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## Political Science 279/479 War and the Nation-State

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### Hein Goemans

Harkness 320

Office Hours: Wed: 2–3

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### Course Information:

Fall 2013

Tues/Thursday 11:05–12:20

Dewey 2110D

This course examines the development of warfare and growth of the state. In particular, we examine the phenomenon of war in its broader socio-economic context between the emergence of the modern nation-state and the end of World War II. Students are required to do all the reading. Student are required to make a group presentation in class on the readings for one class (25% of the grade), and there will be one big final (75%).

### *Course Requirements*

Participation and a presentation in the seminar comprises 25% of your grade. A final exam counts for 75%. The final exam is given during the period scheduled by the University. In particular instances, students may substitute a *serious* research paper for the final. Students interested in the research paper option should approach me no later than one week after the mid-term.

### *Academic Integrity*

Be familiar with the University's policies on academic integrity and disciplinary action (<http://www.rochester.edu/living/urhere/handbook/discipline2.html#XII>). Violators of University regulations on academic integrity will be dealt with severely, which means that your grade will suffer, and I will forward your case to the Chair of the College Board on Academic Honesty.

### *The World Wide Web*

A number of websites will prove useful:

1. General History of the 20th Century
  - <http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/war/>
  - <http://users.erols.com/mwhite28/20centry.htm>
  - <http://www.fsmitha.com/>
2. On the Franco-Prussian War
  - <http://uk.geocities.com/fpw1870/contents.html>

### 3. On World War I

- <http://www.duke.edu/~hgoemans/WWI.htm>
- <http://www.lib.byu.edu/~rdh/wwi/>
- <http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/war/wwone/index.shtml> and from there:
- [http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/war/wwone/launch\\_ani\\_western\\_front.shtml](http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/war/wwone/launch_ani_western_front.shtml)

### 4. On World War II

- [http://dobias.webz.cz/m\\_dohoda\\_de.htm](http://dobias.webz.cz/m_dohoda_de.htm) (München Agreements 1938)
- <http://www.duke.edu/~hgoemans/WWII.htm>
- <http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/war/wwtwo/index.shtml> and from there
- [http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/war/wwtwo/launch\\_ani\\_campaign\\_maps.shtml](http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/war/wwtwo/launch_ani_campaign_maps.shtml)
- <http://libraries.ucsd.edu/speccoll/dswenttowar/>

## *Texts*

I may make some minor tweaks in the syllabus during the semester, but the course largely builds on the following books which should be available in the bookstore or—cheaper—at Amazon.com. Since this is a long list, I list in bold books that you definitely should get.

1. **William H. McNeill, *The Pursuit of Power, Technology, Armed Force, and Society since A.D. 1000*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1982**
2. Michael Howard. *War in European History*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, Paperback, 1976
3. **Hew Strachan, *European Armies and the Conduct of War*, Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1983**
4. Paul Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of British Naval Mastery*, Atlantic Highlands, NJ: The Ashfield Press, 1986.
5. Paul Kennedy, *Strategy and Diplomacy*, London: Fontana Press, Paperback, 1989
6. Steven E. Miller, Sean M. Lynn-Jones, and Stephen Van Evera, eds., *Military Strategy and the Origins of the First World War, Revised and Expanded Edition*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991
7. **Sean McMeeking, *The Russian Origins of the First World War*, Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2011.**
8. **Alistair Horne, *The Price of Glory: Verdun 1916*, New York: Penguin Books, 1964**
9. Liddell Hart, *The Real War 1914–1918*, Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1964
10. Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1975
11. Alan Clark, *Barbarossa: The Russian-German Conflict, 1941–45*, New York: William Morrow and Co., 1985
12. **R. J. Overy, *Russia's War*, Penguin Books, New edition, 1998.**
13. Akira Iriye, *The Origins of the Second World War in Asia and The Pacific*, New York: Longman, 1987
14. David Kennedy, *Over Here*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1980
15. Ronald Schaffer, *Wings of Judgment*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1985

# Course Outline

Tuesday September 3

## 1. Introduction

## General Themes

Thursday September 5

## 2. Global Historical Background

- William H. McNeill, *The Pursuit of Power*, Chapters 3 – 5, pp.63-184

### Optional:

- Thomas C. Schelling, *Arms and Influence*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1966, Chapter 1
- Geoffrey Blainey, *The Causes of War*, third edition, The Free Press, New York, 1988, Chapter 8
- James D. Fearon, “Rationalist Explanations for War,” *International Organization*, Vol.49 (3) (Summer 1995), 379–414.
- Brian M. Downing, *The Military Revolution and Political Change, Origins of Democracy and Autocracy in Early Modern Europe*, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1992, Chapters 3–5, pp.56–139

Tuesday September 10

## 3. European Historical Background of the Napoleonic Wars

- Michael Howard, *War in European History*, chapters 4–5, pp.54–93
- Hew Strachan, *European Armies and the Conduct of War*, chapters 2–4, pp.8–59

Thursday September 12

## 4. Nationalism and War

- Clausewitz, *On War*, Books 1, 2 and 8.

