

Conflict, Militarism and Global Markets

York University, Political Science 6230(0.3), Fall, 2000-1

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OVERVIEW

DESCRIPTION: Does capitalism require peace and stability? Is armed conflict alien to markets? Do capitalists suffer from militarism and war? With the cold war over and liberalism being triumphant, many believe the answer is yes. Capitalism, so it seems, thrives on, and therefore promotes peace and stability. This view, though, stands in sharp contrast to the history of capitalism. In fact, over the past several centuries, the expansion of markets and capitalism was accompanied by an exponential increase, not decrease, in armed conflict and militarism. Have we now passed the peak of this process? Is the end of the cold war the beginning of true ‘capitalist peace’? Are ‘peace dividends’ here to stay? Perhaps. But it is also possible that conflict and militarism are not antithetical to capitalism, and that under certain circumstances, they may even be essential for its survival.

The seminar tackles these questions within a broader analysis of capitalist development, focusing primarily (though not exclusively) on the twentieth century. Drawing on various examples from around the world, it covers issues such as the connection between capitalism and war, political economy of military spending, socio-political aspects of militarism and institutionalized waste, peace and war as phases of accumulation, militarization and ruling-class formation, and the international political economy of the arms trade.

Views on these issues can be delineated along ideological lines. Mainstream approaches, geared primarily toward prediction and decision making, tend to follow the realist framework, separating economics from politics and accentuating the significance of formal structures and state officials. Critical theories of political economy, on the other hand, view the tension between markets on the one hand, and conflict and militarism on the other, as part of wider social context. The seminar traces the evolution of such theories from the early Marxist and institutionalist writings, through the post-war emergence of the Monopoly Capital school and Military Keynesianism, to research on the Military Industrial Complex and ‘peace dividends.’ The globalization of military industries, the arms trade and prospects for disarmament are assessed in light of theoretical debates.

FORMAT: Combination of overview lectures by the instructor and student-led seminars.

EVALUATION: The course grade comprises the following items:

	Weight	Maximum length	Due date
Written presentation	15%	2,500 words	Distributed one week before the class
Oral presentation	10%		
Discussion and participation	25%		
Research paper: thesis statement	50%	500 words	October 31 st
Research paper: final manuscript		7,500 words	November 30 th
Total	100%		

General

- Written work should be typed. Late submission will not be accepted without a valid documented reason (medical or family misfortune).

Written presentation (15%)

- Each seminar begins with one or more student presentations (depending on the number of students), which are then critiqued by another student who acts as a discussant. Hard copies of the presentations are distributed in class one week in advance, so the discussant and the other students can read them beforehand.
- The presentation should be written and delivered as a ‘think piece.’ Its purpose is not to summarize the readings as such, but to convey *your own critical thoughts* triggered by the readings. The main goal is to encourage class discussion, so you are welcome to be polemic, innovative and provocative. Write informally rather than academically, be precise but concise (2,500 words or less, plus references).

Oral presentation (10%)

- Given that the other students have read the material, including your own paper, your presentation should focus and elucidate your *main* arguments – the problem you are addressing, your principal thesis/claims, and the questions which remain open. The length of each presentation is determined by the number of presenters, but in general should not exceed 15 minutes.

Discussion and participation (25%)

- Each student is asked to be a discussant of the written presentations delivered in a particular session, assessing their arguments and claims in light of the readings. Your role as discussant is to kick start the seminar discussion. You should speak for no more than 5 minutes, concentrating your argument on what you consider to be the *essential/problematic issues* emerging from the material.
- Regular attendance and reading the assigned material before class are pre-requisites for effective participation.

Research paper (50%)

- Students are asked to write a research paper, on a topic of their choice, relevant to the seminar. The paper could be (1) a critical appraisal of one or more aspects of the literature, (2) an empirical study, preferably in reference to a theoretical debate, or (3) a more ambitious attempt to formulate your own hypothesis or theory.
- Perhaps the most important step in doing research is asking the right questions, which is the aim of the thesis statement. The statement should essentially describe (1) the question you want to address, (2) the possible answers for that question, and (3) the way you plan to approach it – including the research method and a tentative bibliography. You should think about this statement as a dynamic boundary: it may change as you proceed, but at any point in time it should be clearly delineated. This will help you focus on the crucial and stay away from the secondary. Limit the length to 500 words, plus bibliography (due October 31st)
- The final paper must not exceed 7,500 words, including footnotes and references, but excluding charts and tables (due November 30th).

