

## TOPICS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS: THE CONSEQUENCES OF WAR

Professor Ronald R. Krebs  
1474 Social Sciences Building  
rkrebs@polisci.umn.edu  
tel.: 612-624-4356

*Class:* Tuesday, 1:25 p.m.–3:20 p.m.,  
1314 Social Sciences  
*Office Hours:* Tuesday, 9:30 a.m.–11:30 a.m.,  
or by appointment

### COURSE DESCRIPTION

Course listings in American departments of political science typically include such titles as “the causes of war,” but one rarely sees courses on “the consequences of war.” This is surprising because among the reasons we invest intellectual resources in the study of war’s causes are war’s consequences. Scholars of international relations have long explored at least a subset of the *international* implications of war, notably for the distribution of interstate power. Unfortunately, attention has been devoted at best episodically to the *domestic* ramifications of war and war preparations (“the second-image reversed”). Pockets of valuable research on this question do exist, however, across political science, sociology, and history, and there have been occasional boom-lets, as with regard to early European state formation. Nevertheless, one may fairly conclude that this remains an under-explored area in the social sciences in general and in political science (in international relations, more so in comparative politics, and especially in American politics) in particular. This course seeks to bring together existing literatures—across disciplines and across political science’s sub-fields—in the hope of inspiring further research. In other words, it treats war and its handmaiden, the armed forces, as *independent* variables rather than as *dependent* variables.

The arenas upon which war and the military may in theory exert an impact—the economy, domestic politics, national culture, and so on—are manifold, and thus this course narrows the scope of inquiry. It focuses on the relationship between war, the military, and the “nation-state.” It examines the ramifications of war and military institutions for political development (or state-building, broadly construed), regime type, national identity, and culture. Topics include, among others, state-building (in Europe, Latin America, the Middle East, and the US), the origins and health of democracy, civil liberties and civil rights, citizenship, the welfare state, national identity, and social memory.

### WRITING ASSIGNMENTS

Response Pieces. Each member of the seminar is expected to compose a brief weekly piece responding to some aspect of the reading. It should be informal and quite short (1-2 pp.). The response piece should be circulated to the entire seminar by email by 5 pm on the Monday preceding the seminar meeting. The seminar email contact list will be distributed before the second class meeting.

*Note:* Seminar members must submit response pieces for only *11 out of the seminar’s 15 total sessions*. No response pieces should be prepared for September 7 or November 16. Seminar members may choose two other sessions in which they need not submit a response piece.

Presentation(s). Each seminar member will prepare two or three brief presentations over the course of the term; the number depends on the seminar’s size. The purpose of the presentation (which should not exceed 10 minutes in length) is to raise questions and spark discussion. The presentation might be based entirely on the presenter’s own ideas or draw on (but then go beyond) the submitted response pieces as well.

**Final Project.** A first stab at a publishable paper (no more than 10,000 words; 30-35 double-spaced pages) on the seminar's themes, broadly defined. Seminar members are encouraged to begin work on that paper as soon as possible.

- A brief prospectus (under 5 pp.) and preliminary bibliography are due in class on **October 19**. That week, seminar members will meet with me to discuss their prospectuses.
- The **November 23** session will be devoted to presentations of this research-in-progress so that fellow seminar members might contribute useful feedback at an early stage.
- The final project is due in my mailbox in the Political Science Department main office by **12:00 p.m. on Tuesday, December 21**. It may, of course, be submitted at any time before that date.
- *Note:* The prospectus (Oct. 19) and presentation (Nov. 23) will count for 20% of the final project grade.

#### GRADING

Response Pieces	15%
Presentation(s) and Class Participation	15%
Final Project	70%

#### READINGS

The following books have been ordered for purchase at the University bookstore. Copies of these books have also been placed on reserve at Wilson Library.

- Michael A. Barnett, *Confronting the Costs of War: Military Power, State, and Society in Egypt and Israel* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992).
- Miguel Centeno, *Blood and Debt: War and the Nation-State in Latin America* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002).
- Brian M. Downing, *The Military Revolution and Political Change: Origins of Democracy and Autocracy in Early Modern Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992).
- Jean Bethke Elshtain, *Women and War* (New York: Basic Books, 1995 [1987]).
- Jeffrey Herbst, *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).
- Margaret R. Higonnet et al., eds., *Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987).
- Joseph Massad, *Colonial Effects: The Making of National Identity in Jordan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001).
- David Ralston, *Importing the European Army: The Introduction of European Military Techniques and Institutions into the Extra-European World, 1600-1914* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990).
- Hendrik Spruyt, *The Sovereign State and Its Competitors: An Analysis of Systems Change* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).
- Charles Tilly, *Coercion, Capital, and European States, AD 990-1992* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992).

