

IR THEORY AND HISTORY: EUROPE, 1919-1939

University of Notre Dame
Spring 2021
TR 9:30-10:50am

EURO 30305 / POLS 30318

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COURSE DESCRIPTION

Few experiences have exerted more influence on our understanding of international relations (IR) than those of crisis-ridden Europe between the two World Wars. Academics, policymakers, and laypeople alike frequently point to the failure of the League of Nations, Hitler's expansionist hypernationalism, or the "appeasement" crises of the 1930s when debating how to identify, understand, and respond to some of the most pressing international challenges of our time. This course offers an overview of European interwar history through the lens of international relations theory and debates several purported lessons of the period for policymakers today. Students thus engage a series of topics within international relations, ranging from the role of institutions in international politics to the profitability of conquest and the causes of war. In the process, students familiarize themselves with key international events of the interwar years, including the Occupation of the Ruhr, the Abyssinia Crisis, the Spanish Civil War, and the Munich Agreement.

LEARNING GOALS

Through participation in this seminar, students will:

- Reflect upon the ways in which history influences academic and popular understandings of and approaches to current events in world politics

- Become familiar with advanced topics in international relations theory Gain in-depth knowledge of the interwar period that is grounded in research from both political science and history
- Learn to critically evaluate scholarly works by examining the assumptions, logic, data, and conclusions presented by the authors

BASICS

Zoom Information: All our seminar sessions this semester will take place on Zoom.

- Meeting ID: [REDACTED]
- Password: [REDACTED]
- Direct Link:

[REDACTED]

Office Hours: I hold virtual office hours by appointment and strongly encourage you to meet with me as often as you would like over the course of the semester. Please sign up for a meeting with me anytime through the following website: [REDACTED]. After registering, you will automatically receive an email containing the unique Zoom link and password for our meeting as well as a Google Calendar invite.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

Attendance and Participation (25%): You are expected to be prepared to discuss the assigned readings in class. I count on you to engage in lively discussions by, for instance, asking clarifying questions and sharing your reaction to the pieces we read. Attendance at every session is mandatory. However, you are *allowed a maximum of three unexcused absences*. With a fourth unexcused absence, your final grade will drop 5%. For each unexcused absence beyond the fourth, your final grade will drop 10%.

Three Essays (25% each): As your main assignment for this class, you will write three essays over the course of the semester. I will distribute the prompt for each essay – which will include detailed instructions and guidelines on how to approach it – one week in advance of the respective due date:

- Essay 1 is based on Parts I & II of the class and is **due on March 14**.
- Essay 2 is based on Part III of the class and is **due on April 18**.
- Essay 3 is based on Part IV of the class and is **due on May 14**.

Grading Scale									
A	A-	B+	B	B-	C+	C	C-	D	F
93%-100%	90%-92%	86%-89%	81%-85%	77%-80%	74%-76%	71%-73%	66%-70%	60%-65%	0%-59%
Exceptional	Outstanding	Very good	Good	More than acceptable	Acceptable	Mostly acceptable	Minimally acceptable	Minimally passing	Failure

OTHER COURSE POLICIES

Communication: Outside of class, I will usually communicate with you via email, so check your inbox often!

The Honor Code: All students must familiarize themselves with the University's [Honor Code](#) and pledge to observe its provisions in all written and oral work, including oral presentations, quizzes and exams, and drafts and final versions of essays.

Missed/Late Exams and Assignments: I understand that emergencies and illnesses might arise anytime, especially in today's circumstances. If this case occurs, please let me know as early as possible so that we can find an alternative arrangement for you.

Smart Use of Technology: This course relies heavily on access to computers and the Internet. At some point during the semester you *will* have a problem with technology: your laptop will crash, a file will become corrupted, a server will go down, or something else will occur. Technology problems will not normally be accepted as excuses for unfinished work. Count on "stuff" happening and protect yourself by doing the following: plan ahead and start work early, save work often, and make regular back-up of files.

Inclusiveness: The University of Notre Dame is committed to social justice. I share that commitment and strive to maintain a positive learning environment based on open communication, mutual respect, and non-discrimination. In this class we will not discriminate on the basis of race, sex, age, economic class, disability, veteran status, religion, sexual orientation, gender identity, color, or national origin. Any suggestions as to how to further such a positive and open environment will be appreciated and given serious consideration.