READINGS: Required readings are included in a reading kit, available from Beta Reproduction. You should also get a copy of Paul Baran and Paul Sweezy’s *Monopoly Capital. An Essay on the American Economic and Social Order* (New York and London: Modern Reader Paperback, 1966), which is available from the bookstore. The recommended readings are design to assist you in your research paper.

NOTE: There could be some minor deviations from the course schedule and readings as we go along.

SCHEDULE

1. *Sep. 8:* Introduction and organization
2. *Sep. 15:* Mainstream perspectives and critiques
3. *Sep. 22:* Early Marxist and liberal views
4. *Sep. 29:* “Institutionalists” precursors
5. *Oct. 6:* *Monopoly Capital*
6. *Oct. 13:* *Monopoly Capital* and “Military Keynesianism”
7. *Oct. 20:* Armament and economic growth: evidence
8. *Oct. 27:* Political dimensions of military expenditure
9. *Nov. 6:* Military spending and business restructuring
10. *Nov. 13:* The ‘Military-Industrial Complex’
11. *Nov. 20:* International political economy of arms exports
12. *Nov. 27:* Back to the future: peace dividend or Armageddon?
13. *Dec 1:* Summing up

READINGS

1. Introduction and organization

2. Mainstream perspectives and critiques

Required

- McGuire, M.C. (1995) ‘Defense Economics and International Security,’ in K. Hartley and T. Sandler (eds.) *Handbook of Defense Economics*, Vol. 1 (Amsterdam: Elsevier Science B.V.), pp. 13-43. [31 pages]
- Georgiou, G. (1983) ‘The Political Economy of Military Expenditure,’ *Capital & Class* 19, Spring: 183-205. [23 pages]

Recommended

- Brodie, B. (1973) *War and Politics* (New York: Macmillan), Ch. 7, ‘Some Theories on the Causes of War,’ pp. 276-340.
- Clark, J.J. (1970) ‘The New Economics of National Defense,’ in J.L. Clayton (ed.) *The Economic Impact of the Cold War. Sources and Readings* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc.), pp. 7-26.
- Kapstein, E.B. (1992) *The Political Economy of National Security: A Global Perspective* (New York: McGraw Hill).
- Kirshner, J. (1998) ‘Political Economy in Security Studies After the Cold War,’ *Review of International Political Economy* 5(1), Spring: 64-91.
- Krause, K. (1992) *Arms and the State. Patterns of Military Production and Trade* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press).
- Wallace, M.D. (1980) ‘Accounting for Superpower Arms Spending,’ in P. McGowan and C.W. Kegley, Jr. (eds.) *Threats, Weapons and Foreign Policy* (Beverly Hills, Ca.: Sage Publications), pp. 259-274.

3. Early Marxist and liberal views

Required

- Brewer, A. (1990) *Marxist Theories of Imperialism. A Critical Survey*, 2nd Ed. (London and New York: Routledge), Ch. 2: ‘Marx,’ pp. 25-57, Ch. 3: ‘Luxemburg,’ pp. 58-72. Ch. 4: ‘Hobson,’ pp. 73-87, Ch. 5: ‘Hilferding,’ pp. 88-108, Ch. 6: ‘Bukharin and Lenin,’ pp. 109-135. [111 pages]

Recommended

- Hilferding, R. [1910] (1981) *Finance Capital. A Study of the Latest Phase of Capitalist Development*, Edited With an Introduction by T. Bottomore, From Translations by M. Watnick and S. Gordon (London: routledge & Kegan Paul).
- Hobson, J.A. [1902] (1965) *Imperialism. A Study*, With a New Introduction by P. Siegelman (Ann Arbor: Ann Arbor Paperbacks, The University of Michigan Press).
- Kalecki, M. (1967) 'The Problem of Effective Demand in Tugan-Baraovski and Rosa Luxemburg,' reprinted in M. Kalecki (1971) *Selected Essays on the Dynamics of the Capitalist Economy, 1933-1970* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 146-155.
- Lenin, V.I. (1917) *Imperialism. The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, Reprinted in H.M. Christman (ed.) (1987) *The Essential Works of Lenin. "What Is to Be Done?" and Other Writings* (New York: Dover Publications).
- Luxemburg, R. [1913] (1951) *The Accumulation of Capital*, Translated from the German by A. Schwarzschild, With an Introduction by J. Robinson (Haven: Yale University Press), particularly Ch. XXXII, pp. 454-467.
- Rowthorn, R. (1980) 'Rosa Luxemburg and the Political Economy of Militarism,' in R. Rowthorn, *Capitalism, Conflict and Inflation* (London: Lawrence & Wishart), pp. 250-269.