Copies of reading assignments that do not come from the above texts are available in the 12<sup>th</sup> floor graduate lounge or through on-line resources. As always, you may borrow the 12<sup>th</sup> floor copies for a short time (to read or to copy), but they *must* be returned as soon as possible. Please do not mark-up, bend, or staple the materials. Please be considerate to your fellow seminar members.

## CLASS SCHEDULE AND READING ASSIGNMENTS

Sept. 7 Introduction: War, Military Institutions, and Politics

- Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, ed. by J.P. Mayer and trans. by George Lawrence (New York: Harper & Row, 1969 [1966]) pp. 645-651.
- William James, *The Moral Equivalent of War*. First delivered as an address at Stanford University, 1906. (published edition, 1910)
- Maury Feld, "Military Discipline as a Social Force," in his *The Structure of Violence: Armed Forces as Social Systems* (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1977) pp. 13-30.

Important Literature Reviews

- John Modell and Timothy Haggerty, "The Social Impact of War," *Annual Review of Sociology* 17 (1991) pp. 205-224.
- Peter Paret, "The History of War and the New Military History," in his *Understanding War: Essays on Clausewitz and the History of Military Power* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992) pp. 209-226.
- Arthur A. Stein and Bruce M. Russett, "Evaluating War: Outcomes and Consequences," in Ted Robert Gurr, ed., *Handbook of Political Conflict: Theory and Research* (New York: Free Press, 1980) pp. 399-422.
- William R. Thompson, "The Consequences of War," *International Interactions* 19:1-2 (1993) pp. 125-147.

## I. War and Political Development

Sept. 14 War, Military Organization, and Political Development

- Max Weber, *Economy and Society*, edited by Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978 [1968]) pp. 980-987, 1236-1244, 1260-1262 [on the implications of forms of military provision for forms of rule]; 1148-1156 [on the military as the organizational embodiment of the ideal of rational discipline].
- Otto Hintze, "Military Organization and the Organization of the State," in Felix Gilbert, ed., *The Historical Essays of Otto Hintze* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975) pp. 178-215.
- Lucian W. Pye, "Armies in the Process of Political Modernization," in John J. Johnson, ed., *The Role of the Military In Underdeveloped Countries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962) pp. 69-89.
- Henry Bienen, "The Background to Contemporary Study of Militaries and Modernization," in Bienen, ed., *The Military and Modernization* (Chicago: Aldine, Atherton, 1971) pp. 1-33.
- Samuel E. Finer, "State- and Nation-Building in Europe: The Role of the Military," in Charles Tilly, ed., *The Formation of National States in Western Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975) pp. 84-163.
- Ira Katznelson, "Flexible Capacity: The Military and Early American Statebuilding," in Katznelson and Shefter, eds., *Shaped by War and Trade*, pp. 82-110.

Recommended

- Morris Janowitz, *The Military in the Political Development of New Nations: An Essay in Comparative Analysis* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964).
- Maury Feld, *The Structure of Violence: Armed Forces as Social Systems* (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1977).
- Barton Hacker, "Military Institutions and Social Order: Transformations of Western Thought since the Enlightenment," *War & Society* 11:2 (October 1993) pp. 1-23.

Key Readings on "The State"

- J.P. Nettl, "The State as a Conceptual Variable," *World Politics* 20 (July 1968) pp. 559-592.
- Theda Skocpol, "Bringing the State Back In: Strategies of Analysis in Current Research," in Peter Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol, eds., *Bringing the State Back In* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975) pp. 3-37.
- Timothy Mitchell, "The Limits of the State: Beyond Statist Approaches and their Critics," *American Political Science Review* 85:1 (March 1991) pp. 77-96.

Sept. 21

## European State Formation: The Hinztean Tradition and Its Critics

- Tilly, *Coercion, Capital, and European States*, pp. 1-95, 127-160, 197-208.
- Spruyt, *The Sovereign State and Its Competitors*, pp. 3-33, 77-108, 153-180.

