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Perspectives on International Relations, 5e
Henry R. Nau
Instructor Manual

Chapter 2: World War I: World on Fire

Instructor Chapter Overview

Chapter 2 begins by describing the current state of affairs in Europe in 1914 prior to the outbreak of World War I. The chapter then exposes students to the three perspectives by using World War I as a case study. Employing the system, domestic, individual, and foreign policy levels of analysis, this chapter uses the perspectives to examine accounts of the war's outbreak.

For the realist perspective, these causes can lie with issues of power conversion, the balance of power, and weak leaders. The liberal perspective stresses the importance of international and domestic institutions, communicative failure, economic relationships, and poor diplomacy. The identity perspective emphasizes the emergence of various strains of nationalism and shared norms like the cult of the offensive and Social Darwinism. By combining levels of analysis with the three perspectives, this chapter provides exposure to concepts such as preventative war, diplomacy, and conflicting identities that are useful for the study of international relations across a variety of contexts.

Talking points for discussion

1. If you could use only one level of analysis to give an account of World War I, which would you use? Why?
2. Does the power transition school of realism or the power balancing school of realism provide a better explanation of the causes of war? Which changes in the distribution of power before World War I would each emphasize?
3. Using counterfactual analysis, do you think that World War I would have been prevented if Bismarck had retained his office? Why or why not?
4. Some liberals argue that World War I began because the actors involved assumed that it was inevitable. What had helped to shorten the "shadow of the future"? How could it have been extended?

5. The ruling monarchs in Germany and Russia in the Summer of 1914 were close family relatives, yet they failed to avoid war between their states. Does that fact support explanations for the war at the individual level of analysis? Why or why not?
6. Recall the three primary forms of nationalism present in Europe before World

- War I. Which of these played the greatest role in causing World War I? Do you see this form of nationalism present in the world today?
7. What is the difference between preventive and preemptive war?
 8. How did shared norms, like the cult of the offensive and Social Darwinism, lead to World War I?

Student Chapter Overview

The beginnings of World War I can be seen through the lenses of the three perspectives. The realist perspective would explain World War I by pointing to changes in the European balance of power. Specifically, it could make several arguments: a rigid, inflexible alliance system led to war; the decline of British hegemony led to war; Germany sought war because it was afraid that, in the near future, its dominance would decline and Russia's would rise; and Germany was driven to war because of domestic groups that favored expansion.

The liberal perspective, by contrast, emphasizes Europe's diplomatic and institutional problems. It focuses on the clumsy diplomacy of Kaiser Wilhelm II, German misperceptions about British neutrality, and weak domestic institutions in Germany and Austria-Hungary.

The identity perspective, on the other hand, examines the ideas and norms possessed by nations in the prewar years. It concentrates on forms of nationalism and shared norms like the cult of the offensive and Social Darwinism, which made states pursue exclusive and aggressive policies.

Study Questions

1. Was Germany at fault for causing World War I? What domestic factors might each perspective emphasize when they argue that Germany caused the war?
2. Both the power balancing and power transition schools of realism look at the same period of history but emphasize different facts. According to each school, what changes in the distribution of power led to World War I?
3. The liberal perspective believes that diplomacy, which had previously prevented war, failed in 1914 for three reasons. What are these reasons, and why could they not be overcome?
4. The identity perspective believes that relative and shared identities shaped the aggressiveness of states before 1914. What are specific examples of state identities and shared norms that set the stage for World War I?
5. Why do critical theorists believe that history is mainly written from a realist perspective? By doing so, which factors are overlooked and what are the implications of doing so?