Tuesday September 17

## 5. Nationalism and War

- R. R. Palmer, “Frederick the Great, Guibert, Bulow: From Dynastic to National War,” in *Makers of Modern Strategy*, ed. Edward Meade Earle (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1943), pp.49–74
- Barry Posen, “Nationalism, the Mass Army and Military Power,” *International Security*, Vol.18, No.2 (Fall 1993), pp.80–124
- Jack Snyder and Karen Ballentine, “Nationalism and the Marketplace of Ideas,” *International Security*, Vol. 21, No. 2 (Autumn) 1996, pp.5–40.
- Barry Posen, “The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict,” *Survival*, Vol.35, No.1 (Spring 1993), pp.27–47.

Thursday September 19

## 6. Democratization and War

- Bruce Russett, *Grasping the Democratic Peace*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993. Chapters 1, 2 & 4.
- Alexandre Debs and Hein Goemans, “Regime Type, the Fate of Leaders and War.” *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 104, No. 4 (August) 2010: 430 – 445.
- Kenneth A. Schultz, “Do Democratic Institutions Constrain or Inform?: Contrasting Two Institutional Perspectives on Democracy and War,” *International Organization* 52 (Spring 1999), pp. 233 – 66.

### Optional:

- Michael Doyle, “Kant, Liberal Legacies, and Foreign Affairs: Part 1,” *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, 12 (Summer 1983), 205–35
- Michael Doyle, “Kant, Liberal Legacies, and Foreign Affairs: Part 2,” *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, 12 (Fall 1983), 323–53
- Philip Knightley. *The First Casualty: The War Correspondent as Hero and Myth-Maker from the Crimea to Kosovo*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002.

Tuesday September 24

## 7. Democratization and War

- Jack Snyder, *From Voting to Violence: Democratization and Nationalist Conflict*. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 2000.
- Dan Reiter and Allan C. Stam, “Democracy, War Initiation, and victory,” *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 92, No. 2 (June) 1998: 377–389.

Thursday September 26

## 8. Industrialization and War

- Howard, *War in European History*, Chapter 6, pp.94 – 115
- Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of British Naval Mastery*, introduction and Chapter 7, pp.xiii – xxx, 177 – 204
- Kennedy, *Strategy and Diplomacy*, Chapter 3, pp.87 – 108

Tuesday October 1

## 9. Industrialization and War

- Karl Lautenschlager, “Technology and the Evolution of Naval Warfare,” *International Security*, Vol.8, No.2. (Fall 1983), pp.3 – 51
- Strachan, *European Armies and the Conduct of War*, Chapter 8, pp.108 – 129
- Geoffrey L. Herrera, “Inventing the Railroad and Rifle Revolution: Information, Military Innovation and the Rise of Germany.” in *The Journal of Strategic Studies*. Vol. 27, No. 2, (June) 2004: 243 – 271.

Thursday October 4

## 10. Bureaucratization

- Samuel Huntington, *The Soldier and the State*, Chapters 1 – 3
- Martin Kitchen, *The German Officer Corps, 1880 – 1914*, Chapter 5.

Tuesday October 8

- FALL BREAK

# Causes of the World Wars

Thursday October 10

## 11. Causes of World War I Military Strategy

- Michael Howard, “Men Against Fire: Expectations of War in 1914,” in Miller, ed., *Military Strategy and the Origins of the First World War*, 2 – 19
- Jack Snyder, “Civil-Military Relations and the Cult of the Offensive, 1914 and 1984,” in Miller, ed., *Military Strategy and the Origins of the First World War*, 20 – 58

- Stephen Van Evera, “The Cult of the Offensive and the Origins of the First World War,” in Miller, ed., *Military Strategy and the Origins of the First World War*, 59 – 108
- Scott D. Sagan, “1914 Revisited: Allies, Offense, and Instability,” in Miller, ed., *Military Strategy and the Origins of the First World War*, 109 – 133
- Marc Trachtenberg, “The Meaning of Mobilization in 1914,” in Miller, ed., *Military Strategy and the Origins of the First World War*, pp.195 – 225
- Terence Zuber, “The Schlieffen Plan Reconsidered.” *War in History*, 1999 6(3): 262 – 305

Tuesday October 15

12. **Causes of World War I**  
**Domestic Politics**

- Immanuel Geiss, “The Outbreak of the First World War and German War Aims,” *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol.1, No.3 (July 1966), pp.75 – 91
- Eckart Kehr, “Anglophobia and Weltpolitik,” in his *Economic Interest, Militarism and Foreign Policy*, pp.22 – 49
- Jack Snyder, *Myths of Empire*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994. Chapters 1 – 3.