Recommended

- Gregory J. Kasza, "War and Comparative Politics," *Comparative Politics* 29:1 (1996) pp. 355-373.
- Richard Bean, "War and the Birth of the Nation-State," *Journal of Economic History* 33 (March 1973) pp. 203-221.
- Charles Tilly, ed., *The Formation of National States in Western Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975).
- Charles Tilly, "War Making and State Making as Organized Crime," in Peter Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol, eds., *Bringing the State Back In* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975) pp. 169-191.
- Bruce D. Porter, *War and the Rise of the State: The Military Foundations of Modern Politics* (New York: Free Press, 1994).
- Anthony Giddens, *The Nation-State and Violence* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987).
- John Brewer, *The Sinews of Power: War, Money, and the English State, 1688-1783* (New York: Knopf, 1989).
- Karen Rasler and William Thompson, *War and Statemaking* (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989).
- Michael C. Desch, "War and Strong States, Peace and Weak States?" *International Organization* 50:2 (spring 1996) pp. 237-268.
- Robert L. Carneiro, "A Theory of the Origin of the State," *Science* 169 (21 August 1970) pp. 733-738.
- David Webster, "Warfare and the Evolution of the State: A Reconsideration," *American Antiquity* 40:4 (Oct. 1975) pp. 464-470.
- Ronald Cohen, "Warfare and State Formation: Wars Make States and States Make Wars," in R. Brian Ferguson, ed., *Warfare, Culture, and Environment* (Orlando: Academic Press, 1984) pp. 329-359.

## Sept. 28      Reconsidering the Hintzean Tradition I: The African Experience

- Herbst, *States and Power in Africa*.
- William Reno, "The Changing Nature of Warfare and the Absence of State-Building in West Africa," in Diane E. Davis and Anthony W. Pereira, eds., *Irregular Armed Forces and Their Role in Politics and State Formation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003) pp. 322-345.

## Oct. 5      Reconsidering the Hintzean Tradition II: The Latin American Experience

- Centeno, *Blood and Debt*, pp. 1-166, 261-280.

Based on the Latin American experience, Centeno argues that limited wars have very different effects on political development than do total wars and that war prompts state-building only when certain conditions are in place. The following cases—from the US and Greece—speak to these claims.

- Bartholomew H. Sparrow, "Limited Wars and the Attenuation of the State: Soldiers, Money, and Political Communication in World War II, Korea, and Vietnam," in Ira Katznelson and Martin Shefter, eds., *Shaped by War and Trade: International Influences on American Political Development* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002) pp. 267-300.
- Achilles Batalas, "Send a Thief to Catch a Thief: State-Building and the Employment of Regular Military Formations in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Greece," in Diane E. Davis and Anthony W. Pereira, eds., *Irregular Armed Forces and Their Role in Politics and State Formation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003) pp. 149-177.

Recommended: War and U.S. State-Building

- Karen Orren and Stephen Skowronek, *The Search for American Political Development* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).
- Arthur A. Stein, *The Nation at War* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978).
- Richard F. Bense, *Yankee Leviathan: The Origins of Central State Authority in America, 1859-1877* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).
- Bartholomew H. Sparrow, *From the Outside In: World War II and the American State* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).
- Theda Skocpol, *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers: The Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992).
- Daniel T. Kryder, *Divided Arsenal: Race and the American State During World War II* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).
- Gregory Hooks, *Forging the Military-Industrial Complex: World War II's Battle of the Potomac* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1991).
- Ira Katznelson and Martin Shefter, eds., *Shaped by War and Trade: International Influences on American Political Development* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002)

- Oct. 12            Reconsidering the Hintzean Tradition III: The Middle Eastern Experience
- Steven Heydemann, ed., *War, Institutions and Social Change in the Middle East* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).
    - Steven Heydemann, “War, Institutions, and Social Change in the Middle East,” pp. 1-30.
    - Volker Perthes, “Si Vis Stabilitatem, Para Bellum: State Building, National Security, and War Preparation in Syria,” pp. 149-173.
    - Joel Migdal, “Changing Boundaries and Social Crisis: Israel and the 1967 War,” pp. 174-199.
  - Barnett, *Confronting the Costs of War*, pp. 3-50, 153-209, 225-261.

Recommended

- Yagil Levy, *Trial and Error: Israel’s Route From War to De-Escalation* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1997).

## II. War and Regime (or, the Problem of Democracy)

- Oct. 19            Military Organization and the Origins of Constitutional Democracy  
**\*\*\*Paper Prospectus and Preliminary Bibliography Due\*\*\***

- Downing, *The Military Revolution and Political Change*.