4. "Institutionalists" precursors*Required*

- Biddle, J.E. and W.J. Samuels (1991) 'Thorstein Veblen on War, Peace, and National Security,' in C.D. Goodwin (ed.) *Economics and National Security. A History of Their Interaction*, Annual Supplement to Vol. 23, *History of Political Economy* (Durham and London: Duke University Press), pp. 87-117. **[31 pages]**
- Schumpeter, J. [1919] (1955) *Imperialism and Social Classes. Two Essays*, Introduction by B. Hoselitz, Translated by H. Norden (New York: Meridian Books), 'The Problem,' pp. 3-7, 'Imperialism and Capitalism,' pp. 64-98 (and endnotes, pp. 172-176). **[35 pages]**

Recommended

- Geyer, M.E. (1990) 'Militarism and Capitalism in the 20th Century,' in N.P. Gleditsch and O. Njølstad (eds.) (1990) *Arms Races: Technological and Political Dynamics* (Oslo: PRIO and London: Sage), pp. 247-275.
- Veblen, T. [1904] (1975) *The Theory of Business Enterprise* (Clifton, N.J.: Augustus M. Kelley, Reprints of Economics Classics).
- Veblen, T. [1915] (1966) *Imperial Germany and the Industrial Revolution*, Introduction by Joseph Dorfman (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press).
- Veblen, T. (1917) [1964] *An Inquiry into the Nature of Peace and the Terms of Its Perpetuation* (Clifton, N.J.: Augustus M. Kelley, Reprints of Economic Classics).
- Veblen, T. [1923] (1967) *Absentee Ownership and Business Enterprise in Recent Times. The Case of America*, With an Introduction by R. Leckachman (Boston: Beacon Press).

5. Monopoly Capital*Required*

- Baran, P. and P.M. Sweezy (1966) *Monopoly Capital. An Essay on the American Economic and Social Order* (New York and London: Modern Reader Paperback), Ch. 1-3, pp. 1-78; Appendix, pp. 369-391. **[100 pages]**

Recommended

- Baran, P. (1957) *The Political Economy of Growth* (New York and London: Modern Reader Paperbacks).
- Cowling, K. (1982) *Monopoly Capitalism* (New York: John Wiley and Sons).
- Foster, J.B. (1986) *The Theory of Monopoly Capitalism. An Elaboration of Marxian Political Economy* (New York: Monthly Review Press).

- Glick, M. (1994) 'Competition, Antitrust and Beyond,' in P. Arestis and M. Sawyer (eds.) *The Elgar Companion to Radical Political Economy* (Aldershot, England and Brookfield, Vermont: Edward Elgar Publishing Company).
- Howard, M.C. and J.E. King (1992) *A History of Marxian Economics*, Ch. 6: 'Monopoly Capital,' pp. 109-127.
- Lubitz, R. (1971) 'Monopoly Capitalism and Neo-Marxism,' in D. Bell and I. Kristol (eds.) *Capitalism Today* (New York: New American Library), pp. 199-214.

6. Monopoly Capital and "Military Keynesianism"

Required

- Baran, P. and P.M. Sweezy (1966) *Monopoly Capital. An Essay on the American Economic and Social Order* (New York and London: Modern Reader Paperback), Ch. 4-8, pp. 79-248; Ch. 11, pp. 336-367. **[202 pages]**

