

The Consequences of War

POSC 3610 – International Conflict

Steven V. Miller

Department of Political Science



Puzzle for Today

The consequences of war seem intuitive, but how would we know? How can we measure them?

Saddam Hussein With His Elite Republican Guard



Churchill's Government Goes Down in Flames

THURSDAY, JULY 26, 1945

In the family tradition
BIRD'S CUSTARD

27,780 24-HOUR FORECAST: Thunder rain - cooler.

MOON: Rising 10.12 p.m. Sets 4.44 a.m. Tomorrow LIGHTING-UP TIME: 9.55 p.m.

ONE PENNY

Evening Standard

FINAL NIGHT EXTRA

Palm Whisky
Everybody had a good time!

Britain swings to the Left—and the Churchill Government goes out in a landslide

SOCIALISTS IN 26 Ministers go down

LONDON, BIRMINGHAM CAPTURED: LIBERALS ECLIPSED

Britain has elected a Socialist Government. At 1.30 this afternoon the Conservative Party Central Office officially conceded the election to the Socialists. Latest position: For the Government 178; Against 355.

Three hours after the first General Election result was announced the Socialist lead was so commanding that there was no longer any doubt, and by half-past one they had won half the total number of seats, with 170 to come.

From the start the strong swing towards Socialism was clear. Minister after Minister fell—all three Service Ministers among them. So far 26 Ministers of the Caretaker Government have been defeated, five of them in the Cabinet.

The Socialists had made gains in the first half-hour. After an hour and three-quarters they had gained 55 seats and lost only two. By 12.30 their gains were 88 and losses two; Government gains were one, losses 82.

These were the big casualties: Mr. Brendan Bracken (Admiralty), Sir James Grigg (War), Mr. Harold Macmillan (Air), Mr. L. S. Amery (India), Sir Walter Womersley (Personal), Mr. Geoffrey Lloyd (Finance), Mr. J. P. Peto (Food), Mr. Ernest Brown (Aircraft Production), Mr. G. S. Summers (Parliamentary Secretary, Overseas Trade), Mr. Robert Cary, Mr. Duncan Sandys (Works), Mr. Richard Law (Minister of Education), Mr. George, Mrs. Cazalot Keir, Mr. W. Mahon (Minister of State).

MINISTERS DEFEATED

The following Ministers have been defeated:

In the Cabinet

Mr. Harold Macmillan, Secretary for Air.
Mr. Brendan Bracken, First Lord of the Admiralty.
Sir James Grigg, War Minister.
Mr. L. Amery, Secretary for India.
Sir D. Somervell, Home Secretary.

The Sinclair Liberals were massacred. At 1.40 they had only seven seats. Communists and Common Wealth had one each.

There was no doubt, of course, about Mr. Churchill; his Independent opponent, the farmer Mr. A. Hancock, had an unexpectedly big return. He polled 10,486 against the Prime Minister's 27,688.

STATE OF PARTIES

FOR THE GOVERNMENT	178
OTHER PARTIES	361
SEATS TO BE DECLARED	101
For the Government	
Conservative	160
National	1
Liberals National	11
Independent	0
Other Parties	229
Socialist	20
Liberal	3
ILP	1
Communist	1
Independent and others	7
Scottish Nationalist	0
Welsh Nationalist	0
Irish Nationalist	0
Common Wealth	1

NEW PRIME MINISTER



The next step

Evening Standard Political Correspondent

With the Socialists returned in such a majority, Mr. Churchill has to decide on his next action.

He will see the Prime Minister until a new Government is formed. Mr. Attlee has already summoned a Cabinet meeting at the Foreign Office. The new Ministers will be seen on Friday.

The main point to be decided is whether to resign and then defend on a vote of no confidence.

VISIT TO PALACE

The expectation is that Mr. Churchill will remain in Parliament responsible. In that case he will probably visit the Palace, perhaps to-morrow. If the King does not accept his resignation, Mr. Attlee will invite him to form a Government in this country or to remain in Britain if he prefers.