Sexual Assault: The University of Notre Dame provides services for those who have been affected by sexual assault, sexual misconduct, dating or domestic violence, stalking and any

conduct that creates a hostile environment. For help and further information including contact information for on and off-campus resources, please consult <https://titleix.nd.edu/support-resources>.

Disabilities: Any student who has a documented disability and is registered with Disability Services should speak with me as soon as possible regarding accommodations. Students who are not registered should contact the [Office of Disability Services](#) as soon as possible since accommodation typically needs to be arranged well in advance.

Mental Health: Diminished mental health can interfere with your happiness and academic performance. The University Counseling Center (UCC) provides cost-free and confidential mental health services to help you manage personal challenges that threaten your emotional or academic well-being. Remember, getting help is a smart and courageous thing to do – for yourself and for those who care about you. For more resources, please see ucc.nd.edu.

Recordings and Privacy Concerns: Our seminar sessions will *not* be recorded to promote student participation and discussion, and to respect student privacy. The University prohibits anyone from taking pictures, recording, and/or sharing class pictures or recordings with anyone outside of this course, for any reason.

CLASS SCHEDULE AND READINGS

Part I: Introduction and Groundwork	
02/04	Class 1: Introduction to the Course
02/09	Class 2: International Relations Theory: An Overview
02/11	Class 3: The Interwar Period: An Overview
Part II: 1919-1920s	
02/16	Class 4: Versailles and the Sources of International Orders (I)
02/18	Class 5: Versailles and the Sources of International Orders (II)
02/23	Class 6: The Occupation of the Ruhr and the Profitability of Conquest (I)
02/25	Class 7: The Occupation of the Ruhr and the Profitability of Conquest (II)
03/02	MINI-BREAK -- NO CLASS

03/04	Class 8: Locarno and the Democratic Peace (I)
03/09	Class 9: Locarno and the Democratic Peace (II)
PART III: 1930s	
03/11	Class 10: The Abyssinia Crisis and the Limits of International Institutions (I)
03/16	Class 11: The Abyssinia Crisis and the Limits of International Institutions (II)
03/18	Class 12: The Spanish Civil War and Foreign Involvement in Domestic Disputes (I)
03/23	Class 13: The Spanish Civil War and Foreign Involvement in Domestic Disputes (II)
03/25	Class 14: The Munich Agreement and the Irrationality of Appeasement (I)
03/30	Class 15: The Munich Agreement and the Irrationality of Appeasement (II)
04/01	Class 16: Neville Chamberlain and the Prevalence of Cognitive Biases (I)
04/06	Class 17: Neville Chamberlain and the Prevalence of Cognitive Biases (II)
04/08	Class 18: The Appeasement Crises and the Role of Reputation (I)
04/13	Class 19: The Appeasement Crises and the Role of Reputation (II)
PART IV: THE CAUSES OF WORLD WAR II	
04/15	Class 20: The Causes of War: An Overview
04/20	Class 21: Hitler as a Cause of War
04/22	Class 22: German Domestic Politics as a Cause of War
04/27	Class 23: German Nationalism as a Cause of War
04/29	Class 24: Interwar Protectionism as a Cause of War
05/04	Class 25: The Ease of Conquest as a Cause of War
05/06	Class 26: Multipolarity as a Cause of War
PART V: CONCLUSION	
05/11	Class 27: The Use of History in Foreign Policy

All readings listed below are required, unless otherwise noted. The readings are available through Hesburgh Library Reserves, which are linked on our [Sakai](#) course page.

PART I: INTRODUCTION AND GROUNDWORK

Class 1: Introduction to the Course

- E. H. Carr, *The Twenty Years' Crisis, 1919–1939*, reissued ed. (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), pp. cxxi-cxxiv, 3-11.
- Ernest R. May, *“Lessons” of the Past: The Use and Misuse of History in American Foreign Policy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), pp. ix-xiv, 172-181.

Class 2: International Relations Theory: An Overview

- Joseph Grieco, G. John Ikenberry, and Michael Mastanduno, *Introduction to International Relations: Perspectives, Connections, and Enduring Questions*, 2nd ed. (London: Red Globe Press, 2019), pp. 76-112.
- Recommended to skim, but not required: Ibid., pp. 114-146.

