Foreign Policy 1949-79* 1980; chs. by Calleo 'Germany and the Balance of Power', Schwarz 'Adenauer's Ostpolitik', Willis 'Germany, France, and Europe'
Adomeit, Hannes, *Imperial Overstretch: Germany in Soviet Policy from Stalin to Gorbachev* 1998, esp. Part 2
*Garton Ash, Timothy, *In Europe's Name. Germany and the Divided Continent* 1993. Prologue and chs. 1-3.
*Gaddis, John Lewis, *We Now Know* 1997, ch. 5.
Schwarz, Hans-Peter, *Adenauer*, Vol. 2, *The Statesman.* R.F01229
Richardson, James L., *Crisis Diplomacy. The Great Powers since the Mid-Nineteenth Century* 1994, ch. 9.
Freedman, Lawrence, *Kennedy's Wars: Berlin, Cuba, Laos and Vietnam* 2000 - on Berlin
Allard, Sven, *Russia and the Austrian State Treaty: A Case Study of Soviet Policy in Europe* 1970

Mainly for (d):
*George, Alice L., *The Cuban Missile Crisis: The Threshold of Nuclear War* (2013)
Freedman, Lawrence, *Kennedy's Wars: Berlin, Cuba, Laos and Vietnam* 2000
*Fursenko, A., and Naftali, T., *One Hell of a Gamble: Khrushchev, Kennedy, Castro and the Cuban Missile Crisis, 1958-1964,* 1997
*Scott, L., and Hughes, R. G., *The Cuban Missile Crisis A Critical Reappraisal* (2015)
*Gaddis, John Lewis, *We Now Know* 1997/98, ch. 9
*White, Mark J. ed., *The Cuban Missile Crisis,* 1996
White, Mark J. ed., *The Kennedys and Cuba: The declassified Documentary History,* 1999
Nathan, James A. ed., *The Cuban Missile Crisis Revisited,* 1992
Williamson, Edwin, *The Penguin History of Latin America*, 1992, esp. ch. 12
Dunbabin, J.P.D., *The Post-Imperial Age,* 1994, ch. 16
Patterson, Thomas G. ed., *Kennedy's Quest for Victory,* 1989
CWIHP *Bulletin* 5 1995, 'Cold War Crises', section on Cuba.
Chang, Laurence, and Kornbluh, Peter, *The Cuban Missile Crisis, 1962: A National Security Archive Documents Reader,* 1992
Khrushchev, Nikita, *Khrushchev Remembers: The Glasnost Tapes* 1990, ch. 7
Kissinger, Henry, *White House Years,* 1979
Betts, Richard K., *Nuclear Blackmail and Nuclear Balance,* 1987

3. Cold War and Détente 1969-85

(a) What did détente achieve?

(b) Was Kissinger's détente policy a fundamental change in America's post-war foreign policy?

(c) What was the contribution of the USSR to the rise and fall of détente, 1969-85?

(d) 'Détente was both promoted and undermined by domestic political considerations.' Discuss.

Context

*Leffler, Melvyn P, *For the Soul of Mankind: the United States, the Soviet Union and the Cold War*, 2007

**Leffler, M, and Westad, O A, *The Cambridge History of the Cold War, vol.2, chs. 6-7, 10*

Mainly for (a):

*Bowker, Mike, and Williams, P, *Superpower Détente: A Reappraisal,* 1988

*Davy, Richard ed., *European Détente: A Reappraisal,* 1992

*Garthoff, Raymond, *Détente and Confrontation,* 1994 edn

*Hanhimäki, Jussi M. "Détente in Europe, 1962-75," in Leffler, M, and Westad, O A, *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*, vol.2.

*Ludlow, N Piers ed, *European Integration and the Cold War*, 2007

Stevenson, R.W., *The Rise and Fall of Détente,* 1985

White, Brian, 'The Concept of Détente', *RIS,* 1981

Mainly for (b) and (d):

Alvandi, Roham, *Nixon, Kissinger and the Shah* (2014)

Bell, Coral, 'Kissinger in Retrospect: The Diplomacy of Power Concert', *IA* 53 1977.

*Bull, Hedley, 'Kissinger: The Primacy of Geopolitics', *IA* 56 1980.

Burr, William ed., *The Kissinger Transcripts: the Top Secret Talks with Beijing and Moscow* 1999 , esp. chs. 5, 7

*Dallek, Robert, *Nixon and Kissinger: Partners in Power,* 2007

Friedberg, A.L., 'The Evolution of US Strategic Doctrine, 1945-80', in Huntingdon, S.P. ed., *The Strategic Imperative: New Policies for American Security* 1982.[Bod M01.E16338]

Gray, Colin S., 'Strategy in the Nuclear Age: The United States, 1945-1991', in Murray, Williamson, Knox, MacGregor, and Bernstein, Alvin, *The Making of Strategy: Rulers, States and War,* 1994

Hersh, Seymour M., *The Price of Power: Kissinger in the Nixon White House,* 1983

*Isaacson, Walter, *Kissinger: a Biography,* 1993

Kissinger, Henry, 'NATO: The Next Thirty Years' and rejoinder by McGeorge Bundy, *Survival* 21 1979.