Mr. Attlee will endeavour to make his house in time to meet

A Problem of Assessment

No doubt war has consequences, but how do we assess them? Effects can be:

- Permanent and temporary
- Short-term and long-term
- Direct or indirect
- Positive and negative

Indeed, war can have positive side effects (or “externalities”).

A Framework

Thompson (1993) suggests a framework for evaluating the consequences of war.

1. National Consequences
2. International Consequences

National Consequences of War

We can further classify national consequences of war by three factors.

1. Economic conditions
2. Demographic factors
3. Sociopolitical conditions

Economic Conditions

Intuitively, war destroys stuff.

- Destroys land, labor, and capital
- Siphons labor force toward war effort

However, some effects can be positive.

- Namely: innovations in research, tech, and even medicine.

Economic Conditions

In fact, it's not even clear there is a discernible negative economic consequence to war.

- Koubi (2005) finds war *increased* economic growth in her sample of countries from 1960-1989.

Demographic Factors

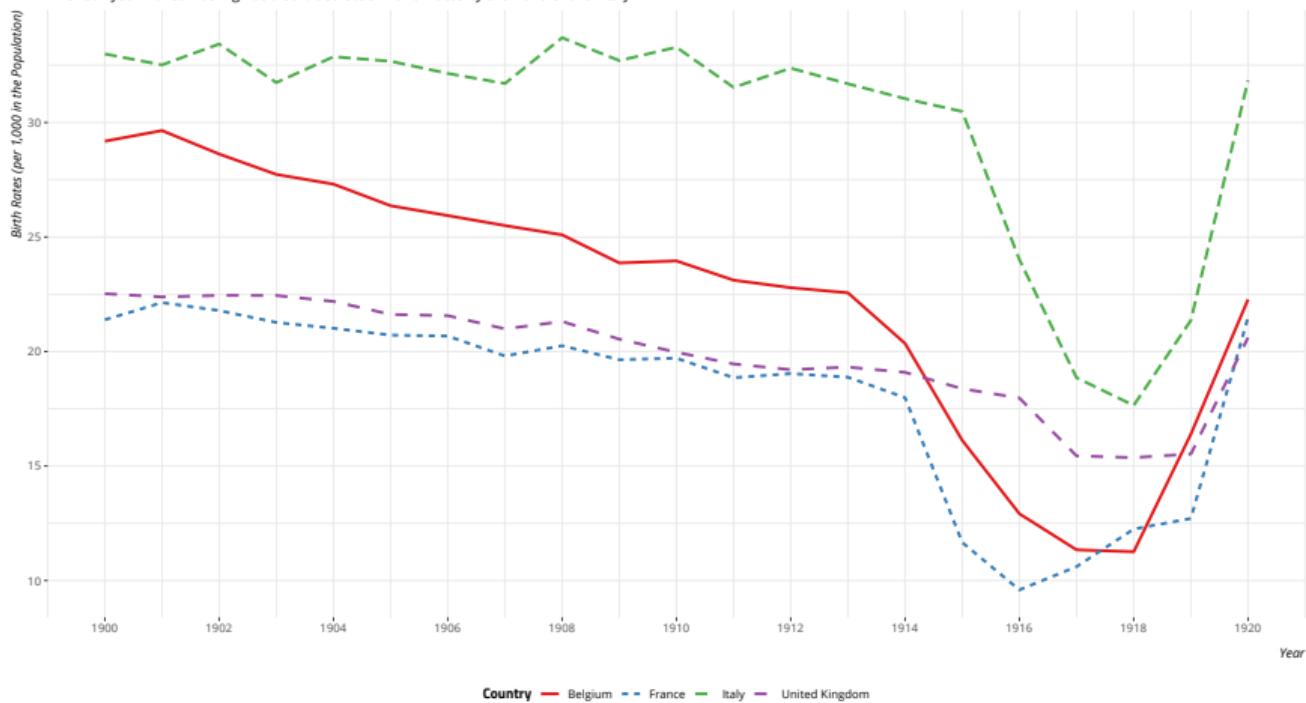
War does have pervasive effects on demography.