- Oct. 26            War and Democracy I: The Garrison-State Tradition

- Harold Lasswell, “The Garrison State,” *American Journal of Sociology* 46:4 (January 1941) pp. 455-468.
- William R. Thompson, “Democracy and Peace: Putting the Cart Before the Horse?” *International Organization* 50:1 (winter 1996) pp. 141-174.
- Oren Gross, “Chaos and Rules: Should Responses to Violent Crises Always Be Constitutional?” *Yale Law Journal* 112 (2003).
- Lee Epstein, et al., “The Effect of War on the Supreme Court,” *NYU Law Review* (forthcoming).
- Eric A. Posner and Adrian Vermeule, “Accommodating Emergencies,” *Stanford Law Review* (December 2003).

Recommended

- Harold Lasswell, *Essays on the Garrison State*, edited by Jay Stanley (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1997).
- Ted R. Gurr, “War, Revolution, and the Growth of the Coercive State,” *Comparative Political Studies* 21 (1988) pp. 45-65.
- Aaron L. Friedberg, *In the Shadow of the Garrison State: America’s Anti-Statism and Its Cold War Grand Strategy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).
- Aaron L. Friedberg, “Why Didn’t the United States Become a Garrison State?” *International Security* 16:4 (spring 1992) pp. 109-142.
- David Cole, “Judging the Next Emergency: Judicial Review and Individual Rights in Times of Crisis,” *Michigan Law Review* 101:8 (August 2004) pp. 2565-2594.
- Mark Tushnet, “Defending Korematsu: Reflections on Civil Liberties in Wartime.” *Wisconsin Law Review* (2003).

## Nov. 2 War and Democracy II: Military Service, Citizenship, and the Welfare State

- Morris Janowitz, “Military Institutions and Citizenship in Western Societies,” *Armed Forces and Society* 2:2 (February 1976) pp. 185-204.
- Tilly, *Coercion, Capital, and European States*, pp. 96-126.
- Philip A. Klinkner with Rogers M. Smith, *The Unsteady March: The Rise and Decline of Racial Equality in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999) pp. 1-9, 106-118, 161-241.
- Theda Skocpol et al., “Patriotic Partnerships: Why Great Wars Nourished American Civic Voluntarism,” in Ira Katznelson and Martin Shefter, eds., *Shaped by War and Trade: International Influences on American Political Development* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002) pp. 134-180.
- Centeno, *Blood and Debt*, pp. 217-260.

Recommended

- Stanislaw Andreski, *Military Organization and Society* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968 [1954]).
- Theda Skocpol, *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers: The Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992).
- Daniel T. Kryder, *Divided Arsenal: Race and the American State During World War II* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).
- Robert Putnam, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000) pp. 247-276.
- Gregory J. Kasza, “War and Welfare Policy in Japan,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 61:2 (May 2002) 417-435.
- Charles Tilly, “The Emergence of Citizenship in France and Elsewhere,” *International Review of Social History* 40:supplement 3 (1995) pp. 223-36.
- Richard M. Titmuss, “War and Social Policy,” in his *Essays on the “Welfare State”* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1969 [1958]) pp. 75-87.
- Suzanne Mettler, “Bringing the State Back In to Civic Engagement: Policy Feedback Effects of the G.I. Bill for World War II Veterans,” *American Political Science Review* 96:2 (June 2002) pp. 351-365.
- Theda Skocpol et al., “Patriotic Partnerships: Why Great Wars Nourished American Civic Voluntarism,” in Ira Katznelson and Martin Shefter, eds., *Shaped by War and Trade: International Influences on American Political Development* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002) pp. 134-180.
- Elizabeth Thompson, “The Climax and Crisis of the Colonial Welfare State in Syria and Lebanon during World War II,” in Steven Heydemann, ed., *War, Institutions and Social Change in the Middle East* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000) pp. 59-99.

Nov. 9

## War and Gender

- Elshtain, *Women and War*, pp. 3-13, 47-63, 66-73, 140-149, 163-193, 226-244.
- Judith G. Gardam and Michelle J. Jarvis, *Women, Armed Conflict and International Law* (The Hague: Kluwer International) pp. 19-51, 93-134.
- Higonnet et al., eds., *Behind the Lines*, pp. 1-18 (introduction), 31-47 (Higonnet and Higonnet), 99-113 (Hause), 154-167 (Michel), 272-284 (Jenson).
- Joshua S. Goldstein, *War and Gender* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001) pp. 1-22, 264-301.