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**REVISIONS START HERE**

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Thursday October 17

13. **Causes of World War I**  
**Systemic Explanations**

- R. Harrison Wagner, “Peace, War and the Balance of Power,” *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 88(3) (September 1994), pp.593-607
- Dale C. Copeland. *The Origins of Major War*, Chapters 1 – 4, pp.1–117.

Tuesday October 22

14. **Causes of World War I**  
**Systemic Explanations**

- Sean McMeeking, *The Russian Origins of the First World War*, Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2011.

Thursday October 24

15. **Causes of World War II**  
**Versailles and its consequences**

- Holger Herwig, “Clio Deceived, Patriotic Self-Censorship in Germany after the Great War,” in Miller, ed., *Military Strategy and the Origins of the First World War*, pp.262 – 301
- John Maynard Keynes, *The Economic Consequences of the Peace*, introduction, Chapter 6

**Deterring the Third Reich**

- Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of British Naval Mastery*, Chapter 10
- Kennedy, *Strategy and Diplomacy*, Chapter 1
- John Mearsheimer, *Conventional Deterrence*, Chapters 3 – 4
- David Reynolds, “Churchill and the British ‘Decision’ to Fight on in 1940: Right Policy, Wrong Reasons,” in Richard Langhorne, ed., *Diplomacy and Intelligence During the Second World War*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985, pp.147 – 167

Tuesday October 29

**Deterring the Empire of the Rising Sun**

- Akira Iriye, *The Origins of the Second World War in Asia and The Pacific*, entire book

## **Conduct of the World Wars**

Thursday October 31

16. **Conduct of World War I**  
**Attrition Warfare**

- John Keegan, *The Face of Battle*, Chapter 4
- Alistair Horne, *The Price of Glory: Verdun 1916*, entire book

OPTIONAL: **The Homefront**

- David Kennedy, *Over Here*, prologue, Chapters 1, 2 and 6
- Stephane Audoin-Rouzeau, *Men At War, 1914-1918, National Sentiment and Trench Journalism in France during the First World War*, Oxford: Berg, 1992.

Tuesday November 5



## 17. Conduct of World War II The Ground War on the Eastern Front

- R. J. Overy, *Russia's War*, Penguin Books, New edition, 1998.

OR, ALTERNATIVELY:

- Alan Clark, *Barbarossa: The Russian–German Conflict*, New York: William Morrow and Co., 1985.

Thursday November 7

## Conduct of World War II The Killing Machine and the Eastern Front

- Omar Bartov, “Soldiers, Nazis, and the War in the Third Reich,” *Journal of Modern History*, March 1991 pp.44 – 60
- Christopher Browning, “The Decision Concerning the Final Solution,” in Francois Furet, *Unanswered Questions*, pp.96 – 118
- Richard Breitman, “Himmler, the architect of Genocide,” in David Cesarani, *The Final Solution; Origins and Implementation*, London: Routledge, 1996, pp. 73 – 84
- Jürgen Förster, “The relation between Operation Barbarossa as an ideological war of extermination and the Final Solution,” in *The Final Solution; Origins and Implementation*, pp.85 – 102
- Christian Streit, “Wehrmacht, Einsatzgruppen, Soviet POWs and anti-Bolshevism in the emergence of the Final Solution,” in *The Final Solution; Origins and Implementation*, pp.103 – 118
- Omar Bartov, “Operation Barbarossa and the origins of the Final Solution,” in *The Final Solution; Origins and Implementation*, pp.119 – 136
- Jonathan Steinberg, “Types of Genocide? Croats, Serbs and Jews, 1941–45,” in *The Final Solution; Origins and Implementation*, pp.175 – 193

Tuesday November 12

## Conduct of World War II Murderers on the Eastern Front

- Christopher Browning. *Ordinary men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the final solution in Poland*. New York: HarperPerennial, 1998.