*Kissinger, Henry, *Diplomacy* 1994; cf. also Kissinger's memoirs – *The White House Years* 1979; *Years of Upheaval* 1982; *Years of Renewal* 1999)

Mann, Jim, *About Face. A History of America's Curious Relationship with China from Nixon to Clinton,* 2000

Mainly for (c) and (d):

Bluth, Christoph, 'The Evolution of Soviet Military Doctrine', *Survival* 30, 1988

Gaddis, John Lewis, *The Long Peace,* 1987 ch.8

Garton Ash, Timothy, *In Europe's Name: Germany and the Divided Continent,* 1993

Gelman, Harry, *The Brezhnev Politburo and the Decline of Détente,* 1984

Haslam, Jonathan, *Russia's Cold War: From the October Revolution to the Fall of the Wall*, 2011, ch. 8-10

Heuser, Beatrice, 'Warsaw Pact Military Doctrines in the 1970s and 1980s: Findings in the East German Archives', *CS,* xii 1993

MccGwire, Michael, *Military Objectives in Soviet Foreign Policy,* 1987

Nelson, Keith L., *The Making of Détente: Soviet-American Relations in the Shadow of Vietnam,* 1995

Pry, Peter V., *War Scare. Russia and America on the Nuclear Brink* 1999

*Westad, Odd Arne ed., *The Fall of Détente: Soviet-American Relations in the Carter Years* , 1997

White, Brian, *Britain, Détente and Changing East-West Relations,* 1992

*Wohlforth, William C., *The Elusive Balance: Power and Perceptions during the Cold War,* 1993 & comments in Kramer, 'Ideology and the Cold War', *RIS,* 1999

4. The End of the Cold War

(a) What factors led to the end of the Cold War?

(b) How and why did the Soviet sphere of influence in Eastern Europe collapse?

(c) Why did the Cold War end so comparatively peacefully?

(d) 'The Cold War was ended by the belief in two fallacies: that America's Strategic Defense Initiative was technologically feasible; and that the Soviet Union was politically reformable.' Discuss.

For all questions:

Baker, James A., and DeFrank, T.M., *The Politics of Diplomacy: Revolution, War and Peace 1989-92,* 1995

Beschloss, Michael R., and Talbott, Strobe, *At the Highest Levels: The Inside Story of the End of the Cold War,* 1993

Booth, Ken, and Cox, Michael, *The Interregnum: Controversies in World Politics 1989-1999* 1999, or in *RIS* 25, December 1999

Bowker, Mike, and Brown, Robin, *From Cold War to Collapse: Theory and World Politics in the 1980s,* 1993 chs. 2, 4

Bozo, Frédéric, 'Mitterrand's France, the End of the Cold War, and German Unification: A Reappraisal', *CWH,* 7:4, 2007

Breslauer, George, and Tetlock, Phillip, eds., *Learning in US and Soviet Foreign Policy* 1991

Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Final Act HMSO, London, August 1975

*Cox, Michael, 'Rethinking the End of the Cold War', *RIS*, 20(2), 1994

*Deudney, Daniel, and Ikenberry, John G, 'The International Sources of Soviet Change', *IS*, Winter 1991/2.

**English, Robert D., `Power, Ideas, and New Evidence on the Cold War's End', *IS*, 2002

Judt, Tony, *Postwar: A History of Europe since 1945, 2005,* chapter XIX, 'The End of the Old Order'

Fukayama, Francis, 'The End of History', *The National Interest*, Washington DC, 16, Summer 1989

*Gaddis, John L., 'International Relations Theory and the End of the Cold War', *IS*, Winter 1992/3

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5. China, 1949-91

(a) Why did China fight some wars but avoid others, 1949-91?

(b) Where should one look for the springs of Chinese foreign policy, 1949-91?

(c) 'Both negatively and positively, the US has been at the centre of China's foreign-policy concerns post 1949.' Discuss.

(d) Can 'realism' explain the Sino-Soviet relationship, 1946-91?

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6. Japan 1952-91

(a) How well did Japan's "dependent independence" serve its own interests and how well those of the United States, 1952-91?

(b) Did Japan's economic power compensate for its diplomatic weakness, 1952-91?

(c) Does the survival, throughout the Cold War of the US-Japanese alliance of 1951, despite trade conflicts between the two allies, indicate there is a hierarchy of issues in international relations?

(d) Why was there no Japanese challenge to US political hegemony 1952-1991?

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7. France, Germany, and East-West Relations in Europe, 1945-91

(a) Who managed French foreign and defence policy more effectively: the leaders of the Fourth Republic or President de Gaulle?

(b) How far did de Gaulle's successors modify his legacy, 1969-91?

(c) Was Adenauer a 'realist'?

(d) How consistent was German foreign policy, 1963-91?

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[See also Topic 8 – 'European Integration']

8. **European Integration, 1945-91**

(a) Have existing theories of integration underestimated the importance of individual leaders for the process of integration in western Europe, 1945-91?

(b) Why did European integration first succumb to, and then recover from, 'Eurosclerosis'?

(c) Was European integration between 1950 and 1991 a French project but a German achievement?

(d) Why and with what results for the international relations of Europe did the European Community expand its membership during the cold war?