Recommended

- Howard, M.C. and J.E. King (1992) *A History of Marxian Economics*, Ch. 8: 'The Permanent War Economy,' pp. 149-164.
- Magdoff, H. (1969) *The Age of Imperialism. The Economics of U.S. Foreign Policy* (New York: Monthly Review Press).
- Magdoff, H. (1972) 'Imperialism Without Colonies,' Reprinted in *Imperialism: From the Colonial Age to the Present. Essays by Harry Magdoff* (New York: Monthly Review Press), pp. 117-147.
- Reich, Michael (1986) 'The Irrational Attraction of Military Spending,' in Richard C. Edwards, Michael Reich and Thomas E. Weisskopf (1986) *The Capitalist System*, 3rd Edn (Englewood Cliffs, NJ.: Prentice-Hall), pp. 332-340.
- Steindl J. (1976) *Maturity and Stagnation in American Capitalism* (New York and London: Monthly Review Press).
- Steindl, J. (1979) 'Stagnation Theory and Stagnation Policy,' *Cambridge Journal of Economics* 3(1), reprinted in J.B. Foster and H. Szlajfer (eds.) (1984) *The Faltering Economy. The Problem of Accumulation Under Monopoly Capitalism* (New York: Monthly Review Press), pp.179-197.
- Tsuru, S. (1961) 'Has Capitalism Changed?' in S. Tsuru (ed.) *Has Capitalism Changed? An International Symposium on the Nature of Contemporary Capitalism* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten), pp. 1-66.

7. Armament and economic growth: evidence

Required

- Benoit, E. (1978) 'Growth and Defense in Developing Countries,' *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 26(2), January: 271-280. **[10 pages]**
- Szymanski, A. (1973) 'Military Spending and Economic Stagnation,' *American Journal of Sociology* 79(1), July: 1-14. **[14 pages]**
- Sweezy, P.M. (1973) 'Comments on Szymanski's Paper "Military Spending and Economic Stagnation,"' *American Journal of Sociology* 79 (3), November: 709-710. **[2 pages]**
- Szymanski, A. (1973) 'Reply to Sweezy,' *American Journal of Sociology* 79 (3), November: 710-711. **[2 pages]**
- Smith, R.P. (1977) 'Military Expenditure and Capitalism,' *Cambridge Journal of Economics* 1(1): 61-76. **[16 pages]**
- Pivetti, M. (1992) 'Military Expenditure as a Burden on Growth. An "Underconsumptionist" Critique,' *Cambridge Journal of Economics* 16(4): 373-384. **[12 pages]**

Recommended

- Ball, N. (1983) 'Defense and Development: A Critique of the Benoit Study,' *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 31(3): 507-525.
- Benoit, E. (1973) *Defense and Economic Growth in Developing Countries* (Lexington, Ma.: Lexington Books).

- Chester, E. (1978) 'Military Spending and Capitalist Stability,' *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, 2: 293-298.
- Deger, S. and R. Smith (1983) 'Military Expenditure and Growth in Less Developed Countries,' *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 27(2): 335-353.
- Dunne, J.P. (1996) 'Economic Effects of Military Expenditure in Developing Countries: A Survey,' in N.P. Gleditsch *et al.* (eds.) *The Peace Dividend* (Amsterdam: North-Holland), Ch. 23, pp. 439-464.
- Gold, D. (1977) 'The Rise and Decline of the Keynesian Coalition,' *Working Papers on the Kapitaliststate* 6: 129-161.
- Pivetti, M. (1994) 'Effective Demand, 'Marxo-Marginalism' and the Economics of Military Spending: A Rejoinder,' *Cambridge Journal of Economics* 18: 523-527.
- Smith, R.P. (1980) 'The Demand for Military Expenditure,' *Economic Journal* 90: 811-820.
- Smith, R.P. (1978) 'Military Expenditure and Capitalism: A Reply' *Cambridge Journal of Economics* 2: 299-304.
- Smith, R.P., and J. Paul Dunne (1994) 'Is Military Spending a Burden? A 'Marxo-Marginalist Response to Pivetti' *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, 18: 515-521.

8. Political dimensions of military expenditure

Required

- Kalecki, M. (1943) 'Political Aspects of Full Employment,' in J. Osiatynski (ed.) (1990) *Collected Works of Michal Kalecki. Vol. I: Capitalism, Business Cycle and Full Employment*, Trans. by C.A. Kisiel (Oxford: Clarendon Press), pp. 347-356. **[10 pages]**
- O'Connor, J. (1973) *The Fiscal Crisis of the State* (New York: St. Martin's Press), 'Introduction,' pp. 1-12, Ch. 6: 'Social Expenses of Production: The Warfare-Welfare State,' pp. 150-174. **[25 pages]**
- Miller, J.A. (1987) 'Crisis Theory and the Expansion of the State: An Illustration of the Nexus Between the State and the Accumulation of Capital,' in P. Zarembka (ed.) *Research in Political Economy. A Research Annual*, 10 (Greenwich, Conn.: JAI Press Inc.), pp. 111-140. **[40 pages]**