- Increases mortality rates
- Stunts marriage rates and child birth

Should be no surprise this disproportionately targets young men.

War Is Hell on Birth Rates and It Especially Was During World War I

This four-year war saw as high as a 50% decrease in birth rates by the war's end for Italy.



Data: Human Mortality Database (birth rates) and Correlates of War (total population)

Demographic Factors

But again, some effects can be positive.

- WWI empowered suffrage movements
- Vietnam War empowered broader movements of franchise for kids your age.
- WWII further integrated the military and the civilian workforce.

Sociopolitical Conditions

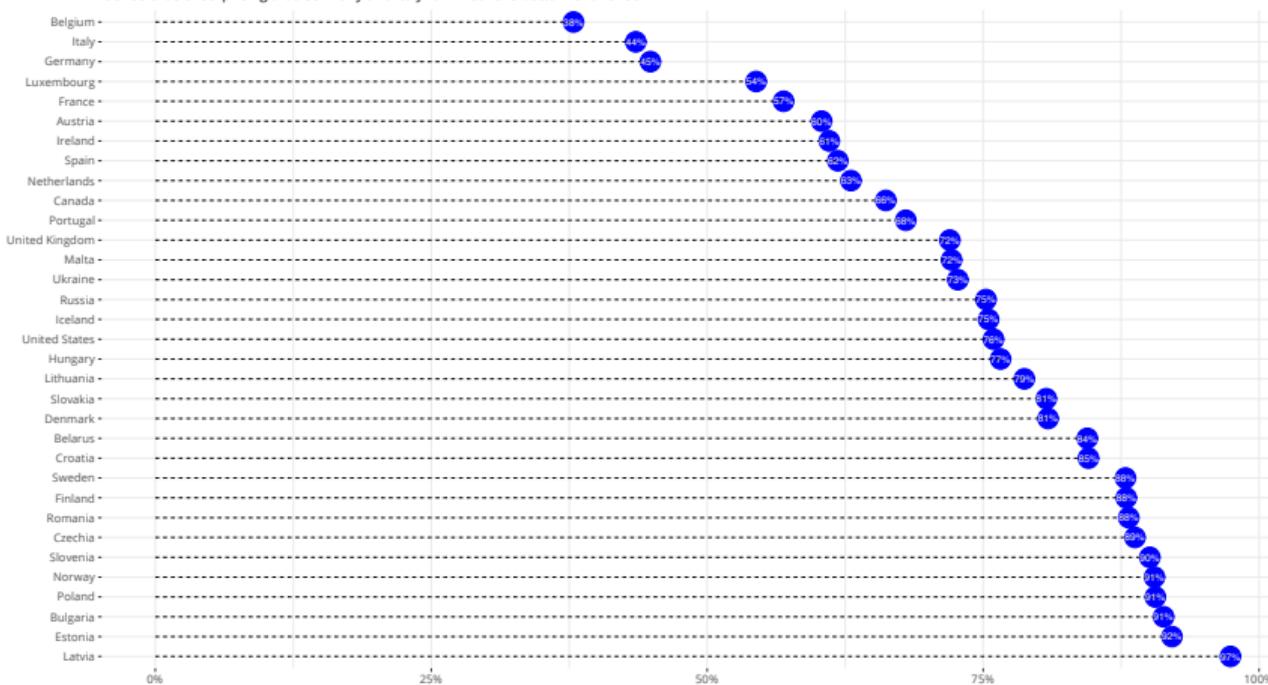
"War makes the state and the state makes war."

- War empowers state capacity
- War increases revenue/extraction/spending.

Some effects might actually be positive in the long-run.

Citizens in Countries That Experienced World War II's Highest Costs Are Less Willing to Fight for Their Country

It should be unsurprising that Germany and Italy rank near the bottom of this list.