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Perspectives on International Relations: Power, Institutions, and Ideas
Chapter 2: World War I

Slide 2

Topics to Cover

Europe in 1914

- ✓ Realist Explanations
- ✓ Liberal Explanations
- ✓ Identity Explanations
- ✓ Critical Theory Explanations

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Europe in 1914

Slide 4

Europe in 1914

Historical Facts

- ✓ Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to Austrian throne, assassinated in Sarajevo on June 28, 1914
- ✓ Austria considers Serbia responsible, had to retaliate
- ✓ Austria-Hungary declares war on Serbia on July 28, 1914

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Europe in 1914

Causes of War

- ✓ Realist perspective
 - Unification of Germany in 1871
 - Security dilemma
 - Only solution is reduction of German power

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Europe in 1914

Causes of War

- ✓ Liberal perspective
 - Lack of adequate institutions and diplomacy
 - Secrecy and manipulation of European diplomacy

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Europe in 1914

Causes of War

- ✓ Identity perspective
 - Shared and competitive identities
 - Nationalism ignited by French Revolution
 - Social Darwinism

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Realist Explanations

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Realist Explanations

The Rise of German Power

- ✓ Germany unites in 1871
- ✓ Geopolitics: No buffer zone between west and east
- ✓ Zollverein: Rapid industrial development
 - Germany converts wealth to military power

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Realist Explanations

Power Balancing: Triple Entente and Triple Alliance

- ✓ German unification leads to formation of rival alliances
 - Triple Alliance (Russia, France, Britain)
 - Triple Entente (Germany, Austria-Hungary, Italy)
- ✓ Alliances form a “checkerboard” pattern

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Realist Explanations

Power Balancing: Triple Entente and Triple Alliance

- ✓ Equilibrium prevents war, so what happened?
- ✓ Differing views
 - Rigid bipolar balance, preemptive war
 - Threat of changes to future balance of power, preventive war
 - Decline of Great Britain as hegemon

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Realist Explanations

Rigid Alliances and Preemptive War

- ✓ Germany is encircled because of its power and its location
- ✓ Germany considers preemptive war
 - The Schlieffen Plan (two-front war against France and Russia)

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Realist Explanations

Future Balances and Preventive War

- ✓ Germany is strong, but Russia will soon grow stronger
- ✓ Germany considers preventive war
 - The July Crisis (deliberate provocation of war with Russia)

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Realist Explanations

- ✓ Power Transition and Hegemonic Decline
- ✓ Germany grows in power while Britain and France decline in power
- ✓ Germany challenges British hegemony
 - Naval power (naval arms race with Britain)
 - Global influence (colonies in Africa, intervention in Morocco)

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Realist Explanations

Cartelized Domestic Politics and German Aggression

- ✓ Germany is aggressive
- ✓ “Cartelized” political economy
 - Agricultural landowners
 - Industrial leaders
 - Military elites
- ✓ Groups form coalitions and “logroll” interests, leading to aggressive policies

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Liberal explanations

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Liberal Explanations

- ✓ Diplomacy
- ✓ Misperception
- ✓ Path dependence
- ✓ The “last move”
- ✓ Economics and political weakness of traders

Slide 18

Liberal explanations

Secret Diplomacy: Bismarck

- ✓ Bismarck’s secret and manipulative diplomacy preserves stability
 - Developed secret alliance with Austria-Hungary against Russia, another with Italy against France and Russia

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Liberal explanations

Clumsy Diplomacy: Wilhelm II

- ✓ Wilhelm II’s clumsy diplomacy creates instability
 - Colonial and naval rivalry with Britain
 - International crises

Slide 20

Liberal explanations

Misperceptions and Mobilization Plans

- ✓ Why didn’t diplomacy prevent war in 1914?
 - Germany mistakenly expected Britain to remain neutral in 1914
 - Mobilization plans as official policy called for automatic escalation to war
 - Civilian institutions in various countries broke down

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Liberal explanations

The Last Move

- ✓ Game theory

- ∗ Shadow of the future: Actors count on being able to play the game again tomorrow
- ∗ What if they believe they are playing the game for the last time?
- ∗ War was intended

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Liberal explanations

Weak Domestic Institutions

- ∗ Iron-rye coalition in Germany supported division in domestic politics
- ∗ Domestic cleavages in Austria-Hungary, Russia, and Ottoman Empire
- ∗ United States alienated by German policy, sinking of *Lusitania*

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Liberal explanations

Insufficient Interdependence: Trade and the Hague Conferences

- ∗ Expansion of trade and banking
- ∗ Norman Angell: War is a “great illusion”
 - Costs of war from breakup of trade and investment exceeds benefits of war
- ∗ Hague Conferences: Multilateral diplomacy

