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.


Copies of reading assignments that do not come from the above texts are available in the 12th floor graduate lounge or through on-line resources. As always, you may borrow the 12th 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

- William James, *The Moral Equivalent of War*. First delivered as an address at Stanford University, 1906. (published edition, 1910)

Important Literature Reviews


I. War and Political Development

Sept. 14  War, Military Organization, and Political Development

Recommended

Key Readings on “The State”

Sept. 21 European State Formation: The Hinztean Tradition and Its Critics


Recommended
- Karen Rasler and William Thompson, War and Statemaking (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989).
Sept. 28  
Reconsidering the Hintzean Tradition I: The African Experience


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


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.


Recommended: War and U.S. State-Building

Reconsidering the Hintzean Tradition III: The Middle Eastern Experience


Recommended

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


***Paper Prospectus and Preliminary Bibliography Due***


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


Recommended
Nov. 2  

War and Democracy II: Military Service, Citizenship, and the Welfare State

- Tilly, *Coercion, Capital, and European States*, pp. 96-126.

Recommended
Nov. 9  War and Gender

- Elshtain, Women and War, pp. 3-13, 47-63, 66-73, 140-149, 163-193, 226-244.
- 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).

Recommended

Nov. 16  Guarding the Guardians


Recommended
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

- Massad, Colonial Effects, pp. 1-17, 100-221.

Recommended
Dec. 7  War, Memory, and the Construction of Nationhood

  - Paloma Aguilar, “Agents of Memory: Spanish Civil War Veterans and Disabled Soldiers,” pp. 84-103.

**Recommended**

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


Specifically on war and memory, important works include:


**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**


**War and the Economy**

- 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**

• Asbjorn Eide and Marek Thee, eds., Problems of Contemporary Militarism (London: Croom Helm, 1980).
• Geoff Eley, From Reunification to Nazism: Reinterpreting the German Past (Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1986).

Demobilization and Veteran Politics
• 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).
• Samples of literature on veterans and politics outside the United States:

→ For other citations, though hardly a comprehensive list, see the footnotes of Krebs, “A School for the Nation?”