

Course and Contact Information:

Course: PSC 3192W, The Political Economy of War

Semester: Spring 2020

Meeting time: [REDACTED]

Location: [REDACTED]

Instructor:

Name: Alexander Kirss

Campus Address: [REDACTED]

Phone: [REDACTED]

E-mail: [REDACTED]

Coffee/Office hours: [REDACTED]

Course Description: What is war good for? Absolutely nothing, according to The Temptations, Bruce Springsteen, and many generations of American musicians. Possibly something, according to political scientists and economists. This course seeks to adjudicate the age-old debate over whether war “pays” by trying to answer three key questions about the relationship between economics and war: What are the economic causes of war? How do states economically prepare for war? What are the economic consequences of war? Beyond a historical view of the interaction between economics and war, this course will also examine how globalization might impact the future prospect of great power competition between the United States and China.

Course prerequisites: None. A general understanding of macroeconomics, although not required, will be helpful.

Learning outcomes: As a result of completing this course, students will be able to:

1. Evaluate the persuasiveness of social scientific arguments, particularly pertaining to the economic causes and consequences of war.
2. Synthesize academic research into original written arguments suitable for both academic and public policy audiences.
3. Evaluate the effectiveness of government policy decisions using quantitative and qualitative data.
4. Forecast the effects of geopolitical events on business operations, particularly the prospective economic costs of inter- and intra-state conflicts.
5. Research, prepare, and present an oral argument on a contemporary political topic

Required textbooks, materials, and recommended readings:

You are not required to purchase any textbooks or materials for this course. All course materials can be found on Blackboard as PDFs saved using the following formula: LastNamePublicationYear.pdf

Average minimum amount of out-of-class or independent learning expected per week: In line with university guidelines, which expect students to spend twice the amount of time on out-of-class work as they do on direct instruction, this class will require approximately a minimum of 5 hours of independent learning per week. There will be approximately 150-200 pages of reading per class in this course.

Gender Balance Assessment: There are well documented gender and racial biases in citation patterns across political science, particularly in the field of international relations. As a result, scholars are increasingly trying to include more gender and racial diversity in their syllabi in order to mitigate some of this bias. I have assessed the gender balance of this syllabus using a tool built by Professor Jane Lawrence Sumner at the University of Minnesota (<https://jlsumner.shinyapps.io/syllabustool/>).

The assigned readings in this course are approximately 32.5% woman-authored.

I would greatly appreciate suggestions on to how to increase the gender and racial diversity of this syllabus. For more information on the gender and racial biases in citation patterns in political science see Michelle L. Dion, Jane Lawrence Sumner, and Sara McLaughlin Mitchell. "Gendered Citation Patterns across Political Science and Social Science Methodology Fields." *Political Analysis* 26, no. 3 (July 2018): 312–27 and the articles by Dawn Langan Teele, Kathleen Thelen, Amy L. Atchison, and Jeff Colgan in *PS: Political Science & Politics* 50, No. 2 (April 2017).

How to Succeed in this Class: This is a seminar class. There are therefore two major requirements for success: 1) doing the reading; and 2) coming to class ready to talk. I will prepare some framing comments and a list of questions to spark discussion about the week's topic, but we can't have a fruitful discussion without your input. I don't require you to send me discussion questions in advance, but please come to class with some in mind. Over the course of the semester you'll likely pick up on the types of questions I like to ask, but I'm always more interested in what you found compelling, confusing, or thought-provoking about a particular topic. I reserve the right to use pop reading quizzes—if necessary—to confirm that students are reading enough to successfully participate in class discussions. You'll also be writing papers in this class, but we'll discuss those when the time comes.

Outside Reading/Podcasts: It might seem foolish to recommend that you do outside reading/listening in a class that already has a relative high reading load. Still, the topics we will cover in this class are very much "alive," so it's a good idea to stay up to date on current events/commentary that might affect your interpretation of class topics. I recommend that you try and keep reasonable track of geopolitical and financial news over the course of this semester. You can get a free subscription to *The Financial Times* as a GW student, and *The Wall Street Journal* and *The Economist* are also good places to start.

I also recommend that you read broadly outside of the narrow world of markets and foreign affairs. You'll be surprised by the research ideas that'll pop into your head, and the connections you'll make to our conversations in class, if you read widely in magazines/journals like *The New Yorker*, *The Atlantic*, *The London Review of Books*, *New York Review of Books*, and the Review/Commentary sections of *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Washington Post* and *New York Times*. Finally, podcasts are a growing source of smart, timely reactions to current events; for this class I'd definitely recommend "Marketplace w/ Kai Ryssdal."