Recommended

- Cynthia Enloe, *Does Khaki Become You? The Militarization of Women's Lives* (Boston: South End Press, 1983).
- Judith Hicks Stiehm, *Arms and the Enlisted Woman* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1989).
- Ilene Rose Feinman, *Citizenship Rites: Feminist Soldiers and Feminist Antimilitarists* (New York: New York University Press, 2000).
- Linda K. Kerber, *No Constitutional Rights to be Ladies: Women and the Obligations of Citizenship* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1998) especially pp. 221-310.
- Jean Bethke Elshtain and Sheila Tobias, eds., *Women, Militarism, & War: Essays in History, Politics, and Social Theory* (Savage: Rowman & Littlefield, 1990).
- Lois Ann Lorentzen and Jennifer Turpin, *The Women & War Reader* (New York: New York University Press, 1998).

Nov. 16

## Guarding the Guardians

- Samuel P. Huntington, *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957) pp. 1-97 (*highly recommended*: pp. 456-466).
- Peter D. Feaver, "Civil-Military Relations," *Annual Review of Political Science* 2 (1999) pp. 211-241.
- Peter D. Feaver, *Armed Servants: Agency, Oversight, and Civil-Military Relations* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003) pp. 16-95.
- Eliot A. Cohen, "The Unequal Dialogue: The Theory and Reality of Civil-Military Relations and the Use of Force," in Peter D. Feaver and Richard H. Kohn, eds., *Soldiers and Civilians: The Civil-Military Gap and American National Security* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2001) pp. 429-458.

Recommended

- Morris Janowitz, *The Professional Soldier: A Social and Political Portrait* (New York: Free Press, 1960).
- Samuel E. Finer, *The Man on Horseback: The Role of the Military in Politics* (Boulder: Westview, 1988 [1962]).
- Michael Desch, *Civilian Control of the Military: The Changing Security Environment* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999).
- Peter D. Feaver and Richard H. Kohn, eds., *Soldiers and Civilians: The Civil-Military Gap and American National Security* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2001).
- Peter D. Feaver and Christopher Gelpi, *Choosing Your Battles: American Civil-Military Relations and the Use of Force* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004).
- Uri Ben-Eliezer, "Rethinking the Civil-Military Relations Paradigm: The Inverse Relation Between Militarism and Praetorianism through the Israeli Case," *Comparative Political Studies* 30:3 (1997) 356-74.

### III. Presentation of Research Papers

Nov. 23 Seminar members will deliver brief presentations (not longer than 10 minutes) and circulate short discussion pieces (2 pp.) regarding their proposed research projects. Oral and written presentations should aim to lay out the research puzzle (theoretical and/or empirical), the (provisional) argument, and the research design. A *constructive* and *critical* discussion among the seminar members will follow each presentation, with the goal of providing the paper writer with early and useful feedback.

### IV. War and Nation

Nov. 30 War, Military Service, and National Identity

- Anthony D. Smith, “War and Ethnicity: The Role of Warfare in the Formation, Self-Images and Cohesion of Ethnic Communities,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 4:4 (October 1981) pp. 375-397.
- Barry Posen, “Nationalism, the Mass Army, and Military Power,” *International Security* 18:2 (fall 1993) pp. 80-124.
- Ronald R. Krebs, “A School for the Nation? How Military Service Does Not Build Nations, and How It Might,” *International Security* 28:4 (spring 2004) pp. 85-124.
- Massad, *Colonial Effects*, pp. 1-17, 100-221.

#### Recommended

- Peter Paret, “Nationalism and the Sense of Military Obligation,” in his *Understanding War: Essays on Clausewitz and the History of Military Power* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992) pp. 39-52.
- Peter M. Beattie, *The Tribute of Blood: Army, Honor, Race, and Nation in Brazil, 1864-1945* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001) esp. pp. 205-267, 268-284.
- Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1976) esp. pp. 292-302.
- Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992) esp. pp. 1-54, 283-324, 364-375.
- Morris Janowitz, *The Military in the Political Development of New Nations: An Essay in Comparative Analysis* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964).
- John J. Johnson, ed., *The Role of the Military In Underdeveloped Countries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962).
- Henry Dietz, Jerrold Elkin, and Maurice Roumani, eds., *Ethnicity, Integration, and the Military* (Boulder: Westview, 1991).
- Eliot A. Cohen, *Citizens and Soldiers: The Dilemmas of Military Service* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990 [1985]).
- Cynthia H. Enloe, *Ethnic Soldiers: State Security in Divided Societies* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1980).
- Stephen P. Rosen, *Societies and Military Power: India and its Armies* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996).
- Alon Peled, *A Question of Loyalty: Military Manpower Policy in Multiethnic States* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998).
- Margaret Levi, *Consent, Dissent, and Patriotism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