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9. Decolonisation and the International Economic Order, 1945-91

(a) To what extent did colonies contribute to their own emancipation?
(b) Why did Asia decolonize before Africa?
(c) 'The manner in which countries have achieved independence since the Second World War has had surprisingly little effect on their subsequent international alignment.' Discuss, with reference to the period 1945-91.
(d) How should we explain the successes and failures of 'Third World' attempts to reform the international order between 1945 and 1991?

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*Westad, O A, *Global Cold War: third world interventions and the making of our times,* 2005

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10. The Soviet Union's Relations with Eastern Europe, 1945-1991

(a) Which concept better captures the essence of Soviet ascendancy over Eastern Europe, 1945-91: 'empire' or 'sphere of influence'?

(b) Evaluate the comparative effectiveness of the various mechanisms by which the Soviet Union sought to impose its will on Eastern Europe, 1945-91.

(c) What determined the degree of independence of the USSR exercised by the various communist states of Eastern Europe, 1945-91?

(d) Explain why the Soviet Union intervened militarily in some of the internal crises of its Eastern European satellites, 1945-91 but not in others.

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11. The Middle East 1945- 1991

(a) Do you agree that the principal sources of instability in the Middle East between 1945 and 1991 were forces external to the region?

(b) Which external power pursued its interests in the Middle East most effectively between 1945 and 1991: Britain, the United States, or the Soviet Union?

(c) Why did the Arab-Israeli dispute prove so intractable, 1945-1991?

(d) Why did united Arab action prove so elusive, 1945-1991?

For all questions:
*Fawcett, Louise ed, *International Relations of the Middle East* 3rd edn 2013
Hinnebusch, Raymond A. *The International Politics of the Middle East,* 2014
*Leffler, M, and Westad, O A, *The Cambridge History of the Cold War, vol.1, ch.23; vol.2, ch.15;*

Mainly for (a):
*Brown, L Carl, *Diplomacy in the Middle East: the International Relations of Regional and Outside Powers,* 2001
*Dunbabin, J.P.D., *The Post-Imperial Age* 1984, part 3
Gerges, Fawaz A., *The Superpowers and the Middle East: Regional and International Politics, 1955-67,* 1994
Halliday, Fred, 'The Middle East in International Perspective' in Bush, Ray et al eds., *The World Order: Socialist Perspectives,* 1987
McMahon, Robert J. (ed), *The Cold War in the Third World* (2013), ch.1
*Sayigh, Yezid and Shlaim, Avi eds., *The Cold War and the Middle East,* 1997
*Sluglett, Peter, 'The Cold War in the Middle East' in Louise Fawcett ed**,** *The International Relations of the Middle East* 2013
*Yapp, M.E., *The Near East Since The First World War* 1996 edn
*Yergin, Daniel, *The Prize: The Epic Quest for Oil, Money and Power,* 1991

Mainly for (b):
BRITAIN:
Monroe, Elizabeth, *Britain's Moment in the Middle East 1914-56* 1981
USA:
Ashton, Michael John, *Eisenhower, Macmillan and the Problem of Nasser, 1955-59,* 1996
Brown, Cameron, S, 'The one coalition they craved to join: Turkey in the Korean War', *RIS,* 34, 2008
Fraser, T.G., *The USA and the Middle East since World War II* 1989
Khalidi, Rashid. *Resurrecting Empire: Western Footprints and America's Perilous Path in the Middle East,* 2004
Quandt, William B., *Peace Process: American Diplomacy and the Arab-Israeli Conflict since 1967* 1993

*Shlaim, Avi, *War and Peace in the Middle East: A Concise History*, 1995

USSR:
Breslauer, George W, *Soviet Strategy in the Middle East* 1990. esp. ch.2.
Dawisha, Adeed and Karen eds., *The Soviet Union in the Middle East: Policies and Perspectives* 1982
Heikal, Mohamed, *Sphinx and Commissar: The Rise and Fall of Soviet Influence in the Middle East,* 1978
Rucker, Laurent, 'Moscow's Surprise: The Soviet-Israeli Alliance of 1947-1949' *CWIHP Working Paper*, no 46

Mainly for (c):
Ben-Ami, Shlomo. *Scars of War, Wounds of Peace: The Israeli-Arab Tragedy*, 2005
Caplan, Neil, 'Zionism and the Arabs: Another Look at the "New" Historiography', *JCH*, 2001
Gelvin, James L. *The Israel-Palestine Conflict: One Hundred Years of War*, 2005
Heikal, Mohamed, *Secret Channels: The Inside Story of Arab-Israeli Peace Negotiations*, 1996
Meital, Yoram. *Peace in Tatters: Israel, Palestine, and the Middle East,* 2006
Either *Shlaim, Avi, *War and Peace in the Middle East: A Concise History* 1995 **or** * Ovendale, Ritchie, *The Origins of the Arab-Israeli Wars* 1992 edn
Shlaim, Avi, 'The Middle East: The Origins of Arab-Israeli Wars' in Woods, *Explaining International Relations*
*Shlaim, Avi, *The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World* 2000.
Shlaim Avi, 'The Debate about 1948', *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 27' 1995
*Smith, Charles 'The Arab-Israeli Conflict' in Louise Fawcett ed *The International Relations of the Middle East* 2013

Mainly for (d):
*Ajami, Fouad, *The Arab Predicament: Arab Political Thought and Practice since 1967,* 1992
*Ajami, Fouad, 'The End of Pan-Arabism', *Foreign Affairs* 57, 1978-9
Dawisha, Adeed. *Arab Nationalism in the Twentieth Century: From Triumph to Despair*, 2003
*Kerr, Malcolm, *The Arab Cold War: Gamal 'Abd al-Nasir and his Rivals, 1958-1970,* 1971
Seale, Patrick, *The Struggle for Syria: A Study of Post-War Arab Politics, 1945-58,* 1986
Sirriyeh, Hussein, *Lebanon: Dimensions of Conflict* IISS *Adelphi Paper* 243, 1989
*Stephens, Robert, *Nasser: A Political Biography,* 1971

12. South-East Asia 1945- 1991

(a) Account for the instability of the region between 1945 and 1991.

