

## **INTL 1555**

### **The Political Economy of Strategy: From the Financial Revolution to the Revolution in Military Affairs**

Tuesdays & Thursdays: 2:30 p.m. to 3:50 p.m.  
Office hours following each class

#### **Description**

This is a course about how major powers make, maintain and potentially undermine themselves using several recent examples -- Great Britain, the United States, Germany, the Soviet Union, and Japan, among others. We make no claims that this course will reveal clues about the end of the American Empire, or the Pax Americana, but we do argue that only through an honest accounting of the history of the political economy of strategy can students understand both the costs and benefits of hegemony.

Nations have a variety of tools at their disposal to impose their will upon others. Major media, politicians and many analysts often focus upon either “hard” power -- military might -- or “soft” power -- culture, humanitarian aid, public health, etc. -- rather than the topics of this course: productive and financial power. Contemporary discussions of U.S. military capabilities rarely take into account the implications of deindustrialization, globalization, and growing socio-economic inequality for U.S. global power and authority. In this sometimes overlooked domain we believe that students and their instructors might come to understand a dimension to national power that citizens and their leaders overlook at their peril.

Among the questions we explore are:

- How do nations and empires pay for hegemony?
- What are the costs and benefits of the different approaches to financing military power?
- How do hegemons manage competition from external rivals?
- How do economies cope with violent or non-violent coercion?
- How is a nation’s domestic political-economic culture affected by its rivals?
- Is great power status compatible with free markets?
- What is the role of the state in promoting military, economic, and technical power?

Our case studies range over several centuries, but each week we will return to a set of fundamental issues: which actors and institutes benefit from a framework we call political economy. Our definition is both material and elastic -- while we address the traditional dimensions of political economy including finance, banking and economic diplomacy or coercion ranging from trade to sanctions, we also include the role of science, technology and

technical knowledge in the emergence and maintenance of national power. Our approach is also interdisciplinary, as we seek to blend insights from history, international political economy, and strategic studies. Please note that we do not require students to have any prior training in history, finance, or economics.

Why focus on political economy? Since World War One, industrialized nations have become less and less willing to bear the costs and risks of conventional warfare -- a process that has only accelerated with the advent and proliferation of nuclear weapons. Since these countries have not relinquished their ambition to influence events beyond their borders, their governments have made steadily greater use of economic instruments to impose their will on their adversaries, rivals, and partners. The results have not always lived up to expectations, which suggests our ambitions exceed our knowledge.

We often hear claims that the present is different, that contemporary information technology, and the speed with which events transpire have forever altered the calculus of political life. This course should help you deflate such claims. We are not studying history for its own sake. By the end of the course, students should have a grasp on the values and consequences of hegemony as well as the costs and benefits of empire for both established powers and their declining or rising rivals. While the past may serve as a set of maps of possible futures, it cannot predict or explain the future. In this course, we hope that history will provide us with a sense of best practices to structure our thinking about the challenges to come.

### **Format**

Each class session will involve lecture by both instructors and discussion between faculty and students. Our goal is that you, our students, will bear an increasing burden of articulating our common project as we move through the semester. Although the course is presented in a sequential fashion, it is profoundly cumulative. We are not interested in having you memorize details, but in acquiring habits of interpretation and reasoning so that you might ask and answer more nuanced questions about the issues at hand. Weekly class participation is an integral aspect of your grade. Your performance in a mid-course decision exercise and an end-of-term simulation will also serve as the basis for your evaluation.

**Assignments and Evaluation:** In addition to class participation, students will receive grades on three written assignments—a short essay as well as a take home midterm and materials prepared for a simulation during the penultimate class. We propose using the following rubric for evaluating written work and class participation.

There are four elements to a good essay: it answers the question asked; it has a thesis; it marshals evidence to support that thesis; and it does all of these things in a clear and well-organized fashion. These four elements serve as the foundation for a grading rubric that articulates the expectations for the essay, sets base criteria for grading, clarifies the standards for a quality performance, and guides feedback about progress toward those standards. The ability to compose a succinct thesis and marshal evidence to prove it is a hallmark of analytical thinking allowing students to communicate ideas with clarity and precision.

## **Standards for Written Work**

**A:** Work of superior quality that demonstrates a high degree of critical thought. Thesis is clearly articulated and focused, evidence is significant, and the essay is very well-written.

**B:** A solid effort in which a thesis is articulated, the treatment of supporting evidence has strong points, and the answer is well presented and well-constructed.

