**PCON/POSC 341: War and the Shaping of American Politics**

**Spring 2018, MW 1:20-1:35**

**Lawrence Hall Rm 20**

**Instructor: Sam Rosenfeld**

**Office: Persson 120**

**Office Hours: M 9:30-11:30, W 4:05-5:00, and by appointment**

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Though often studied in isolation from American domestic politics, the history of warfare, expansion, and national security has in fact powerfully shaped the development of domestic American institutions and policy since the Revolution (and earlier). War’s impact has been multifaceted and contradictory, fueling a politics of reaction and repression in many contexts while serving as a catalyst for advances in political, racial, and economic equality and inclusion in others. This course will explore the centrality of war to the trajectory of American political development and state/society relations over time. Topics include: the role of the putatively weak American state in shaping 19th century territorial expansion; the effect of wartime mobilization and participation on racial politics; wars as “windows of opportunity” for transformative policymaking and state-building; the interplay of warfare and the welfare state in American history; the postwar politics of the “military-industrial complex;” and the impact of foreign policy and national security on the American party system. Our readings will engage such topics from the perspective of political scientists, sociologists, and historians working on a broad empirical terrain ranging over several centuries.

READINGS:

The following required texts are available at the bookstore for rental or purchase. All readings not included in the volumes below will be posted on Moodle.

* Paul Frymer, *Building an American Empire: The Era of Territorial and Political Expansion* (Princeton, 2017)
* Ira Katznelson and Martin Shefter, eds., *Shaped By War and Trade: International Influences on American Political Development* (Princeton, 2002) **[referred to as K&S below]**
* Phillip Klinkner with Rogers Smith, *The Unsteady March: The Rise and Decline of Racial Equality in America* (University of Chicago, 1999)
* Jennifer Mittelstadt, *The Rise of the Military Welfare State* (Harvard, 2015)
* James T. Sparrow, *Warfare State: World War II Americans and the Age of Big Government* (Oxford, 2011)
* Rebecca Thorpe, *The American Warfare State: The Domestic Politics of Military Spending* (University of Chicago, 2014)

PARTICIPATION, ASSIGNMENTS, AND GRADING:

This course will involve in-class discussion as a regular component of all meetings. Completed reading assignments, regular attendance, and active participation are all, thus, mandatory requirements. Active participation involves asking questions, answering questions, offering your opinions, and engaging in small-group work. To discuss American politics unavoidably means discussing contentious and controversial subjects. That makes it all the more important for us to model thoughtful citizenship and deliberation by stating our opinions constructively and respectfully and listening carefully when fellow classmates are speaking.

Active reading involves paying attention not only to the questions that a text *answers*, but also the questions that it *provokes*. Those questions, in turn, provide the grist for analytically productive discussions in class. To keep you engaged with the reading and to help inform our in-class discussions, you will be asked to submit one question to me each week, by **Monday at 10am,** that concerns either reading from the prior week or reading done for this week’s first meeting. I ask that you strive to generate a question that meets both of the following criteria: 1.) You genuinely do not know an answer to this question; and 2.) You genuinely *would like* to know an answer to this question. Attendance, participation in discussion, and weekly submission of this discussion question will all count toward your participation grade.

The most effective route to clear and rigorous understanding of complex phenomena can be found in the challenge of analytical writing. Thus this course also includes two paper assignments—a 4-page response paper on course reading due **February 23**, followed by a 10-12 page paper due **April 27.** The latter assignment will ask you to apply themes from class as well as a limited number of outside sources to an argument-driven analysis of a historical episode of American state development. Details on both assignments and specific topics from which you can choose to write about will be coming soon.

In addition to the papers and regular participation in class, students’ grasp of the material will be assessed through a midterm and final exam.

Course grades are broken down as follows:

* 15% participation
* 15% paper 1
* 20% midterm exam
* 25% paper 2
* 25% final exam

CLASSROOM POLICIES:

* Students are expected to attend class. Three class absences lacking documented excuses (such as a medical issue, family emergency, or religious observance) will reduce your course grade by 1/3 of a letter. Students are also expected to arrive to class *on time*. Three consecutive instances of tardiness will result in a 1/3-letter-grade reduction in your overall course grade.
* Late submission of the paper assignment will result in a 1/3-letter-grade reduction in that paper’s grade for every 24 hours it is late.
* Cell phones, tablets, and laptops are prohibited in class. We will be making this a laptop-free class not merely because the internet presents temptations for distraction, but also because [research has indicated](http://www.vox.com/2014/6/4/5776804/note-taking-by-hand-versus-laptop) that we absorb and retain information more effectively when taking notes by hand instead of by computer. If this policy presents a hardship for you, please discuss it with me during my office hours or by appointment.
* I expect you to abide by the [Colgate Academic Honor Code](https://www.colgate.edu/student-handbook2/academic-dishonesty-and-the-academic-honor-code#code). Violations will be reported to the Honor Court.
* If you feel you may need an accommodation based on the impact of a disability, meet with me to discuss your specific needs. Please also contact Lynn Waldman, Director of Academic Support and Disability Services (315-228-7375, [lwaldman@colgate.edu)](mailto:lwaldman@colgate.edu)), who reviews documentation to determine and help coordinate reasonable and appropriate accommodations for students with disabilities.