Schedule of Topics and Assignments

Date	Topic(s) and readings	Assignment(s) Due
<p><u>Introduction</u></p> <p>Week 1</p>	<p>Introduction</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - "Reading Like a Political Scientist" - Jonathan Schlefer, <i>The Assumptions Economists Make</i>. Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2012. Chapters 2, 15. - Evelyn Goh "U.S. Dominance and American Bias in International Relations Scholarship: A View from the Outside." <i>Journal of Global Security Studies</i> 4, no. 3 (2019), pp. 402-410. <p><u>Further Reading:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - David A. Moss, <i>A Concise Guide to Macroeconomics</i>. Boston, MA: Harvard Business Review Press, 2014. - Peter James Hudson, <i>Bankers and Empire: How Wall Street Colonized the Caribbean</i> (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2017) - Joseph Darda, <i>Empire of Defense: Race and the Cultural Politics of Permanent War</i> (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2019) 	
<p>Week 2</p>	<p>What is the "Political Economy of Security?"</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - W. Kindred Winecoff, 2017. "How Did American International Political Economy Become Reductionist? A Historiography of a Discipline." In <i>Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics</i>. - Susan Strange, <i>The Retreat of the State: The Diffusion of Power in the World Economy</i>. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1996. Chapters 1-2. - Paul Poast, "Beyond the 'Sinew of War': The Political Economy of Security as a Subfield." <i>Annual Review of Political Science</i> 22, no. 1 (2019). - Rosella Cappella Zielinski, Kaija Schilde, and Norrin Ripsman, "A Political Economy of Global Security Approach," <i>Journal of Global Security Studies</i>, 2020 <p><u>Further Reading:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Frederick W. Frey, "The Problem of Actor Designation in Political Analysis." <i>Comparative Politics</i> 17, no. 2 (1985): 127-52. 	<p>Paper Topic #1 Announced</p>

<p>Part I: <u>Economic Causes of War</u></p> <p>Week 3</p>	<p>Power Transition Theory</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - John J. Mearsheimer, <i>The Tragedy of Great Power Politics</i>. New York: Norton, 2001. Chapters 2-3. - Robert Gilpin, <i>War and Change in World Politics</i>. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981. Chapters 1-2. - Kori Schake, <i>Safe Passage: The Transition from British to American Hegemony</i>. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2017. Chapters 1-2. <p><u>Further Reading:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A. F. K. Organski and Jacek Kugler. <i>The War Ledger</i>. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1980. Introduction and Chapter 1. 	
<p>Week 4</p>	<p>Economic Interdependence</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Norman Angell, <i>The Great Illusion</i>. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1910. Chapters 1-5. - Dale C. Copeland, "Economic Interdependence and War: A Theory of Trade Expectations." <i>International Security</i> 20, no. 4 (1996): 5–41. - Patrick J. McDonald, <i>The Invisible Hand of Peace: Capitalism, the War Machine, and International Relations Theory</i>. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009. Chapters 1-2. <p><u>Further Reading:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Erik Gartzke and Yonatan Lupu. "Trading on Preconceptions: Why World War I Was Not a Failure of Economic Interdependence." <i>International Security</i> 36, no. 4 (Spring 2012): 115–50. - Karl Polanyi, <i>The Great Transformation</i>. Beacon Press Books, 1944. Chapters 1-2. 	<p>Short Paper #1 Due</p>