Recommended

- Gottheil, F.M. (1986) 'Marx versus Marxists on the Role of Military Production in Capitalism,' *Journal of Post-Keynesian Economics*, 8(4): 563-573.
- Kidron, M. (1962) 'Imperialism: Highest Stage But One,' in M. Kidron (1974) *Capitalism and Theory* (London: Pluto Press), pp. 124-142.
- Kidron, M. (1970) *Western Capitalism Since the War*, Revised Edn. (Harmondsworth: Penguin), 'Introduction: The Experience,' pp. 11-13, Ch. 3: 'An Arms Economy,' pp. 48-64.
- Kidron, M. (1971) 'Capitalism: The Latest Stage,' in M. Kidron (1974) *Capitalism and Theory* (London: Pluto Press), pp. 11-31.
- O'Connor, James (1984) *Accumulation Crisis* (New York: Basil Blackwell).
- Wright, E.O. (1978) 'Alternative Perspectives in Marxist Theory of Accumulation and Crisis,' in J. Schwartz (ed.) *The Subtle Anatomy of Capitalism* (Santa Monika: Goodyear), pp. 106-138.

9. Military spending and business restructuring

Required

- Griffin J.L., J.A. Devine and M. Wallace (1982) 'Monopoly Capital, Organized Labor and Military Expenditures in the United States, 1949-1976,' in M. Burawoy and T. Stocpol (eds.) *Marxist Inquiries: Studies of Labor, Class and States. American Journal of Sociology*, 88, Supplement (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press), pp. S113-S153. **[41 pages]**
- Bichler, S. and J. Nitzan (1996) 'Military Spending and Differential Accumulation: A New Approach to the Political Economy of Armament — The Case of Israel,' *Review of Radical Political Economics*, 28(1): 52-97. **[46 pages]**

Recommended

- Kalecki, M. (1964) 'The Fascism of Our Times,' Reprinted in M. Kalecki (1972) *The Last Phase in the Transformation of Capitalism*, Introduction by George R. Feiwel, Preface by W. Brus (New York: Monthly Review Press), pp. 99-106.
- Kalecki, M. (1967) 'Vietnam and U.S. Big Business,' Reprinted in M. Kalecki (1972) *The Last Phase in the Transformation of Capitalism*, Introduction by George R. Feiwel, Preface by W. Brus (New York: Monthly Review Press), pp. 107-114.
- Nitzan, J. and S. Bichler (1996) 'From War Profits to Peace Dividends — The New Political Economy of Israel,' *Capital & Class*, 60: 61-94.
- Nitzan, J. and S. Bichler (2000, forthcoming) 'Going Global: Differential Accumulation and the Great U-turn in South Africa and Israel,' *Review of Radical Political Economics*.

10. The 'Military-Industrial Complex'*Required*

- Eisenhower, D.D. (1961) 'The Military Industrial Complex Concept' Farewell Address, January 18th, in J.L. Clayton (ed.) (1970) *The Economic Impact of the Cold War. Sources and Readings* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World) pp. 241-244. **[4 pages]**
- Mills, C.W. (1958) 'The Structure of Power in American Society,' Reprinted in I.L. Horowitz (ed.) (1963) *Power, Politics and People. The Collected Essays of C. Wright Mills* (New York: Ballantine Books), pp. 23-38. **[6 pages]**
- Mills, C.W. (1958) *The Causes of World War Three* (New York: Ballantine Books), Part Two: 'World War Three,' pp. 57-77. **[21 pages]**
- Melman, S. (1972) 'Ten Propositions on the War Economy,' *American Economic Review, Papers and Proceedings* 62(2), May: 312-318. **[6 pages]**

Recommended

- Melman, S. (1970) *Pentagon Capitalism. The Political Economy of War* (New York: McGraw Hill).
- Melman, S. (1983) *Profits Without Production*, 1st Ed. (New York: Knopf; Distributed by Random House).
- Melman, S. (1985) *The Permanent War Economy. American Capitalism in Decline*. Revised and Updated (New York: Touchstone Book).
- Mills, C.W. (1956) *The Power Elite* (New York: Oxford University Press).
- Rosen, S. (ed.) (1973) *Testing the Theory of the Military-Industrial Complex* (Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books).