(b) Why did Communism make such headway in Indo-China in the first post-war decade?

(c) 'The United States lost its Vietnam War on the home front.' Discuss.

(d) 'America's failure in Vietnam has distracted attention from the overall success of its policy in respect of South-East Asia as a whole between 1945 and 1991.' Discuss.

Mainly for (a):
Either Mackerras, Colin, *Eastern Asia: An Introductory History* 1993 **or** Thompson, Roger C., *The Pacific Basin since 1945* 1994
*Karnow, Stanley, *Vietnam: a History* 1994 edn
**Leffler, M, and Westad, O A, *The Cambridge History of the Cold War, vol.2, ch14.*
McMahon, Robert J. (ed), *The Cold War in the Third World* (2013), ch.3

Mainly for (b):
Chen, Jian, 'China and the First Indo-China War, 1950-1954', in CQ no.133 1993

Irving, R.E.M., *The First Indochina War: French and American Policy 1945-54* 1975
Kaplan, Lawrence S., Artaud, Denise, Rubin, Mark R, *Dien Bien Phu and the Crisis of Franco-American Relations 1954-55* 1990
Schaller, Michael, 'Securing the Great Crescent: Occupied Japan and the Origins of Containment in SE Asia', *JAH* lxix 1982.
*Tonnesson, Stein, 'The Longest Wars: Indochina 1945-75', *JP* xxii 1985
Tarling, Nicholas, *Britain, Southeast Asia and the Onset of the Cold War, 1945-1950* 1998
Warner, Geoffrey, 'The United States and Vietnam: Two Episodes [viz.1950, 1954]', *IA* 1989.
Warner, Geoffrey, 'The United States and Vietnam, 1945-65' *IA* 1972.

Mainly for (c)
Either Ang, Cheng Guan, *Southeast Asia and the Vietnam War*, 2010 **or** Schulzinger, Robert D., *A Time for War: the United States and Vietnam, 1941-1975* 1997 **or** Turley, William S, *The Second Indochina War: A Short Political and Military History 1954- 1975,* 1986 **or** Davidson, Phillip B., *Vietnam at War: The History, 1946-75,* 1988
Chen, Jian, 'China's Involvement in the Vietnam War 1964-69' *CQ* no.142 June 1995
Cold War International History Project Bulletin, nos. 6-7, 'The Cold War in Asia', 1995-6
Duiker, William J., *US Containment Policy and the Conflict in Indochina, 1961-75* 1994
Duiker, William J., *Sacred War: Nationalism and Revolution in a Divided Vietnam* 1995
*Freedman, Lawrence, 'Vietnam and the Disillusioned Strategist', *IA* 1996
*Freedman, Lawrence: *Kennedy's Wars: Berlin, Cuba, Laos, Vietnam* 2000
Kaiser, David, *American Tragedy: Kennedy, Johnson, and the Origins of the Vietnam War* 2000
Khong, Yuen Foong, 'The United States and East Asia: Challenges to the Balance of Power', in Woods, *Explaining International Relations*
Kissinger, Henry, *Diplomacy* 1994, chs. 25-28
Kolko, Gabriel, *Anatomy of a War: Vietnam, the United States, and the Modern Historical Experience*
Logevall, Fredrik, *Choosing War: the Lost Chance for Peace and the Escalation of War in Vietnam* 2000
*Short, Anthony, *The Origins of the Vietnam War* 1989
Warner, Geoffrey, 'The United States and Vietnam: from Kennedy to Johnson', *IA* 1997
Werner, Jayne, and Hunt, David eds., *The American War in Vietnam* 1993, esp. Ngo Vinh Long's article on the Tet offensive

Mainly for (d):
*Brands, J.W., 'The Limits of Manipulation: How the United States Didn't Topple Sukarno', *JAH* lxxvi 1989.
Chandler, David P., *A History of Cambodia,* 1992
Dower, J.W., 'The Superdomino in Asia: Japan in and out of the Pentagon Papers', *The Pentagon Papers* Senator [Mike] Gravel edn, 5 vols., vol.5
Leifer, Michael, *ASEAN and the Security of Southeast Asia* 1989
Either Mackerras, Colin, *Eastern Asia: An Introductory History* 1993 **or** Thompson, Roger C., *The Pacific Basin since 1945: a history of the foreign relations of the Asian, Australasian and American Rim states and the Pacific islands* 1994
Mackie, J.A.C., *Konfrontasi: the Indonesia-Malaysia Dispute, 1963-1966,* 1974
*McGregor, Charles, *The Sino-Vietnamese Relationship and the Soviet Union* Adelphi Paper 232, 1988
McMahon, Robert J., *The Limits of Empire: The United States and Southeast Asia since World War II* 1999
*Segal, Gerald, *Rethinking the Pacific* 1990
Segal, Gerald, *Defending China,* 1985
Short, Anthony, *The Communist Insurrection in Malaya, 1948-1960,* 1975