Class 3: The Interwar Period: An Overview

- Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994), pp. 246-318

PART II: 1919-1920s

Class 4: The Treaty of Versailles and the Sources of International Orders (I)

- G. John Ikenberry, *After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Building of Order after Major Wars*, new ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019), pp. 3-7; 117-162.

Class 5: The Treaty of Versailles and the Sources of International Orders (II)

- Kyle M. Lascuertes, *Orders of Exclusion: Great Powers and the Strategic Sources of Foundational Rules in International Relations* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020), pp. 1-12; 132-163.

Class 6: The Occupation of the Ruhr and the Profitability of Conquest (I)

- Peter Liberman, *Does Conquest Pay? The Exploitation of Occupied Industrial Societies* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), pp. 3-35; 87-98.

Class 7: The Occupation of the Ruhr and the Profitability of Conquest (II)

- Stephen G. Brooks, "The Globalization of Production and the Changing Benefits of Conquest," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 43, No. 5 (1999), pp. 646-670.
- Ilan Berman, "Paradise Lost in Crimea: How Russia Is Paying for the Annexation," *Foreign Affairs*, September 8, 2015, available at <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/ukraine/2015-09-08/paradise-lost-crimea>. Accessed on August 12, 2020.

Class 8: Locarno and the Democratic Peace (I)

- Jonathan Wright, "Locarno: a Democratic Peace?" *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 36, No. 2 (2010), pp. 391-411.
- Larry Diamond, "Promoting Democracy," *Foreign Policy*, No. 87 (1992), pp. 25-46.

Class 9: Locarno and the Democratic Peace (II)

- Sebastian Rosato, "The Flawed Logic of Democratic Peace Theory," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 97, No. 4 (2003), pp. 585-602.
- Jessica L. P. Weeks, *Dictators at War and Peace* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014), pp. 1-13, 171-178.

PART III: THE 1930s

Class 10: The Abyssinia Crisis and the Limits of International Institutions (I)

- Alan Sharp, "From Balance of Power to Collective Security? The League of Nations and International Diplomacy" in R. A. Stradling (ed.), *Crossroads of European Histories: Multiple Outlooks on Five Key Moments in the History of Europe* (Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 2006), pp. 173-185.

- George W. Baer, "Sanctions and Security: The League of Nations and the Italian-Ethiopian War, 1935–1936," *International Organization*, Vol. 27, No. 2 (1973), pp. 165-179.
- John J. Mearsheimer, "The False Promise of International Institutions," *International Security*, Vol. 19, No. 3 (1994), pp. 5-15, 26-37.

Class 11: The Abyssinia Crisis and the Limits of International Institutions (II)

- Robert O. Keohane, "International Institutions: Can Interdependence Work?" *Foreign Policy*, No. 110 (1998), pp. 82-96.
- Alexandru Grigorescu, "Mapping the UN-League of Nations Analogy: Are There Still Lessons to Be Learned from the League?" *Global Governance*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (2005), pp. 25-42.

Class 12: The Spanish Civil War and Foreign Involvements in Domestic Disputes (I)

- Helen Graham, *The Spanish Civil War: A Very Short Introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 1-24.
- Paul Preston, "Introduction," in Paul Preston and Ann L. Mackenzie, *The Republic Besieged: Civil War in Spain 1936–1939* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996), pp. v-xiv.
- Eric Forman, "Civil War as a Source of International Violence," *The Journal of Politics*, Vol. 34, No. 4 (1972), pp. 1111-1134.

Class 13: The Spanish Civil War and Foreign Involvements in Domestic Disputes (II)

- Frederic S. Pearson, "Foreign Military Interventions and Domestic Disputes," *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 18, No. 3 (1974), pp. 259-290.
- Patrick M. Regan, "Choosing to Intervene: Outside Interventions in Internal Conflicts," *The Journal of Politics*, Vol. 60, No. 3 (1998), pp. 754-779.

Class 14: The Munich Agreement and the Irrationality of Appeasement (I)

- Winston S. Churchill, *The Second World War, Vol. 1: The Gathering Storm* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1985), pp. 250-288.
- Cato, *Guilty Men* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1940), pp. 47-65.