11. International political economy of arms exports*Required*

- Krause, K. (1992) *Arms and the State: Patterns of Military Production and Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), Ch. 1, 'Motive Forces in the Evolution of the Arms Transfer and Production System,' pp. 12-33; Ch. 4, 'An Overview of the Post-1945 Global Arms Transfer System,' pp. 81-98; Ch. 5, 'The Dominance of First Tier Producers and Suppliers,' pp. 99-126. **[68 pages]**
- Nitzan, J. and S. Bichler (1995) 'Bringing Capital Accumulation Back In: The Weapondollar-Petrodollar Coalition – Military Contractors, Oil Companies and Middle-East "Energy Conflicts,"' *Review of International Political Economy*, 2(3): 446-515. **[70 pages]**

Recommended

- Bichler, S. and J. Nitzan (1996) 'Putting the State In Its Place: US Foreign Policy and Differential Accumulation in Middle-East "Energy Conflicts,"' *Review of International Political Economy*, 3(4): 608-661.
- Brzoska, M. and T. Ohlson (1987) *Arms Transfers to the Third World 1971-1985* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press).

- Cockburn, A. and L. Cockburn (1991) *Dangerous Liaison. The Inside Story of the U.S.-Israeli Covert Relationship* (Toronto: Stoddart).
- Ferrari, P. J. Knopf and R. Madrid (1987) *U.S. Arms Exports: Policies and Contractors* (Washington DC.: Investor Responsibility Research Centre).
- Harkavy, R.E. and S.G. Neuman (eds.) (1994) *The Arms Trade: Problems and Prospects in the Post-Cold War World. The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 535.
- McCartney, L. (1989) *Friend in High Places. The Bechtel Story: The Most Secret Corporation and How it Engineered the World* (New York: Ballantine Books).
- Sampson, A. (1977) *The Arms Bazaar. From Lebanon to Lockheed* (New York: The Viking Press).
- U.S. Congress, Office of Technological Assessment (1991) *Global Arms Trade*, OTA-ISC-460 (Washington, DC: GPO), June.

12. Back to the future: peace dividend or Armageddon?

Required

- Lovering, J. (1987) 'The Atlantic Arms Economy: Towards a Military Regime of Accumulation?' *Capital & Class*, 33, Winter: 129-155. [17 pages]
- Intriligator, M.D. (1996) 'The Peace Dividend: Myth or Reality?' in N.P. Gleditsch, *et al.* (eds.) *The Peace Dividend* (Amsterdam: North-Holland), pp. 1-13. [13 pages]
- Grant, C. (1997) 'Linking Arms. A Survey of the Global Defense Industry,' *The Economist*, June 14th.

Recommended

- Beedham, B. (1992) 'A Survey of Defence in the 21st Century,' *The Economist*, September 5th.
- Gleditsch, N.P., O. Bjerkholt, A. Cappelen, R.P. Smith and J.P. Dunne (eds.) (1996) *The Peace Dividend* (Amsterdam: North-Holland).
- Gray, B. (1995) 'Financial Times Survey: Defense Industries. Air of Optimism as Cuts Begin to Slow,' *Financial Times*, December 5th.
- Klare, M.T. (1993) 'The Next Great Arms Race,' *Foreign Affairs* 72(3): 136-52.
- Nitzan, J. (1997) 'Will Re-Armament Wreck the "Asian Miracle?"' *The BCA Emerging Markets Analyst*, 5(11): 15-24.
- Nitzan, J. and S. Bichler (1999) 'Differential Accumulation and the Global Political Economy of Israel,' Mimeograph.

13. Summing up

Recommended war novels

- Celine, L.F. (1960) *Journey to the End of the Night*, Translated from the French by John H.P. Marks (New York: New Direction Publishing).
- Cendrars, Blaise (1970) *The Astonished Man: A Novel*, translated from the French by Nina Rootes (London : Owen).
- Graves, R. (1929) *Goodbye to All of That* (Boston: Little Brown, and Company).
- George, Peter (1963) [1988] *Dr. Strangelove: or, How I Learnt to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb*, Twentieth-Century Classics (New York: Oxford University Press). [PR6057 E54D7 1988]
- Hasek, Jaroslav (1937) *The Good Soldier: Schweik* (Garden City, New York: The Sun Dial Press, Inc.).
- Heller, Joseph (1955) *Catch-22* (New York: Simon and Schuster).
- Remarque, E.M. (1929) *All Quite on the Western Front* (Boston: Little Brown, and Company).