Tonnesson, Stein, ‘Le Duan and the Break with China’, CWIHP *Bulletin* 12-13 2001
Westad, Odd Arne; Chen, Jiang; Tonneson, Stein; etc., ‘77 Conversations between Chinese and Foreign Leaders on the Wars in Vietnam, 1964-77’, CWIHP *Working Paper* no. 22.
Yahuda, Michael, *The International Politics of the Asia Pacific* 1996

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UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD
Department of Politics and International Relations

Honour School of Philosophy, Politics, and Economics
Honour School of Modern History and Politics

International Relations (214)

Academic Year 2016/2017

Course Provider**:** Dr Sudhir Hazareesingh, Balliol

This course provides a broad overview of the academic field of International Relations. It introduces students to the most important analytical tools, concepts and theoretical approaches to the subject, and to the principal developments in the international system from 1990 until the present day. It is intended to tie in with work for the three optional papers in international relations: International Relations in the Era of the Two World Wars [Paper 212], International Relations in the Era of the Cold War [Paper 213], and the special subject in Politics on International Security and Conflict [Paper 297].

Candidates will be required to illustrate their answers with contemporary or historical material. They will be expected to know the major developments in international affairs from 1990 onwards, and to cite these wherever appropriate. They may also be given the opportunity to show knowledge of earlier developments; but questions referring specifically to events before 1990 will not be set.

Overview of Topics:

Topic 1: (primary topic) Competing approaches to the study of International Relations.
- Topic 1a: Power Politics
- Topic 1b: International Society, Law, and Order
- Topic 1c: Interests, Ideas, and the Sources of State Behaviour

Topic 2: (primary topic) International Cooperation and the World Economy
- Topic 2a: Explaining Economic Integration
- Topic 2b: Globalization
- Topic 2c: Global Inequalities and Redistributive Justice

Topic 3: (primary topic) Global Governance and Security
- Topic 3a: International Organisations and International Security
- Topic 3b: Identity and Culture in International Security
- Topic 3c: Humanitarian Intervention

Teaching:

There will be a course of sixteen lectures delivered on Wednesdays at noon in Examination Schools during Michaelmas and Hilary Terms. Most colleges will arrange for all main topics to be taught in tutorials. Because a large number of undergraduates take this paper, and because the Department has a strong graduate programme in International Relations, a number of colleges use graduate students as tutors for this paper. The paper is accompanied by a series of Q-Step labs; please refer to the OQC section on WebLearn for more information.

Notation used on the Reading List:
*** indicates that an item is specially recommended*

Background Reading
Overviews of theories and approaches
**Dunne, Tim, Milja Kurki and Steve Smith (eds.), *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity*, Third Edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).
**Reus-Smit, Christian and Duncan Snidal (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).
Nau, Henry, *Perspectives on International Relations: Power, Institutions, Ideas*, Third Edition (Washington: CQ Press, 2012).

Topic 1: Competing Approaches to the Study of International Relations

Question One: 'The chief purpose of the study of international relations is to understand the consequences of international anarchy.' Do you agree?

Question Two: Is realism the best available theory to explain what happens in international relations?

Conventional approaches
**Bull, Hedley, *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics* (London: Macmillan, 1977).
**Donnelly, Jack, *Realism and International Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).
**Keohane, Robert & Joseph Nye, *Power and Interdependence*, Fourth Edition (Boston: Longman, 2012).
**Legro, Jeffrey and Andrew Moravcsik, 'Is Anybody Still a Realist?', *International Security* (Vol. 24, No. 2, 1999), pp. 5-55.
**Mearsheimer, John, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (New York: Norton, 2001).
**Moravcsik, Andrew, 'Taking Preferences Seriously: A Liberal Theory of International Politics', *International Organization* (Vol. 51, No. 4, 1997), pp. 513-53.
**Waltz, Kenneth, *Theory of International Politics* (New York: Random, 1979).
**Wendt, Alexander, 'Anarchy Is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics', *International Organization* (Vol. 46, No. 2, 1992), pp. 391-425.

Critiques of Theoretical Approaches
Brown, William, "Africa and international relations: a comment on IR theory, anarchy, and statehood", *Review of International Studies*, 32-1 (2006)
Chowdhry, Geeta. 2002. *Power, postcolonialism, and international relations: reading race, gender and class*. London: Routledge
Cox, Robert, 'Social Forces, States and World Orders: Beyond International Relations Theory', *Millennium* (Vol. 10, No. 2, 1981), pp. 126-55.
Halliday, Fred, *Rethinking International Relations* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1994).
Hollis, Martin and Steve Smith, *Explaining and Understanding International Relations* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990).
Smith, Steve, Ken Booth & Marysia Zalewski (eds.), *International Theory: Positivism and Beyond* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