Dec. 7

## War, Memory, and the Construction of Nationhood

- Jeffrey K. Olick and Joyce Robbins, “Social Memory Studies: From ‘Collective Memory’ to the Historical Sociology of Mnemonic Practices,” *Annual Review of Sociology* 24 (1998) pp. 105-140.
- Alon Confino, “Collective Memory and Cultural History: Problems of Method,” *American Historical Review* 105:2 (Dec. 1997) pp. 1386-1403.
- Jay Winter and Emmanuel Sivan, eds., *War and Remembrance in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).
  - Winter and Sivan, “Setting the Framework,” pp. 6-39.
  - Catherine Merridale, “War, Death, and Remembrance in Soviet Russia,” pp. 61-83.
  - Paloma Aguilar, “Agents of Memory: Spanish Civil War Veterans and Disabled Soldiers,” pp. 84-103.
  - Antoine Prost, “The Algerian War in French Collective Memory,” pp. 161-176.
- Centeno, *Blood and Debt*, pp. 167-216.
- Holger H. Herwig, “Clio Deceived: Patriotic Self-Censorship in Germany After the Great War,” *International Security* 12:2 (fall 1987) pp. 5-44.

Recommended

The literature on memory is immense and ever growing, though to a lesser extent in political science. Key works include:

- Maurice Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory* (New York: Harper & Row, 1980).
- Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, trans. and ed. by Lewis A. Coser (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).
- Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).
- James Fentress and Chris Wickham, *Social Memory* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992).
- Barry Schwartz, *Abraham Lincoln and the Forge of National Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000).

Specifically on war and memory, important works include:

- Jay Winter and Emmanuel Sivan, eds., *War and Remembrance in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).
- John Gillis, ed., *Commemorations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).
- Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).
- Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975).
- David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001).
- Jill Lepore, *The Name of War: King Philip’s War and the Origins of American Identity* (New York: Knopf, 1998).

**V. Culture**

Dec. 14

## Military Organization and Cultural Change

- Ralston, *Importing the European Army*.

**Citations on Some Topics Not Covered***War and Regime Change/Leadership Tenure*

- Hein Goemans, “Fighting for Survival: The Fate of Leaders and the Duration of War,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 44:5 (October 2000) pp. 555-579.
- Hein Goemans, *War & Punishment: The Causes of War Termination and the First World War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).
- Giacomo Chiozza and Hein Goemans, “Peace Through Insecurity: Tenure and International Conflict,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 47:4 (Aug. 2003) pp. 443-467.
- Bruce Bueno de Mesquita and Randolph M. Siverson, “War and the Survival of Political Leaders: A Comparative Study of Regime Types and Political Accountability,” *American Political Science Review* 89:4 (Dec. 1995) pp. 841-855.
- Bruce Bueno de Mesquita, Randolph M. Siverson, and Gary Woller, “War and the Fate of Regimes: A Comparative Analysis,” *American Political Science Review* 86:3 (Sept. 1992) pp. 638-646.

*War and the Economy*

- Todd Sandler and Keith Hartley, *The Economics of Defense* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).
  - Todd Sandler and Keith Hartley, eds., *The Economics of Conflict* (Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar, 2003).
  - Keith Hartley and Todd Sandler, eds., *The Economics of Defense* (Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar, 2001).
  - Eiko Ikegami, “Military Mobilization and the Transformation of Property Relationships: Wars That Defined the Japanese Style of Capitalism,” in Diane E. Davis and Anthony W. Pereira, eds., *Irregular Armed Forces and Their Role in Politics and State Formation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003) pp. 118-146.
  - Alan S. Milward, *War, Economy and Society, 1939-1945* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977).
  - An exceedingly large literature on the effects of military spending on economic performance (guns vs. butter)—some of which is reprinted in the edited volumes above. This debate enjoyed a renaissance in the mid- to late-1980s, during the debate over the alleged American decline as a consequence, in part, of over-spending on defense.
- A confession:* I do not know this literature particularly well. I am quite sure that there are macrohistorical sociological accounts that root the origins and forms of national economies in patterns of war-making (if there are not, there should be!), but I am not familiar with them. I hope to explore this literature more systematically before I teach the class again.