**C:** Below-average performance. The thesis may be vague or unclear and evidence may be inadequate, analysis may be incomplete, and poor prose makes for difficult reading.

**Late Work:** Unexcused tardy student work – that is, work turned in past the deadline without permission from the instructors or a dean’s note – will receive a grade of incomplete.

## **Standards for Class Participation during Lectures and Simulation**

**A:** Arrives prepared for class & simulation. Contributions are highlighted by insightful thoughts and understanding.

**B:** Average-level contribution. Involvement in discussions reflects adequate preparation for class and simulation.

**C:** Contribution is marginal. Occasionally attempts to put forward a plausible opinion but displays unfamiliarity with the relevant readings/evidence.

## **Course Requirements and Time Commitments**

This class has a demanding quantity of reading. Students should expect to complete up to 150 pages per week, or 50-75 pages per session. In addition to three hours of class every week, completing the weekly assigned readings should occupy 4-6 hours (25 pages per hour). We have attached our estimates concerning the length of time complete our assignments to a description of each below:

- An 8-10 pg. (about 2,500 words) writing assignment addressing a prompt or choice of prompts provided by the instructors that draws upon the reading and lectures. We expect that this should take 4-6 hours depending on whether or not students have kept up with the reading.
- A take-home mid-term of 8-10 pg. answering the student’s choice from a menu of questions. Choose one of three, for example. This should take 6-10 hours, again depending on how much reading the students have not done for class.
- The “Hegemony Game”. We will divide the class into groups representing various nations. Students will prepare for a game that will take up an entire day. The object of the game is to either become the hegemon or come up with some collective security arrangement that will satisfy the various players. Students will be evaluated on the basis

of their preparation, participation in the simulation, and a brief written reflection (5-7 pg.) on the significance of the simulation and its relevance to the course material.

### **Percentage Breakdown of Assignments**

- 1<sup>st</sup> Written Assignment (25%): released 13 February; due 27 February
- 2<sup>nd</sup> Written Assignment (25%): released 13 March; due 14 April
- 3<sup>rd</sup> Written Assignment (25%): released TBD; due 12 May
- Class & Simulation Participation (25%):

### **Lectures and Readings**

**Core Text for Purchase:** Kennedy, Paul. *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers*. New York: Vintage, 2010. We have made copies of all required readings available on Canvas.

**Supplementary Readings:** These readings are not required either for class or any assignment. We will, however, make use of these works during our lectures, and we encourage students to consult the supplementary readings if they wish to research specific topics more deeply. We will make every effort to post supplementary readings on Canvas, but in case we are unable, you can find them via the Brown University Library.

**Note:** Readings (both required and supplementary) and lectures are subject to change.

## Schedule of Classes

### Course Introduction

23 January 2020

Required Readings: N/A

Supplementary Readings: N/A

### Module 1: How do strategy and political economy fit together?

**First Lecture:** *What is political economy?*

28 January 2020 – Guest Lecturer: Paul Solman, PBS NewsHour

Required Readings:

Graeber, David. “Against Economics.” *New York Review of Books* (05 December 2019): <https://www.nybooks.com/articles/2019/12/05/against-economics/>.

Zielinski, Rosella Cappella. *How States Pay for Wars*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2016, pp. 1-28.

Supplementary Readings:

Fred Block, *Origins of International Economic Disorder*, chapters 1-2

Barry Eichengreen, *Globalizing Capital*, chapters 2-4

Krugman, Paul. “A Country Is Not a Company.” *Harvard Business Review* (January-February 1996), pp. 40-51.

**Second Lecture:** *What is strategy?*

30 January 2020

Required Readings:

Brodie. *Strategy in the Missile Age*, 21-71

Supplementary Readings:

Beyerchen, Alan. “Clausewitz, Nonlinearity, and the Unpredictability of War.” *International Security* 17: 3 (1992): 59-90.

Brauer, Jurgen, and Hubert Van Tuyll. *Castles, Battles, and Bombs: How Economics Explains Military History*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008, pp. 1-44.

Clausewitz, Carl von. *On War*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984, books 1-3, 7-8.

Freedman, Lawrence. *Strategy: A History*. Oxford University Press, 2015, pp. 29-38, 44-49, 82-95, 108-129, 214-220, and 607-629.

Mahan, Alfred T. *The Influence of Seapower upon History, 1660-1783*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1890, pp. 25-89: <https://archive.org/details/cu31924014336220>.

Murray, Williamson and MacGregor Knox. "Thinking about Revolutions in Warfare." In: Murray, Williamson and MacGregor Knox, ed. *The Dynamics of Military Revolution, 1300-2050*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001, pp. 1-14.