Class 15: The Munich Agreement and the Irrationality of Appeasement (II)

- Norrin M. Ripsman and Jack S. Levy, "Wishful Thinking or Buying Time? The Logic of British Appeasement in the 1930s," *International Security*, Vol. 33, No. 2 (2008), pp. 148-181.
- Christopher Layne, "Security Studies and the Use of History: Neville Chamberlain's Grand Strategy Revisited," *Security Studies*, Vol. 17, No. 3 (2008), pp. 397-437.

Class 16: Neville Chamberlain and the Prevalence of Cognitive Biases (I)

- Robert Jervis, "Hypotheses on Misperception," *World Politics*, Vol. 20, No. 3 (1968), pp. 454-479.
- Keren Yarhi-Milo, *Knowing the Adversary: Leaders, Intelligence, and Assessment of Intentions in International Relations* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014), pp. 58-101.

Class 17: Neville Chamberlain and the Prevalence of Cognitive Biases (II)

- Moritz S. Graefrath, "How Rare Are Rational Thinkers in International Politics? Revisiting the 'Guilty Men' of Interwar Britain," unpublished manuscript, University of Notre Dame, April 2020. (*to be distributed via email*)

Class 18: The Appeasement Crises and the Role of Reputation (I)

- Daryl G. Press, "The Credibility of Power: Assessing Threats during the 'Appeasement' Crises of the 1930s," *International Security*, Vol. 29, No. 3 (Winter 2004/2005), pp. 136-169.

Class 19: The Appeasement Crises and the Role of Reputation (II)

- Alex Weisiger and Keren Yarhi-Milo, "Revisiting Reputation: How Past Actions Matter in International Politics," *International Organization*, Vol. 69, No. 2 (2015), pp. 473-495.
- Danielle L. Lupton, *Reputation for Resolve: How Leaders Signal Determination in International Politics* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2020), pp. 1-16.

PART 4: WORLD WAR II AND THE CAUSES OF WAR

Class 20: The Causes of War: An Overview

- Conan Fischer, *Europe between Democracy and Dictatorship, 1900-1945* (West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), pp. 278-286.
- Kenneth N. Waltz, *Man, the State, and War: A Theoretical Analysis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), pp. 1-15.
- Jack S. Levy, "The Causes of War and the Conditions of Peace," *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol. 1 (1998), pp. 139-165.

Class 21: Hitler as a Cause of War

- Sebastian Haffner, *The Meaning of Hitler* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979), pp. 73-165.

Class 22: German Domestic Politics as a Cause of War

- Jack Snyder, *Myths of Empire: Domestic Politics and International Ambition* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), pp. 21-65, 97-111.

Class 23: German Nationalism as a Cause of War

- Stephen Van Evera, "Hypotheses on Nationalism and War," *International Security*, Vol. 18, No. 4 (1994), pp. 5-39.

Class 24: Interwar Protectionism as a Cause of War

- Norman Angell, *The Great Illusion: A Study of the Relation of Military Power to National Advantage* (Memphis, TN: Bottom of the Hill, 2012), pp. 29-39.
- Richard Rosecrance, *The Rise of the Trading State: Commerce and Conquest in the Modern World* (New York: Basic Books, 1986), pp. 22-43.
- Katherine Barbieri, "Economic Interdependence: A Path to Peace or a Source of Interstate Conflict?" *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 33, No. 1 (1996), pp. 29-49.

Class 25: The Ease of Conquest as a Cause of War

- Stephen Van Evera, "Offense, Defense, and the Causes of War," *International Security*, Vol. 22, No. 4 (1998), pp. 5-43.
- Keir A. Lieber, *War and the Engineers: The Primacy of Politics over Technology* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005), pp. 34-45.

Class 26: Multipolarity as a Cause of War

- Kenneth N. Waltz, "The Origins of War in Neorealist Theory," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, Vol. 18, No. 4 (1988), pp. 615-628.
- John J. Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*, updated ed. (New York: W.W. Norton, 2014), pp. 334-359.

PART 5: CONCLUSION

Class 27: The Use of History in Foreign Policy

- Michael Fry, "Introduction," in Michael Fry (ed.), *History, the White House, and the Kremlin: Statesmen as Historians* (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016), pp. 1-19.
- Richard E. Neustadt and Ernest R. May, *Thinking in Time: The Uses of History for Decision-Makers* (New York: Free Press, 1988), pp. 232-246.