*Militarism*

- Volker R. Berghahn, *Militarism: The History of An International Debate, 1861-1879* (Leamington Spa: Berg, 1981).
- Michael Mann, “Roots and Contradictions of Modern Militarism,” in his *States, War and Capitalism: Studies in Political Sociology* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988) pp. 166-187.
- Martin Shaw, “Theses on a Post-Military Europe: Conscription, Citizenship, and Militarism after the Cold War,” in Chris Rootes and Howard Davis, eds., *Social Change and Political Transformation* (London: UCL Press, 1994) pp. 55-71.
- Michael Mann, “Capitalism and Militarism,” in Martin Shaw, ed., *War, State and Society* (New York: St. Martin’s, 1984) pp. 25-46.
- Baruch Kimmerling, “Patterns of Militarism in Israel,” *Archives Européennes de Sociologie* 34 (1993) 196-223.

- Asbjorn Eide and Marek Thee, eds., *Problems of Contemporary Militarism* (London: Croom Helm, 1980).
- Alfred Vagts, *A History of Militarism: Civilian and Military*, rev. ed. (New York: Free Press, 1959 [1937, original ed.]).
- Geoff Eley, *From Reunification to Nazism: Reinterpreting the German Past* (Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1986).
- Uri Ben-Eliezer, *The Making of Israeli Militarism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998).
- Gregory J. Kasza, *The Conscript Society: Administered Mass Organizations* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995).

#### *Demobilization and Veteran Politics*

- Theda Skocpol, *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers: The Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992).
  - Suzanne Mettler, "Bringing the State Back In to Civic Engagement: Policy Feedback Effects of the G.I. Bill for World War II Veterans," *American Political Science Review* 96:2 (June 2002) pp. 351-365.
  - Peter D. Feaver and Christopher Gelpi, *Choosing Your Battles: American Civil-Military Relations and the Use of Force* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004).
  - Alec Campbell, "Where Do All the Soldiers Go? Veterans and the Politics of Demobilization," and Susan M. Browne, "War-Making and U.S. State Formation: Mobilization, Demobilization, and the Inherent Ambiguities of Federalism," in Diane E. Davis and Anthony W. Pereira, eds., *Irregular Armed Forces and Their Role in Politics and State Formation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003) 96-117, 232-252.
  - William T. Bianco and Jamie Markham, "Vanishing Veterans: The Decline of Military Experience in the U.S. Congress," in Feaver and Kohn, eds., *Soldiers and Civilians: The Civil-Military Gap and American National Security* (MIT Press, 2001) pp. 275-287.
  - Richard Severo and Lewis Milford, *The Wages of War: When America's Soldiers Came Home—From Valley Forge to Vietnam* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1989).
  - M. Kent Jennings and Gregory B. Markus, "The Effects of Military Service on Political Attitudes: A Panel Study," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 71, No. 1 (March 1977) pp. 131-147.
  - An enormous literature on veterans and politics inside the US, much of it in the form of histories of veterans' organizations. Also a voluminous literature on the Vietnam veteran. See Norman M. Camp et al., eds., *Stress, Strain, and Vietnam: An Annotated Bibliography of Two Decades of Psychiatric and Social Sciences Literature Reflecting the Effect of the War on the American Soldier* (New York: Greenwood, 1988).
  - A large literature on the effects of military service as a disruption from the life course. See, as a sample, Glen H. Elder Jr., "War Mobilization and the Life Course: A Cohort of World War II Veterans," *Sociological Forum*, Vol. 2, No. 3 (Summer 1987) pp. 449-472.
  - Samples of literature on veterans and politics outside the United States:
    - Eric J. Leed, *No Man's Land: Combat and Identity in World War I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).
    - Robert Weldon Whalen, *Bitter Wounds: German Victims of the Great War, 1914-1939* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1984).
    - Antoine Prost, *In the Wake of War: 'Les Anciens Combattants' and French Society* (Providence: Berg, 1992).
    - Stephen Garton, *The Cost of War: Australians Return* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1996).
- For other citations, though hardly a comprehensive list, see the footnotes of Krebs, "A School for the Nation?"