CALENDAR OUTLINE:

1/22 Half-day course overview

1/24 “An Absence of Neighbors”? The Tocqueville Thesis Reexamined

* excerpt, Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* V. 1, Part II, Chapter 8, “The Main Causes Tending to Maintain a Democratic Republic in the United States,” 277-286
* K&S Ch 2: Aristide Zolberg, “International Engagement and American Democracy: A Comparative Perspective”

1/29 War as a Policy Generator

* David Mayhew, “War and American Politics,” *Perspectives on Politics* (2005)

1/31 Seeing the State in Antebellum America

* Frymer, *Building an American Empire*, Introduction
* K&S Ch 4: Ira Katznelson, “Flexible Capacity: The Military and Early American State-Building”

2/5 War, Diplomacy, and American Constitutionalism

* K&S Ch 3: Robert Keohane, “International Commitments and American Political Institutions in the Nineteenth Century”
* Thorpe, *The American Warfare State*, Chapter 2

2/7 SNOW DAY—CLASS CANCELLED

2/12 State and Society in America’s Territorial Expansion

* Frymer, *Building an American Empire*, Chs 2-5

2/14 War as a Racial “Leveler”: The American Revolution

* Klinkner and Smith, *The Unsteady March*, Introduction and Ch 1

2/19 War as a Racial “Leveler”: The Civil War and Reconstruction

* Klinkner and Smith, *The Unsteady March*, Chs 2-3

2/21 War as an Economic and Political “Leveler”

* Walter Scheidel, *The Great Leveler: Violence and the History of Inequality from the Stone Age to the Twenty-First Century* (2017), Introduction
* John Ferejohn and Frances Rosenbluth, *Forged Through Fire: War, Peace, and the Democratic Bargain* (2016), Introduction
* Kenneth Scheve and David Stasavage, “The Conscription of Wealth: Mass Warfare and the Demand for Progressive Taxation,” *International Organization* (2010)

--FRIDAY, 2/23, 5:00PM, PAPER 1 DUE--

2/26 War and Gender: America in Comparative Context

* Margaret Higonnet and Patrice Higonnet, “The Double Helix” (1987)
* Elaine Tyler May, “Rosie the Riveter Gets Married” (1996)

2/28 War in American Civic Life

* K&S Ch 5: Martin Shefter, “War, Trade, and U.S. Party Politics”
* K&S Ch 6: Theda Skocpol et al, “Patriotic Partnerships: Why Great Wars Nourished American Civic Voluntarism”

3/5 “The Great War” and the American State

* David M. Kennedy, “Rallying Americans for War” (1984)

3/7 In-class midterm exam

--SPRING BREAK--

3/19 World War II and American Political Culture I

* Sparrow, *Warfare State*, Intro and Chs 1-2

3/21 World War II and American Political Culture II

* Sparrow, *Warfare State*, Chs 4-6

3/26 War as a Racial “Leveler”: World War II

* Klinkner and Smith, *The Unsteady March*, Chs 5 and 6

3/28 World War II and Social Policy

* Edwin Amenta and Theda Skocpol, “Redefining the New Deal: World War II and the Development of Social Provision in the United States” (1988)
* 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): 351-365

4/2 World War II and the Birth of a Permanent “Warfare State”

* K&S Ch 9: Aaron L. Friedberg, “American Antistatism and the Founding of the Cold War State”
* Thorpe, *The American Warfare State*, Chs 1 and 3

4/4 PROFESSOR AT CONFERENCE—CLASS CANCELLED

4/9 Debating the Cold War’s Domestic Impact

* Ellen Schrecker, *Many Are the Crimes: McCarthyism in America* (1998), Ch 10
* Jennifer Delton, *Rethinking the 1950s: How Anticommunism and the Cold War Made America Liberal* (2013), Intro and Ch 1

4/11 Cold War Civil Rights

* Klinkner and Smith, *The Unsteady March*, Ch 7

4/16 From Total War to Limited (but Perpetual) Conflict

* K&S Ch 10: Bartholomew Sparrow, “Limited Wars and the Attenuation of the State”
* Mittelstadt, *The Rise of the Military Welfare State*, Introduction and Chapter 1

4/18 The Political Geography of the Warfare State

* Thorpe, *The American Warfare State*, Chs 4-7

4/23 Butter for the Guns: The Military as a Welfare State I

* Mittelstadt, *The Rise of the Military Welfare State*, Chs 2-5

4/25 Butter for the Guns: The Military as a Welfare State II

* Mittelstadt, *The Rise of the Military Welfare State*, Chs 7, 8 and Epilogue

--FRIDAY, 4/27, 5:00PM, PAPER 2 DUE--

4/30 War and American Constitutionalism Revisited: Executive Power

* Thorpe, *The American Warfare State*, Chs 8-9
* William G. Howell, “Presidential Power in War,” *Annual Review of Political Science* (2011)

5/2 The Civilian-Military Gap and its Implications

* James Fallows, “The Tragedy of the American Military,” *The Atlantic Monthly*, 2015

5/7 12:00-2:00pm: Final Exam