<p>Part II: How States Prepare for War</p> <p>Week 5</p>	<p>War Finance, Part I</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Rosella Cappella Zielinski, <i>How States Pay for Wars</i>. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2016. Introduction and Chapters 1-3. - Sarah Kreps, <i>Taxing Wars: The American Way of War Finance and the Decline of Democracy</i>. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2018. Chapters 1-2. - Douglas Kriner, Breanna Lechase, and Rosella Cappella Zielinski. "Self-Interest, Partisanship, and the Conditional Influence of Taxation on Support for War in the USA." <i>Conflict Management and Peace Science</i> 35, no. 1 (2018): 43–64. <p><u>Further Reading:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Gustavo A. Flores-Macías and Sarah E. Kreps. "Political Parties at War: A Study of American War Finance, 1789–2010." <i>American Political Science Review</i> 107, no. 4 (November 2013): 833–48. - Kenneth Scheve and David Stasavage. "Democracy, War, Wealth: Lessons from Two Centuries of Inheritance Taxation." <i>American Political Science Review</i> 106, no. 1 (February 2012): 81–102. - Jonathan D. Caverley, <i>Democratic Militarism: Voting, Wealth, and War</i>. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014. 	<p>Short Paper #2 Introduced</p>
<p>Week 6</p>	<p>War Finance, Part II</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Emily Beaulieu, Gary W. Cox, and Sebastian Saiegh, "Sovereign Debt and Regime Type: Reconsidering the Democratic Advantage," <i>International Organization</i> 66, no. 4 (October 2012): 709–38. - Matthew DiGiuseppe, "Guns, Butter, and Debt: Sovereign Creditworthiness and Military Expenditure." <i>Journal of Peace Research</i> 52, no. 5 (2015): 680–93. - Paul Poast, "Central Banks at War." <i>International Organization</i> 69, no. 1 (Winter 2015): 63–95. <p><u>Further Reading:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Jeff Carter. "The Political Cost of War Mobilization in Democracies and Dictatorships." <i>Journal of Conflict Resolution</i> 61, no. 8 (2017): 1768–94. - Didac Queralt, "War, International Finance, and Fiscal Capacity in the Long Run," <i>International Organization</i> 73, no. 4 (2019): 713–53. - Jennifer Siegel, <i>For Peace and Money: French and British Finance in the Service of Tsars and Commissars</i> (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2014) 	

Week 7	<p>Political Economy of Military Spending</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Rosella Cappella Zielinski and Kaija Schilde. "Hatchet or Scalpel? Domestic Politics, International Threats, and US Military Spending Cuts, 1950–2014." <i>Security Studies</i> (2019): 1–33. - Jeff Carter, Heather L. Ondercin, and Glenn Palmer, "Guns, Butter, and Growth: The Consequences of Military Spending Reconsidered," <i>Political Research Quarterly</i>, 2020. - Rosella Cappella Zielinski, Benjamin O Fordham, and Kaija E Schilde. "What Goes Up, Must Come Down? The Asymmetric Effects of Economic Growth and International Threat on Military Spending." <i>Journal of Peace Research</i> 54, no. 6 (November 2017): 791–805. 	Short Paper #2 Due
<p>Part III: Economic Effects of War</p> <p>Week 8</p>	<p>Macroeconomic Effects: Trade and Inflation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Mariya Grinberg, "Planning for the Short Haul: Explaining Wartime Trade between Enemies" (PhD Dissertation, University of Chicago, 2019), Chapters 1-3, 5. - REVIEW: Rosella Cappella Zielinski, <i>How States Pay for Wars</i>. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2016. Introduction and Chapters 1-3. Especially arguments about inflation, pages 21-23 - Jonathan Kirshner, <i>Appeasing Bankers: Financial Caution on the Road to War</i>. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007. Chapter 1. <p><u>Further Reading:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Joanne Gowa and Raymond Hicks. "Commerce and Conflict: New Data about the Great War." <i>British Journal of Political Science</i> 47, no. 3 (July 2017): 653–74. - Jack S. Levy and Katherine Barbieri. "Trading with the Enemy during Wartime." <i>Security Studies</i> 13, no. 3 (2004): 1–47. - Mulder, Nicholas. "The Trading with the Enemy Acts in the Age of Expropriation, 1914–49." <i>Journal of Global History</i> 15, no. 1 (March 2020): 81–99. 	