Percent of Citizens Willing to Fight for Their Country

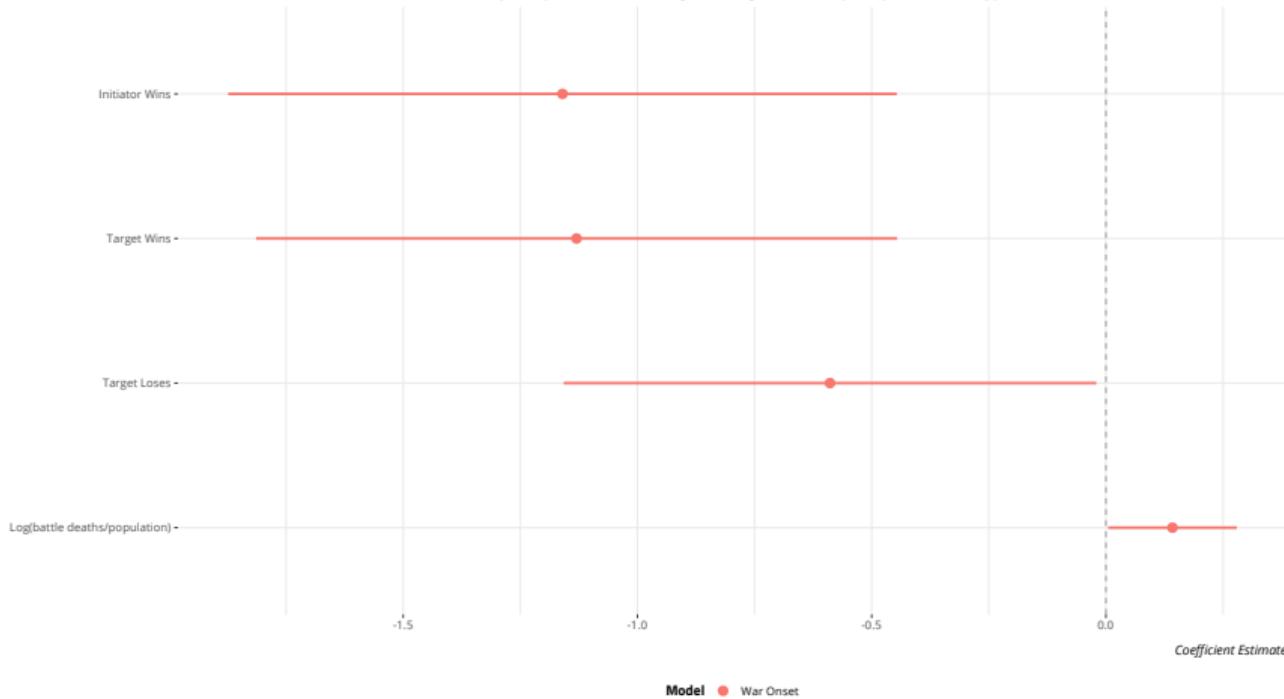
Data: Three-wave aggregate of European Values Survey data (1981, 1990, 1999).

War and Regime Change

By far, most concerns for sociopolitical consequences of war concern regime change.