Murray, Williamson, MacGregor Knox, and Alvin Bernstein. *The Making of Strategy: Rulers, States, and War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

## **Module 2: Is geography destiny?**

**First Lecture: Why Europe? Why not Asia? Europe, China & India, and the Great Divergence**

**3/5 February 2020**

Required Readings:

Kennedy, *Rise and Fall*, 3-30.

Pomeranz, Kenneth. "Without Coal? Colonies? Calculus? Counterfactuals & Industrialization in Europe & China." In: Tetlock, Philip, Richard Ned Lebow, and Geoffrey Parker, ed. *Unmaking the West: "What-if?" Scenarios that Rewrite World History*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006, 241-276.

Supplementary Readings:

Bairoch, Paul. *Economics and World History: Myths and Paradoxes*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993.

Findlay, Ronald, and Kevin H. O'Rourke. *Power and Plenty: Trade, War, and the World Economy in the Second Millennium*. Princeton University Press, 2009, pp. 346-364.

Hoffman, Philip T. *Why Did Europe Conquer the World?* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015.

Jones, Eric. *The European Miracle: Environments, Economies and Geopolitics in the History of Europe and Asia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

O'Brien, Patrick. "Ten Years of Debate on the Origins of the Great Divergence."  
<https://www.history.ac.uk/reviews/review/1008>.

Parthasarathi, Prasannan. "Review: The Great Divergence." *Past & Present* 176 (2002): 275-293.

Pomeranz, Kenneth. *The Great Divergence: China, Europe and the Making of the Modern World Economy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012.

Pomeranz, Kenneth. "Two Worlds of Trade, Two Worlds of Empire: European State-making and Industrialization in a Chinese Mirror," in: Smith, David Alden, Dorothy J. Solinger, and Steven Topik, ed. *States and sovereignty in the global economy*. London: Routledge, 1999, pp. 74-98.

### **Second Lecture: Is Warmaking Statemaking?**

06 February 2020

#### Required Readings:

Tilly, Charles. "War Making and State Making as Organized Crime." In: Peter Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol, ed. *Bringing the State Back In*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985, pp. 169-187.

Porter, Bruce D. *War and the Rise of the State: The Military Foundations of Modern Politics*. New York: Free Press, 1994, pp. 1-22.

#### Supplementary Readings:

Higgs, Robert. *Crisis and Leviathan: Critical Episodes in the Growth of the American Government*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987.

Kaplan, Fred. *The Wizards of Armageddon*. Stanford University Press, 1991, pp. 9-23.

Mackinder, Halford J. "The Geographical Pivot of History." *The Geographical Journal* 23: 4 (1904): 421-437.

Tilly, Charles. *Coercion, Capital, and European States, AD 990-1992*. Cambridge: Blackwell, 1992.

### **Module 3: Where does power come from?**

#### **First Lecture: Is Money Power? The Fiscal-Military State and the Rise of Britain**

11 February 2020

Required Readings:

Kennedy, *Rise and Fall*, 73-139.

Supplementary Readings:

Blyth, Mark. *Austerity: The History of a Dangerous Idea*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013, pp. 104-131.

Brewer, John. *The Sinews of Power: War, Money, and the English State, 1688-1783*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990.

Davis, L.E. and S.L. Engerman. *Naval Blockades in Peace and War: An Economic History since 1750*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006, pp. 25-52.

Findlay and O'Rourke, *Power and Plenty*, 229-262, 366-78.

Gallagher, John, and Ronald Robinson. "The Imperialism of Free Trade." *The Economic History Review*, New Series, 6: 1 (1953): 1-15.

**Second Lecture: Does War Promote Economic Growth?**

13 February 2020

Required Readings:

Misa, Thomas J. "Military Needs, Commercial Realities, and the Development of the Transistor, 1948-1958." In: Smith, Merritt Roe, ed. *Military Enterprise and Technological Change: Perspectives on the American Experience*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1985, pp. 253-287.

Powell, Jamie. "The Myth of Crowding Out." *Financial Times Alphaville* (02 December 2019): <https://ftalphaville.ft.com/2019/12/02/1575285403000/The-myth-of-crowding-out/>.

Ruttan, Vernon Wesley. *Is War Necessary for Economic Growth? Military Procurement and Technology Development*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006, pp. 3-32.

Supplementary Readings:

Higgs, Robert. *Depression, War, and Cold War: Studies in Political Economy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.

Nef, John Ulric. *War and Human Progress: An Essay on the Rise of Industrial Civilization*. New York: Norton, 1968.