Week 9	<p>Institutions and International Order</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - John Maynard Keynes, <i>The Economic Consequences of the Peace</i>. London: Macmillan, 1919. Pages 1-60. - Adam Tooze, <i>The Great Deluge</i>. New York, NY: Viking, 2014. Chapters 13-15. - Patricia Clavin, <i>Securing the World Economy: The Reinvention of the League of Nations, 1920-1946</i>. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2013. Introduction, Chapter 1. - Susan Pedersen, <i>The Guardians</i>. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2015. Introduction. <p><u>Further Reading:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Margaret MacMillan, <i>Paris 1919: Six Months That Changed the World</i>. New York, NY: Penguin, 2003. - Oona A. Hathaway and Scott J. Shapiro, <i>The Internationalists: How a Radical Plan to Outlaw War Remade the World</i> (New York, NY: Simon & Schuster, 2018). - Isabel V. Hull, <i>A Scrap of Paper: Breaking and Making International Law During the Great War</i> (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2014). 	Short Paper #3 Introduced
Week 10	<p>Markets and Geopolitical Risk</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Stefan Leins, <i>Stories of Capitalism: Inside the Role of Financial Analysts</i>. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2018. Chapters 1-2. - Stefan Leins, "Pricing the Revolution: Financial Analysts Respond to the Egyptian Uprising," <i>Anthropology Today</i> 27, no. 4 (2011): 11–14. - Sarah M. Brooks, Raphael Cunha, and Layna Mosley. "Categories, Creditworthiness, and Contagion: How Investors' Shortcuts Affect Sovereign Debt Markets." <i>International Studies Quarterly</i> 59, no. 3 (September 2015): 587–601. - Caitlin Zaloom, <i>Out of the Pits: Traders and Technology from Chicago to London</i>. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2006. Chapter 4. <p><u>Further Reading:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Greta R. Krippner, <i>Capitalizing on Crisis: The Political Origins of the Rise of Finance</i> (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011). 	

Week 11	<p>Businesses and Geopolitical Risk</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Condoleezza Rice and Amy Zegart. "Managing 21st-Century Political Risk." <i>Harvard Business Review</i>, May 2018. - Molly M. Melin, "The Business of Peace: Understanding Corporate Contributions to Conflict Management," <i>International Interactions</i>, 2020. - Hoon Lee, "Does Armed Conflict Reduce Foreign Direct Investment in the Petroleum Sector?" <i>Foreign Policy Analysis</i> 13, no. 1 (2017): 188–214. - Isa Camyar and Bahar Ulupinar. "War and the Sectoral Distribution of Wealth: Evidence from United States Firms." <i>International Studies Quarterly</i> 59, no. 4 (December 2015): 641–53. <p>Optional:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Chang Hoon Oh and Jennifer Oetzel. "Once Bitten Twice Shy? Experience Managing Violent Conflict Risk and MNC Subsidiary-Level Investment and Expansion." <i>Strategic Management Journal</i> 38, no. 3 (2017): 714–31. 	Short Paper #3 Due
Week 12	<p>Domestic Economic Consequences of Military Build-ups</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Rebecca Thorpe, <i>The American Warfare State</i>. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2014. Chapters 1, 3, 4. - Thomas Oatley, <i>The Political Economy of American Hegemony: Buildups, Booms, and Busts</i>. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015. Chapters 1, 4, 6, 7. 	

<p>Week 13</p>	<p>Military Reconversion and Privatization</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Eugene Gholz and Harvey M. Sapolsky. "Restructuring the U.S. Defense Industry." <i>International Security</i> 24, no. 3 (Winter 1999): 5–51. - Deborah D. Avant and Renée de Nevers, "Military Contractors & the American Way of War," <i>Daedalus</i> 140, no. 3 (2011): 88–99. - Linda Weiss, <i>America Inc.?: Innovation and Enterprise in the National Security State</i> (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2014). Selections. - Jennifer Mittelstadt, <i>The Rise of the Military Welfare State</i> (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015). Selections. <p><u>Further Reading:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Deborah D. Avant, "Pragmatic Networks and Transnational Governance of Private Military and Security Services," <i>International Studies Quarterly</i> 60, no. 2 (2016): 330–42. - Maya Eichler, ed. <i>Gender and Private Security in Global Politics</i>. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2015. - Katherine Epstein, <i>Torpedo: Inventing the Military-Industrial Complex in the United States and Great Britain</i> (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014). - Robert M. Farley, <i>Patents for Power: Intellectual Property Law and the Diffusion of Military Technology</i> (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2020). - Margaret Pugh O'Mara, <i>Cities of Knowledge: Cold War Science and the Search for the Next Silicon Valley</i>. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005. - Joshua O. Reno, <i>Military Waste: The Unexpected Consequences of Permanent War Readiness</i> (Berkeley, CA: Univ of California Press, 2020). - Allison Stanger, <i>One Nation Under Contract: The Outsourcing of American Power and the Future of Foreign Policy</i>. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009. - Mark R. Wilson, <i>Destructive Creation</i> (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016): Chapter 6. 	
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Week 14	<p>The Political Economy of Pandemics</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Kendall Hoyt, <i>Long Shot: Vaccines for National Defense</i>. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012. - Justin Baer, "The Day Coronavirus Nearly Broke the Financial Markets," <i>Wall Street Journal</i> (May 20, 2020). https://www.wsj.com/articles/the-day-coronavirus-nearly-broke-the-financial-markets-11589982288 - Adam Tooze, "Shockwave," <i>The London Review of Books</i> 42, no. 8 (April 16, 2020). https://lrb.co.uk/the-paper/v42/n08/adam-tooze/shockwave - Nick Paumgarten, "The Price of a Pandemic," <i>The New Yorker</i>, April 20, 2020. https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2020/04/20/the-price-of-the-coronavirus-pandemic - Adam Tooze, "How Coronavirus Almost Brought down the Global Financial System," <i>The Guardian</i>, April 14, 2020. https://www.theguardian.com/business/2020/apr/14/how-coronavirus-almost-brought-down-the-global-financial-system - Adam Tooze, "Should we be Scared of the Coronavirus Debt Mountain?" <i>The Guardian</i>, April 27, 2020. https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2020/apr/27/economy-recover-coronavirus-debt-austerity 	Paper Revision Due
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Assignments