European Journal of International Relations, Special Issue on 'The End of International Relations Theory?' (Vol. 19, No. 3, 2013).
Hoffmann, Mark, 'Critical Theory and the Inter-Paradigm Debate', *Millennium* (Vol. 16, No. 2, 1987), pp. 231-49.
Mohanty, Chandra. Feminism without Borders: Decolonizing Theory, Practicing Solidarity (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003).
Ruggie, John Gerard, 'What Makes the World Hang Together? Neo-Utilitarianism and the Social Constructivist Challenge', *International Organization* (Vol. 52, No. 4, 1998), pp. 855-85.
Tickner, Ann J. *Gender and International Relations* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992).
Wendt, Alexander. 1999. *A Social Theory of International Politics*. Cambridge University Press
Zehfuss, Maja, *Constructivism in International Relations: The Politics of Reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).
"IR Theory Outside The West", in the special issue of *International Studies Review*, Vol.10 No.4, december 2008

Further reading

Ashworth, Lucian, 'Did the Realist-Idealist Great Debate Really Happen? A Revisionist History of International Relations', *International Relations* (Vol. 16, No. 1, 2002), pp. 33-51.
Carr, E.H., *The Twenty Years' Crisis, 1919-1939: An Introduction to the Study of International Relations*, Second Edition (London: Macmillan, 1946).
Hobson, John and J.C. Sharman, 'The Enduring Place of Hierarchy in World Politics: Tracing the Social Logics of Hierarchy and Political Change', *European Journal of International Relations* (Vol. 11, No. 1, 2005), pp. 63-98.
Jervis, Robert, 'Realism in the Study of World Politics', *International Organization* (Vol. 52, No. 4, 1998), pp. 971-91.
Milner, Helen, 'The Assumption of Anarchy in International Relations Theory: A Critique', *Review of International Studies* (Vol. 17, No. 1, 1991), pp. 67-85.
Morgenthau, Hans, *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*, Seventh Edition (London: McGraw-Hill, 2006).
Hutchings, Kimberly, "Dialogue between whom? The role of the West/non-West distinction in promoting global dialogue in IR," *Millennium Journal of International Studies* 39.3 (2011): 639-647.
Milner, Helen, 'The Assumption of Anarchy in International Relations Theory: A Critique', *Review of International Studies* (Vol. 17, No. 1, 1991), pp. 67-85.
Singer, David, 'The Level-of-Analysis Problem in International Relations', *World Politics* (Vol. 14, No. 1, 1961), pp. 77-92.
Waltz, Kenneth, *Man, the State and War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959).
Linklater, Andrew, *Beyond Realism and Marxism: Critical Theory and International Relations* (London: Macmillan, 1990).

Topic 1a. Power Politics

Question One: How should we assess the power of international actors?

Question Two: Is the era of US hegemony over, and is a new global balance of power emerging?

Question Three: Is the rise of China evidence of a new form of power in contemporary international relations?

Assessments of Power

**Barnett, Michael & Raymond Duvall (eds.), *Power in Global Governance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).
**Berenskoetter, Felix & Mic Brown, William, "Africa and international relations: a comment on IR theory, anarchy, and statehood", *Review of International Studies*, 32-1 (2006)
hael Williams (eds.), *Power in World Politics* (London: Routledge, 2007).
Guzzini, Stefano & Iver Neumann (eds.), *The Diffusion of Power in Global Governance: International Political Economy Meets Foucault* (London: Palgrave, 2012).
Kiersey, Nicholas and Doug Stokes (eds.), *Foucault and International Relations: New Critical Engagements* (London: Routledge, 2011), esp. introduction and chapters 4 (Manokha) and 7 (Rosenow).
Nicolaïdis, Kalypso and Robert Howse, ''This is my EUtopia...' Narrative as Power', *Journal of Common Market Studies* (Vol. 40, No. 4, 2002), pp. 767-92.
**Nye, Joseph, *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* (New York: Public Affairs, 2009).
Parmar, Inderjeet and Michael Cox, *Soft Power and US Foreign Policy: Theoretical, Historical and Contemporary Perspectives* (London: Routledge, 2010).
International Political Sociology, Forum on 'Assessing the Impact of Foucault on International Relations', (Vol. 4, No. 2, 2010).

Power in the Current System

Beckley, Michael, 'China's Century? Why America's Edge Will Endure', *International Security* (Vol. 36, No. 3, 2011/12), pp. 41-78. [See also discussion in Vol. 37, No. 3.]
**Brooks, Stephen and William Wohlforth, *World out of Balance: International Relations and the Challenge of American Primacy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008).
Brooks, Stephen, Ikenberry, John & Wohlforth, William, 'Don't Come Home America: The Case Against Retrenchment', *International Security* (Vol. 37, No. 3, 2013), pp. 7-51.
Clark, Ian, *Hegemony in International Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).
Goh, Evelyn, 'Great Powers and Hierarchical Order in Southeast Asia: Analyzing Regional Security Strategies, *International Security* (Vol. 32, No. 3, 2008), pp. 113-57.
**Ikenberry, John, *Liberal Leviathan: The Origins, Crisis and Transformation of the American World Order* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011)
***International Affairs*, Special Issues on 'Negotiating the Rise of New Powers' (Vol. 89, No. 3, 2013), and 'Perspectives on Emerging Would-Be Great Powers' (Vol. 82, No. 1, 2006).
International Institute for Strategic Studies, *Strategic Survey* and *The Military Balance 2014*.
Kupchan, Charles, *No One's World: The West, the Rising Rest and the Coming Global Turn* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).
Layne, Christopher, 'The Waning of US Hegemony -- Myth or Reality? A Review Essay', *International Security* (Vol. 34, No. 1, 2009), pp. 147-72.
Narlikar, Amrita, 'All That Glitters is not Gold: India's Rise to Power', *Third World Quarterly* (Vol. 28, No. 5, 2007), pp. 983-996.
Pape, Robert, 'Soft Balancing against the United States', *International Security* (Vol. 30, No. 1, 2005), pp. 7-45.