Don't Initiate a War and Lose It

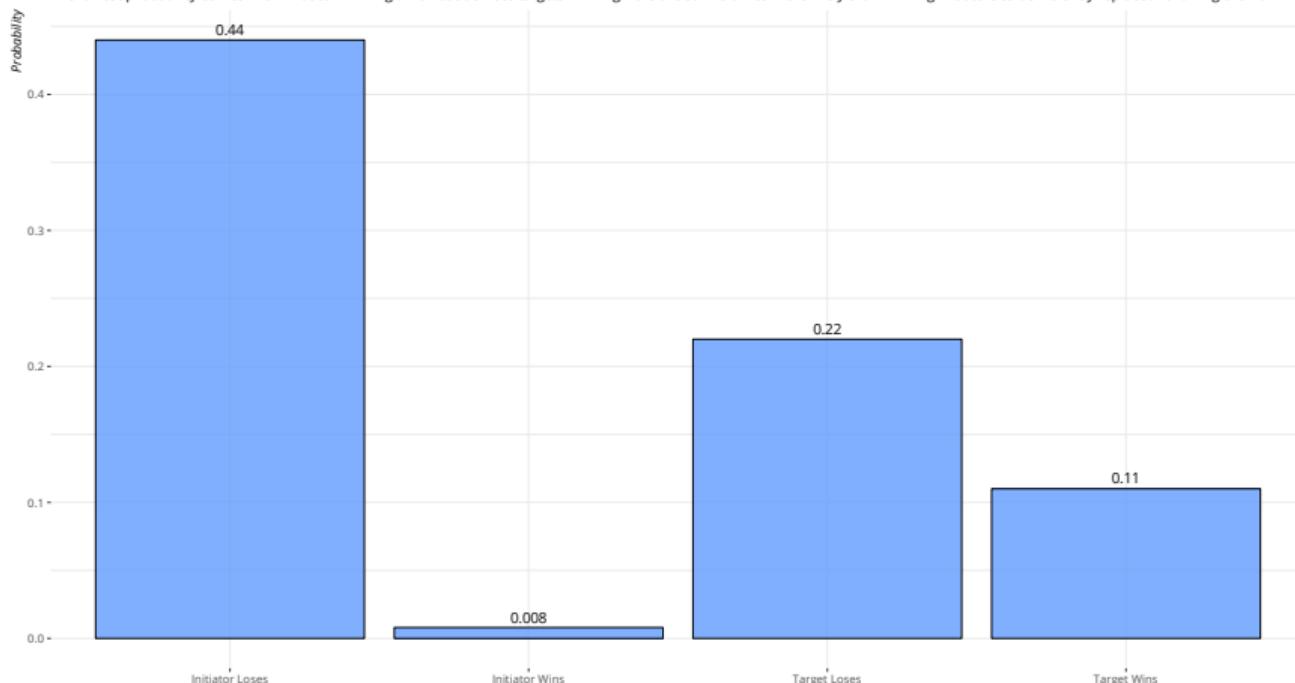
States that initiate wars and lose it are more likely to experience a violent regime change than other participant-outcome types.



Reproduction of Model 2 in Table 1 of Bueno de Mesquita et al. (1992). Note: the reference category is the initiator losing a war.

The Greatest Probability of Violent Regime Change Comes in Losing a War a State Leader Initiated

The lowest probability comes in an initiator winning a war but do note targets winning wars are still 13 times more likely than winning initiators to be violently replaced following the war.



Reproduction of Table 2 in Bueno de Mesquita et al. (1992).

International Consequences of War

We can lump the international consequences of war to these factors.

1. Geopolitical situations/orientations
2. Territorial changes
3. Changes in relative capabilities
4. Alignment patterns
5. Economic consequences
6. Rivalry/recurring conflict (i.e. the next week)

The Phoenix Factor

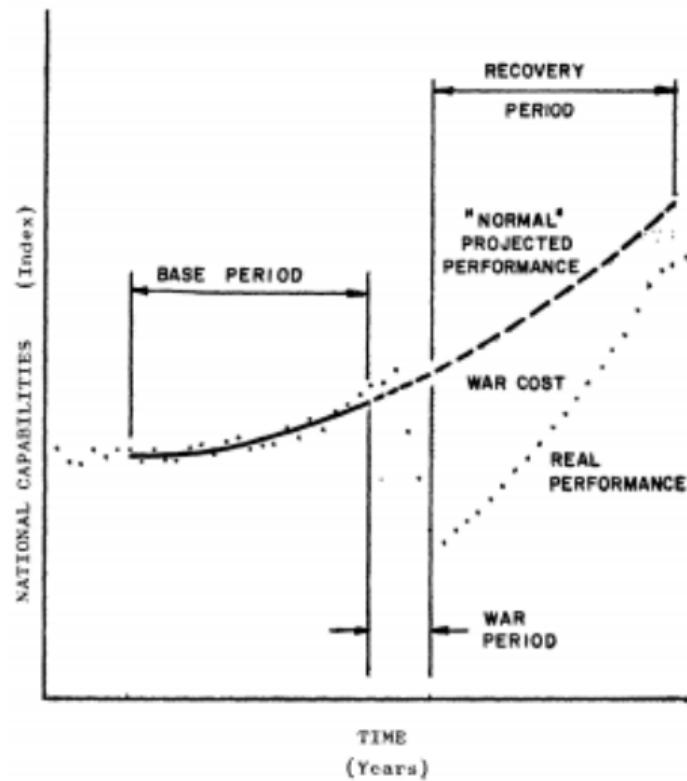
What are the economic effects of major wars? Some arguments:

- “Scissor effect”: winners and losers diverge until economic uncertainty brings the winner to the loser.
- “Permanent loss”: winners and losers diverge and that stays in the long-run.

Against this, Organski and Kugler (1977, 1980) argue for a “Phoenix Factor.”

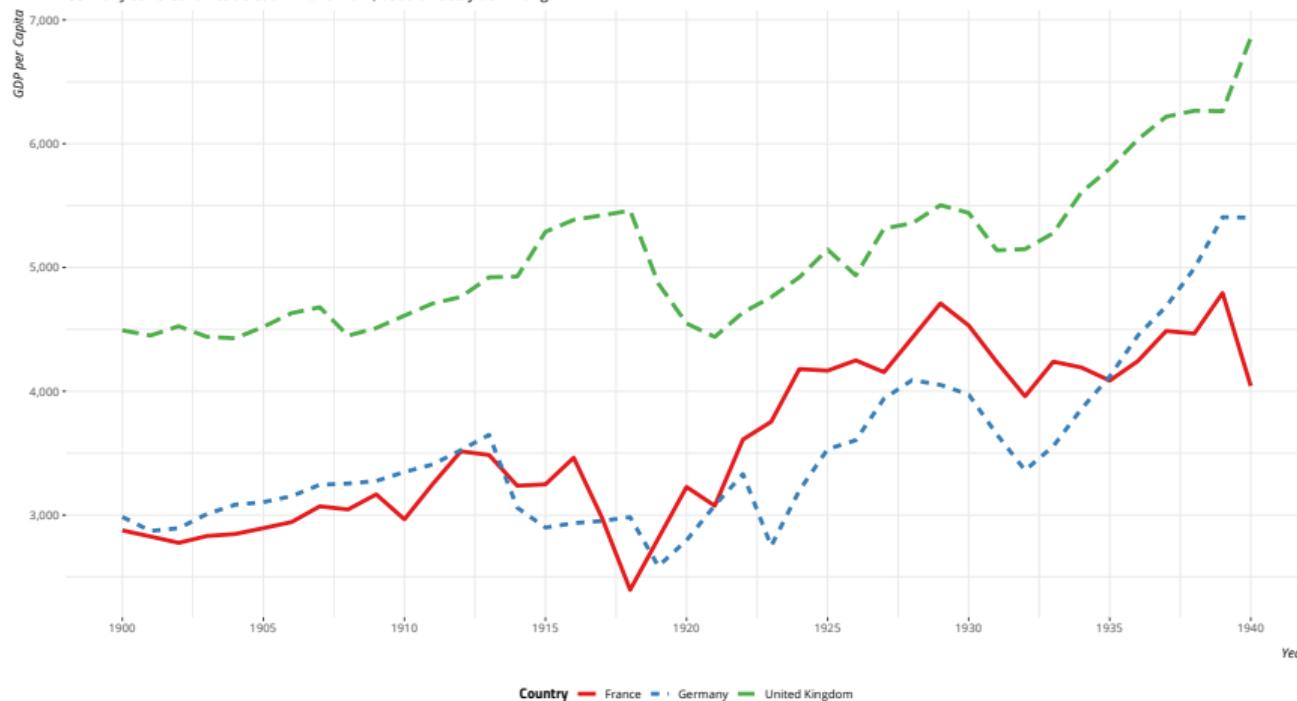
- i.e. economic consequences of the war are temporary.