Assignment	Description	Total Points
Short Paper #1 (Due Week 4)	For this short paper please answer the question distributed in Week 2 on the economic causes of war in <1500 words.	100
Short Paper #2 (Due Week 7)	For this short (<1500 words) paper please: 1) Select a modern interstate war (>1890) 2) *Briefly* describe how one country chose to finance that war 3) Assess the consequences of that country's decision 4) Assess whether the country should have adopted a different policy	100
Short Paper #3 (Due Week 11)	For this short paper please select one contemporary or historical business and answer the following questions in <1500 words: 1) How might war affect this business? 2) What political actions could/did this business take to mitigate these risks? 3) What non-political actions could/did this business take to mitigate these risks?	100
Class Participation/Attendance	Class participation and attendance will be graded out of 50 points	50
Paper Revision (Due Week 14)	Rather than assign a final paper in this class, I ask that you select one of the short papers, revise it in light of instructor feedback, and re-submit it.	50
	Total Possible Points	400

Grading

Your final grade will therefore be calculated as follows:

- Short Paper #1 (25%)
- Short Paper #2 (25%)
- Short Paper #3 (25%)
- Paper Revision (12.5%)
- Class participation/attendance (12.5%)

Late Work Policy:

The assignment schedule is set up to ensure timely and successful completion of this course. Turning in late work can jeopardize not only your grade, but also your ability to complete the course successfully. As such, I will deduct a third of a letter grade (e.g. B+ to B) for every day that an assignment is late.

Emergencies do come up, and this policy is not intended to further complicate an emergency situation. I will extend assignment deadlines and waive grade deductions if you can provide simple documentation of the nature of the emergency (e.g. doctor's note, travel plans for family emergency). The sole purpose of this documentation is to help me lobby for you, as needed, with department and university administration

University policies:**University policy on observance of religious holidays**

In accordance with University policy, students should notify faculty during the first week of the semester of their intention to be absent from class on their day(s) of religious observance. For details and policy, see: students.gwu.edu/accommodations-religious-holidays.

Academic integrity code

Academic dishonesty is defined as cheating of any kind, including misrepresenting one's own work, taking credit for the work of others without crediting them and without appropriate authorization, and the fabrication of information. For details and complete code, see: studentconduct.gwu.edu/code-academic-integrity

Safety and security

In the case of an emergency, if at all possible, the class should shelter in place. If the building that the class is in is affected, follow the evacuation procedures for the building. After evacuation, seek shelter at a predetermined rendezvous location.

Support for students outside the classroom:**Disability Support Services (DSS)**

Any student who may need an accommodation based on the potential impact of a disability should contact the Disability Support Services office at 202-994-8250 in the Rome Hall, Suite 102, to establish eligibility and to coordinate reasonable accommodations. For additional information see: disabilitysupport.gwu.edu/

Mental Health Services 202-994-5300

The University's Mental Health Services offers 24/7 assistance and referral to address students' personal, social, career, and study skills problems. Services for students include: crisis and emergency mental health consultations confidential assessment, counseling services (individual and small group), and referrals. For additional information see: counselingcenter.gwu.edu/