The rise of China

Friedberg, Aaron L. "The Future of US-China Relations: Is Conflict Inevitable?" *International Security* 30.2 (2005): 7-45.

Mearsheimer, John J. "The gathering storm: China's challenge to US power in Asia." *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 3.4 (2010): 381-396.
Ikenberry, G. John. "The Rise of China and the Future of the West." *Foreign Affairs*- 87.1 (2008): 23.
Ikenberry, G. John, Wang Jisi, and Zhu Feng, eds. *America, China, and the Struggle for World Order: Ideas, Traditions, Historical Legacies, and Global Visions*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.
Foot, R., and A. Walter, *China, the United States and Global Order*. (2011)
Christensen, Thomas J. *The China Challenge: Shaping the Choices of a Rising Power*. WW Norton & Company, 2015.
Shambaugh, David. *China Goes Global: The Partial Power*. (2013)
Lampton, David M. *Following the Leader: Ruling China, from Deng Xiaoping to Xi Jinping*. (2014)
Johnston, Alastair Iain. *Social States: China in International Institutions, 1980-2000* (2008)
Yaqing, Qin. "International Society as a process: institutions, identities, and China's peaceful rise." *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 3.2 (2010): 129-153.
Zhang, Feng. "The rise of Chinese exceptionalism in international relations." *European Journal of International Relations* (2011)
Zhao, Suisheng, and Xiong Qi. "Hedging and Geostrategic Balance of East Asian Countries toward China." *Journal of Contemporary China* (2016): 1-15.
Hameiri, Shahar, and Lee Jones. "Rising powers and state transformation: The case of China." *European Journal of International Relations* (2015): 1354066115578952.

Topic 1b. International Society, Law and Order

Question One: How has the nature of international society changed since the end of the Cold War?

Question Two: What contribution (if any) does international law make to international order?

Mainly for question one:International Society

**Buzan, Barry, *From International to World Society? English School Theory and the Social Structure of Globalisation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).
Clark, Ian, *International Legitimacy and World Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).
Gong, Gerritt, *The Standard of Civilization in International Society* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984).
**Hurrell, Andrew, *On Global Order: Power, Values, and the Constitution of International Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).
**Linklater, Andrew, *The Transformation of Political Community: Ethical Foundations of the Post-Westphalian Era* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1998).
Reus-Smit, Christian, *The Moral Purpose of the State: Culture, Social Identity and Institutional Rationality in International Relations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999).
Ruggie, John Gerard, *Constructing the World Polity: Essays on International Institutionalization* (London: Routledge, 1998).

Further readings international society
Bull, Hedley and Adam Watson (eds.), *The Expansion of International Society* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984).
Fabry, Mikulas, *Recognizing States: International Society and the Establishment of New States since 1776* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

Keene, Edward, *Beyond the Anarchical Society: Grotius, Colonialism and Order in World Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).
Manning, Charles, *The Nature of International Society* (London: Bell, 1962).
Mayall, James, *Nationalism and International Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).
Navari, Cornelia (ed.), *Theorising International Society: English School Methods* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).
Nexon, Daniel, *The Struggle for Power in Early Modern Europe: Religious Conflict, Dynastic Empires and International Change* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), esp. chapter two ('Theorizing International Change').
Shaw, Martin, *Global Society and International Relations: Sociological Concepts and Political Perspectives* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994).
Suganami, Hidemi and Andrew Linklater, *The English School of International Relations:A Contemporary Reassessment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

International Law

Chayes, Abram and Antonia Chayes, 'On Compliance', *International Organization* (Vol. 47, No. 2, 1993), pp. 175-206.
Downs, George W, David M Rocke, and Peter N Barsoom. 1996. "Is the Good News About Compliance Good News About Cooperation?." 50(03): 379–406.
Dunoff, Jeffrey and Mark A. Pollack (eds.), *Interdisciplinary Perspectives on International Law and International Relations: The State of the Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).
**Franck, Thomas, *The Power of Legitimacy among Nations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990).
**Higgins, Rosalyn, *Problems and Process: International Law and How We Use It* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).
Hill, D W. 2015. "Avoiding Obligation: Reservations to Human Rights Treaties.". Journal of Conflict Resolution. 1–30.
Koh, Harold, 'Why do Nations Obey International Law?', *Yale Law Journal* (Vol. 106, No. 8, 1997), pp. 2599-659.
Reus-Smit, Christian (ed.), *The Politics of International Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).
Simmons, Beth, *Mobilizing for Human Rights: International Law in Domestic Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

Further reading international law:

Abbott, Kenneth, Robert O. Keohane, et al., 'The Concept of Legalization', *International Organization* (Vol. 54, No. 3, 2000), pp. 401-19.
**Byers, Michael (ed.), *The Role of Law in International Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).
Brunnée, Jutta and Stephen J. Toope, *Legitimacy and Legality in International Law: An Interactional Account* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).
Finnemore, Martha, 'Are Legal Norms Distinctive?', *New York University Journal of International Law and Politics* (Vol. 32, 2000), pp. 699-705.
Hafner-Burton, Emilie, David Victor and Yonatan Lupu, 'Political Science Research on International Law: The State of the Field', *American Journal of International Law* (Vol. 106, 2012), pp. 47-97.