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Identity Explanations

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Identity Explanations

Militant and Racist Nationalism

- ∗ Rising militarism, racism
- ∗ Industrial revolution supports new arms industry
- ∗ Militarist mentality creates the “cult of the offensive”
 - Belief in advantage of using military power offensively

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Identity Explanations

Liberal Nationalism

- ∗ Ideological, emphasizes participation of all members of society in political life and institutions
- ∗ Led by the United States and Great Britain
- ∗ Immanuel Kant: Universal peace through spread of democracy

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Identity Explanations

Socialist Nationalism

- ∗ Focuses on social and economic equality of individuals, advocates for redistribution of wealth
- ∗ Second International: Conferences of socialist parties

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Identity Explanations

Social Darwinism

- ∗ “Survival of the fittest” for nations

- ✓ Strength of nation depends on military power, cultural cohesion
 - Racism: Linked culture to biology

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Critical Theory Explanations

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Critical Theory Explanations

- ✓ Historical materialism drives clash between capitalist and communist states
- ✓ After transition to communism, Russia pulls out of World War I
 - Vanguard of the proletariat
 - Influence of Lenin

Chapter 2: World War I

[Forbes' "Gauging The Jihadist Movement, Part 1: The Goals of the Jihadists"](#)

This exercise asks you to read an opinion piece on the goals of Islamic extremists, and to relate the author's arguments to the rise of Germany in the nineteenth century. (After you have read Chapters 3 and 4, you can also try to relate these arguments to the rise of Germany before World War II and to the rise of the Soviet Union.)

The article, although appearing on the Forbes website, was originally posted on the website of Stratfor, a firm that specializes in analyzing international relations.

[answer multiple]

1. What does the author mean when he says that Islamic extremists are rational? How does their rationality influence their use of terrorism and insurgency?

[answer]

2. How does the author characterize the ideology of Islamic extremists?

[answer]

3. The author argues that Islamic extremists seek to create a caliphate. How does the author describe the concept of "caliphate?" How does he characterize the tension between transnationalism and nationalism among Islamic extremists?

[answer]

4. The author quotes passages from a letter written by Ayman al-Zawahiri, a deputy leader of al Qaeda. How does al-Zawahiri describe al Qaeda's goals?

[answer]

5. If al Qaeda succeeds in establishing a caliphate, how do you think it will impact the balance of power both in the region of the Middle East and globally? In what ways is this similar or dissimilar to the way that a united Germany changed the European and global balance of power in the nineteenth century?

[answer]

6. What causal arrows does the author draw among ideology, terrorist and insurgent warfare, and the balance of power? Can you make an alternative argument by drawing the causal arrows in different directions? What perspective is the author writing from, and what perspective does your alternative argument come from?

[answer]

7. Do you think the Middle East would be more stable under a single state or divided among multiple states? What arguments from the realist perspective support your argument?

[answer]

8. Do you think ideology played a similar role in the unification of Germany, compared to the role of ideology in establishing a caliphate? Given your knowledge of the rise of Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union, do you think ideology played a similar role in the rise of those states?
[answer]

HENRY R. NAU

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Fifth Edition



Chapter 2: World War I

Topics to Cover

- Europe in 1914
- Realist Explanations
- Liberal Explanations
- Identity Explanations
- Critical Theory Explanations

EUROPE IN 1914

What key historical facts in the lead-up to World War I are emphasized by each perspective

Historical Facts

- Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to Austrian throne, assassinated in Sarajevo on June 28, 1914
- Austria considers Serbia responsible, had to retaliate
- Austria-Hungary declares war on Serbia on July 28, 1914

Causes of War

- Realist perspective
 - Unification of Germany in 1871
 - Security dilemma
 - Only solution is reduction of German power

Causes of War

- Liberal perspective
 - Lack of adequate institutions and diplomacy
 - Secrecy and manipulation of European diplomacy

Causes of War

- Identity perspective
 - Shared and competitive identities
 - Nationalism ignited by French Revolution
 - Social Darwinism

REALIST EXPLANATIONS

What key historical facts in the lead-up to World War I are emphasized by each perspective; What changes in those facts made war more likely, according to each perspective; What the consequences of the unification of Germany were for the balance of power and the security dilemma How the power balancing and power transition schools view the causes of war differently