The Hypothetical Costs of Major Wars



GDP per Capita of the United Kingdom, France, and Germany, 1900-1940

Germany suffered for its defeat in World War I, but didn't stay down long.

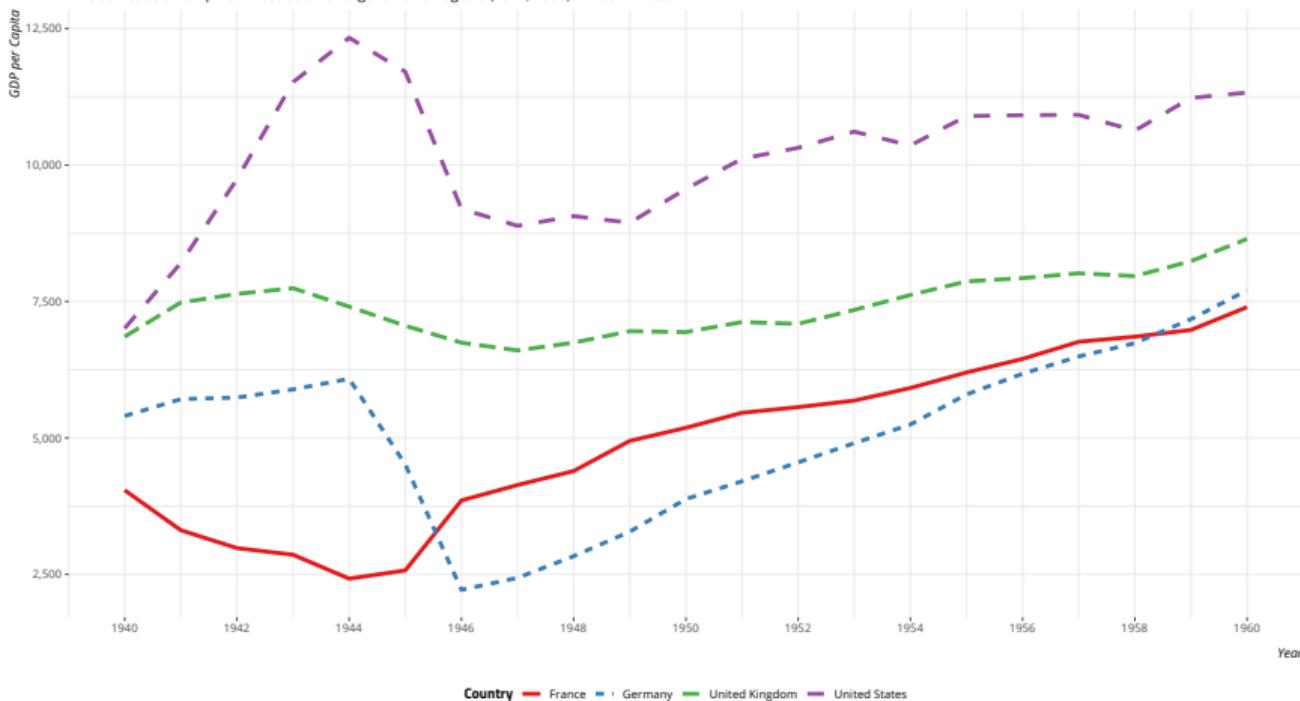


Country — France - - - Germany - - - United Kingdom

Maddison historical GDP data (via maddison package in CRAN)

GDP per Capita for Select Belligerent Countries During and After WWII, 1940-1960

This serves as an empirical illustration of Organski and Kugler's (1977, 1980) "Phoenix Factor"



Year

Country — France — Germany — United Kingdom — United States

Maddison historical GDP data (via maddison package in CRAN)

Conclusion

War has consequences, so how do you assess them?

- National/international effects
- Clear negative effects and positive externalities
- The important effect on leader tenure

Table of Contents

Introduction

A Framework for Understanding the Consequences of War

National Consequences of War

International Consequences of War

The Phoenix Factor

Conclusion