Jouannet, Emmanuelle, *The Liberal-Welfarist Law of Nations: A History of International Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).
Koskenniemi, Martti, *From Apology to Utopia: The Structure of International Legal Argument*, Reissue with new epilogue (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).
Krisch, Nico and Benedict Kingsbury, 'Introduction: Global Governance and Global Administrative Law in the International Legal Order', *European Journal of International Law* (Vol. 17, No. 1, 2006), pp. 1-13.
Miéville, China, *Between Equal Rights: A Marxist Theory of International Law* (London: Pluto, 2006).
Slaughter, Anne-Marie, 'A Liberal Theory of International Law', *American Society of International Law Proceedings* (Vol. 94, 2000), pp. 241-48.
Suzuki, Shogo, 'Seeking "Legitimate" Great Power Status in Post-Cold War International Society: China's and Japan's Participation in UNPKO', *International Relations* (Vol. 22, No. 1, 2008), pp. 45-63.
Vincent, R.J., *Human Rights and International Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

Topic 1c. Interests, Ideas and the Sources of State Behaviour

Question One: 'In the final analysis, a state's foreign policy choices will be determined by whichever domestic interest groups are the strongest.' Do you agree?

Question Two: 'Ideas have, like switchmen, determined the tracks along which action has been pushed by the dynamic of interest.' (Max Weber) Are ideas the 'switchmen' of foreign policy?

Decision-making

**Allison, Graham, *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*, Second Edition (New York: Longman, 1999).
Carlsnaes, Walter and Stefano Guzzini (eds.), *Foreign Policy Analysis* (London: Sage, 2011).
Crawford, Neta, *Argument and Change in World Politics: Ethics, Decolonization and Humanitarian Intervention* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).
**Hill, Christopher, *The Changing Politics of Foreign Policy* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).
Hunt, Michael, *Ideology and US Foreign Policy*, Second Edition (New Haven, Yale University Press, 2009).
Krasner, Stephen, 'Are Bureaucracies Important? Or Allison Wonderland?' *Foreign Policy* (Vol. 7, 1972), pp. 159-79.
Khong, Yuen Foong, *Analogies at War: Korea, Munich, Dien Bien Phu, and the Vietnam Decisions of 1965* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992).
**Mearsheimer, John & Walt, Stephen, *The Israel Lobby and US Foreign Policy* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2007).
**Putnam, Robert, 'Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games', *International Organization* (Vol. 42, No. 3, 1988), pp. 427-60.
Schmidt, Brian, and Williams, Michael, 'The Bush Doctrine and the Iraq War: Neoconservatives versus Realists', *Security Studies* (Vol. 17, No. 2, 2008), pp. 191-200.

Ideas, Identity, and Decision-making

Casey, Steven and Jonathan Wrights (eds.), *Mental Maps in the Era of Two World Wars* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

Doty, Roxanne Lynn, *Imperial Encounters: The Politics of Representation in North-South Relations* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996).

**Goldstein, Judith and Robert O. Keohane (eds.), *Ideas and Foreign Policy: Beliefs, Institutions and Political Change* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993).

Jackson, Patrick Thaddeus, *Civilizing the Enemy: German Reconstruction and the Invention of the West* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006).

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Question One: Which approach best explains the role of institutions in promoting regional and international commerce?

Question Two: Can integration theories shed light on disintegration processes?

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Topic 2b: Globalization

Question One: What is new about the so-called Global Era (if anything) and how do we best explain it?

Question Two: Who are the winners and losers in a globalizing economy?

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Topic 2c: Global Inequalities and Redistributive Justice

Institutions and Inequality

Question One: What role do international financial institutions, such as the IMF and the World Bank, play in reducing inequalities among states?

Question Two: What has the debate about colonial injustice contributed to arguments for global redistributive justice?

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Topic 3: Global Governance and Security

Question One: Is the post-Cold War world a more secure world or just a world with new insecurities?

Question Two: Does the democratic peace theory represent a challenge to Realism? ***OR*** "The greater number of democratic states in the world has made it a more peaceful place". Do you agree?

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Topic 3a: International Organisations and International Security

Question One: How effective is the United Nations in managing global security issues?

Question Two: Why have regional security organizations outside Europe not been as effective as NATO?

<u>For question one: United Nations and Security</u>

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Topic 3b: Identity and Culture in International Security

Question One: Why have ethnic and nationalist conflicts become such a prominent feature of the post-Cold War World?

Question Two: Has the 'War on Terror' proved Samuel P. Huntington's 'Clash of Civilisations' theory? ***OR*** What evidence is there to support the claim that culture is a cause of conflict in international relations?

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