The Rise of German Power

- Germany unites in 1871
- Geopolitics: No buffer zone between west and east
- Zollverein: Rapid industrial development
 - Germany converts wealth to military power

Power Balancing: Triple Entente and Triple Alliance

- German unification leads to formation of rival alliances
 - Triple Alliance (Russia, France, Britain)
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- Alliances form a “checkerboard” pattern

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- Germany is strong, but Russia will soon grow stronger
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 - The July Crisis (deliberate provocation of war with Russia)

Power Transition and Hegemonic Decline

- Germany grows in power while Britain and France decline in power
- Germany challenges British hegemony
 - Naval power (naval arms race with Britain)
 - Global influence (colonies in Africa, intervention in Morocco)

Cartelized Domestic Politics and German Aggression

- Germany is aggressive
- “Cartelized” political economy
 - Agricultural landowners
 - Industrial leaders
 - Military elites
- Groups form coalitions and “logroll” interests, leading to aggressive policies

LIBERAL EXPLANATIONS

What key historical facts in the lead-up to World War I are emphasized by each perspective; What changes in those facts made war more likely, according to each perspective; What role diplomatic failures and misperception played in the build-up to war; What role the internal weaknesses of certain states played in making war possible

Liberal Explanations

- Diplomacy
- Misperception
- Path dependence
- The “last move”
- Economics and political weakness of traders

Secret Diplomacy: Bismarck

- Bismarck's secret and manipulative diplomacy preserves stability
 - Developed secret alliance with Austria-Hungary against Russia, another with Italy against France and Russia

Clumsy Diplomacy: Wilhelm II

- Wilhelm II's clumsy diplomacy creates instability
 - Colonial and naval rivalry with Britain
 - International crises

Misperceptions and Mobilization Plans

- Why didn't diplomacy prevent war in 1914?
 - Germany mistakenly expected Britain to remain neutral in 1914
 - Mobilization plans as official policy called for automatic escalation to war
 - Civilian institutions in various countries broke down

The Last Move

- Game theory
- Shadow of the future: Actors count on being able to play the game again tomorrow
- What if they believe they are playing the game for the last time?
- War was intended

Weak Domestic Institutions

- Iron-rye coalition in Germany supported division in domestic politics
- Domestic cleavages in Austria-Hungary, Russia, and Ottoman Empire
- United States alienated by German policy, sinking of *Lusitania*

Insufficient Interdependence: Trade and the Hague Conferences

- Expansion of trade and banking
- Norman Angell: War is a “great illusion”
 - Costs of war from breakup of trade and investment exceeds benefits of war
- Hague Conferences: Multilateral diplomacy

IDENTITY EXPLANATIONS

What key historical facts in the lead-up to World War I are emphasized by each perspective; What changes in those facts made war more likely, according to each perspective; How different forms of nationalism and international norms (like Social Darwinism and the cult of the offensive) made war more likely

Militant and Racist Nationalism

- Rising militarism, racism
- Industrial revolution supports new arms industry
- Militarist mentality creates the “cult of the offensive”
 - Belief in advantage of using military power offensively

Liberal Nationalism

- Ideological, emphasizes participation of all members of society in political life and institutions
- Led by the United States and Great Britain
- Immanuel Kant: Universal peace through spread of democracy

Socialist Nationalism

- Focuses on social and economic equality of individuals, advocates for redistribution of wealth
- Second International: Conferences of socialist parties

Social Darwinism

- “Survival of the fittest” for nations
- Strength of nation depends on military power, cultural cohesion
 - Racism: Linked culture to biology

CRITICAL THEORY EXPLANATIONS

What key historical facts in the lead-up to World War I are emphasized by each perspective; What changes in those facts made war more likely, according to each perspective

Critical Theory Explanations

- Historical materialism drives clash between capitalist and communist states
- After transition to communism, Russia pulls out of World War I
 - Vanguard of the proletariat
 - Influence of Lenin

Discussion

- Or...
- Questions
- Case Study
- Exercise
- Review
- Looking Ahead

Open-access student resources

- Mobile-friendly quizzes
- Mobile-friendly eFlashcards
- Learning objective summaries
- Video and multimedia resources
- SAGE journal articles

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