Thursday November 14

18. **Conduct of World War II**  
**War with Japan**

“Death of the Ball Turret Gunner”

From my mother’s sleep I fell into the State,  
And I hunched in its belly till my wet fur froze.  
Six miles from earth, loosed from its dream of life,  
I woke to black flak and the nightmare fighters.  
When I died they washed me out of the turret with a hose.

– Randall Jarrell

- Schaeffer, *Wings of Judgment*, Chapters 2, 6 – 8
- Kennedy, *Strategy and Diplomacy*, Chapter 7

Tuesday November 19

19. **Conduct of World War II**  
**War with Japan**

- John W. Dower, *War Without Mercy; Race and Power in the Pacific War*, New York: Pantheon Books. 1987.

For racial attitudes check out:

<http://libraries.ucsd.edu/speccoll/dswenttowar/>. You’ll be surprised by the author.

Thursday November 21

20. **Conduct of World War II**  
**War with Japan**

- Iris Chang. *The Rape of Nanking*. New York: Penguin Books, c1997.
- Of interested might be this “Nanking-denier”: Masaaki, Tanaka. *What Really Happened in Nanking: The Refutation of a Common Myth*. Tokyo: Sekai Shuppan, 2000.
- Hal Gold, *Unit 731 Testimony; Japan’s Wartime Human Experimentation Program*. Tokyo: Yenbooks. 1996.

# The Termination and Consequences of War

Tuesday November 26

## 21. The Termination of War

- H. E. Goemans, *War and Punishment; the causes of war termination and the First World War*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000.
- Robert Pape, “Why Japan Surrendered,” in *International Security*, Vol.18, No.2 (Fall 1993), pp.154 – 201.

OPTIONAL:

- Dan Reiter, *How Wars End*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009.

Thursday November 28

THANKSGIVING BREAK

Tuesday December 3

## The Consequences of War

- Gary Bass, “*Jus Post Bellum*” in *Philosophy & Public Affairs*, 32(4) (Fall 2004), pp.384 – 412.
- G. John Ikenberry, *After Victory*. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001. Chapters 5 & 6, pp.117 – 214.

Thursday December 5

## The Consequences of War

Two of the following, or substitute another of your choice, after consultation:

- Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory*, pp.1 – 51, 71 – 74, 169 – 208, 315 – 335.
- Erich Maria Remarque, *All Quiet on the Western Front*.
- Robert Graves, *Good-Bye to All That*.
- Ernest Hemingway, *Farewell to Arms*.
- Sebastien Japrisot, *A Very Long Engagement*.

Tuesday December 10

## The Consequences of War

Two of the following, or substitute another of your choice, after consultation:

- Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory*, pp.1 – 51, 71 – 74, 169 – 208, 315 – 335.
- Erich Maria Remarque, *All Quiet on the Western Front*.
- Robert Graves, *Good-Bye to All That*.

- Ernest Hemingway, *Farewell to Arms*.
- Sebastien Japrisot, *A Very Long Engagement*.

Thursday December 12  
LAST DAY OF CLASS

## Questions to consider in formulating and evaluating social science research

1. *What is the central question?*
  - Why is it important (theoretically, substantively)?
  - What is being explained (what is the dependent variable and how does it vary)?
  - How does this phenomenon present a puzzle?
2. *What is the central answer?*
  - What is doing the explaining (what are the independent variables and how do they vary)?
  - What are the hypotheses, i.e., what is the relationship between independent and dependent variables, what kind of change in the independent variable causes what kind of change in the dependent variable?
  - What are the causal mechanisms, i.e., why are the independent and dependent variables so related?
  - How do the independent variables relate to each other?
  - What assumptions does your theory make?
  - Is the theory falsifiable in concept?
  - What does this explanation add to our understanding of the question?
3. *What are the possible alternative explanations?*
  - What assumptions are you making about the direction of causality?
  - What other explanations might there be for the phenomenon of study, and to what degree do they conflict with the central answer?
  - Could the hypothesized relationships have occurred by chance?
4. *Why are the possible alternative explanations wrong?*
  - What is the logical structure of the alternative explanations (compare 2)?
  - What is the empirical evidence?
5. *What is the relationship between the theory and the evidence?*
  - What does the research design allow to vary, i.e., in this design are the explanations variables or constants?
  - What does your research design hold constant, i.e., does it help to rule out the alternative competing explanations?
  - How are the theoretical constructs represented empirically, i.e., how do you know it when you see it (measurement)?
6. *How do the empirical conclusions relate to the theory?*
  - How confident are you about the theory in light of the evidence?
  - How widely do the conclusions generalize, i.e., what might be the limitations of the study?
  - What does the provisionally accepted or revised theory say about questions of broader importance?