Smith, Merritt Roe. *Harpers Ferry Armory and the New Technology: The Challenge of Change*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977.



## **Module 4: Does empire pay?**

**First Lecture:** *Is there a Tradeoff between Guns and Butter? The British Empire before 1914*

20 February 2020

Required Readings:

Kennedy, *Rise and Fall*, 151-158, 224-232

Offer, Avner. "The British empire, 1870-1914: A Waste of Money?" *Economic History Review* 46: 2 (1993): 215-238.

Supplementary Readings

O'Brien, Patrick K. "The Costs and Benefits of British Imperialism 1846-1914." *Past & Present*, no. 120 (1988): 163-200.

Kennedy, Paul. "The costs and benefits of British imperialism 1846-1914." *Past & Present* 125 (1989): 186-192.

O'Brien, Patrick K. "The Costs and Benefits of British Imperialism 1846-1914: Reply." *Past & Present* 125 (1989): 192-199.

O'Brien, Patrick K. "Imperialism and the Rise and Decline of the British Economy." *New Left Review* 238 (1999): 48-80.

Peden, George C. "The Burden of Imperial Defence and the Continental Commitment Reconsidered." *Historical Journal* 27: 2 (1984): 405-423.

## **Module 5: Does conquest pay?**

**First Lecture:** *Bad Germans vs. Worse Germans: Occupation Policy in WWI vs. WWII*

25 February 2020

Required Readings:

Liberman, Peter. "The Spoils of Conquest." *International Security* 18: 2 (1993), 125-53.

Steinberg, Jonathan. "The Third Reich Reflected: German Civil Administration in the Occupied Soviet Union, 1941-4." *English Historical Review* (1995): 620-651.

Supplementary Readings:

Collingham, Lizzie. *Taste of War: World War II and the Battle for Food*. Penguin, 2012, pp. 18-49, 155-218.

Kay, Alex J. "Germany's Staatssekretäre, Mass Starvation and the Meeting of 2 May 1941." *Journal of Contemporary History* 41: 4 (2006): 685–700.

Liberman, Peter. *Does Conquest Pay? The Exploitation of Occupied Industrial Societies*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998.

## **Second Lecture: How Do You Plunder Intellectual Property?**

27 February 2020

### Required Readings:

Gimbel, John. "The American Exploitation of German Technical Know-How after World War II." *Political Science Quarterly* 105, no. 2 (1990): 295-309.

Steen, Kathryn, "Technical Expertise and U.S. Industrial Mobilization, 1917-18: High Explosives and War Gases." In: MacLeod, Roy M. and Jeffrey A. Johnson, ed. *Frontline and Factory: Comparative Perspectives on the Chemical Industry at War, 1914-1924*. Dordrecht: Springer, 2006, pp. 103-122.

### Supplementary Readings:

Ciesla, Burghard, and Helmuth Trischler. "Legitimation through use: rocket and aeronautic research in the Third Reich and the USA." In: Mark Walker, ed. *Science and Ideology: A Comparative History*. New York: Routledge, 2003, pp. 156-185.

Gimbel, John. "German Scientists, United States Denazification Policy, and the 'Paperclip Conspiracy'." *International History Review* 12:3 (1990): 441-65.

Gimbel, John. *Science, Technology, and Reparations: Exploitation and Plunder in Postwar Germany*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990.

Gimbel, John. "U.S. Policy and German Scientists: The Early Cold War." *Political Science Quarterly* 101: 3 (1986): 433-51.

Jacobsen, Annie. *Operation Paperclip: The Secret Intelligence Program that Brought Nazi Scientists to America*. New York: Little, Brown and Company, 2015.

## **Module 6: Can you save capitalism?**

**Lecture:** *The Great Depression and the Rise of Keynesianism, 1929-1937*

03 March 2020

## Required Readings:

Heilbroner, Robert L. *The Worldly Philosophers: The Lives, Times and Ideas of the Great Economic Thinkers*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 2011, pp. 248-287.

Manduca, Robert. "Selling Keynesianism." *Boston Review* (09 December 2019): <http://bostonreview.net/class-inequality/robert-manduca-selling-keynesianism>.

Mann, Michael. *Sources of Social Power, Volume 3: Global Empires and Revolution, 1890-1945*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012, pp. 208-240.

## Supplementary Readings:

Eichengreen, Barry. *Hall of Mirrors: The Great Depression, the Great Recession, and the Uses – and Misuses – of History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.

Eichengreen, Barry. "The Origins and Nature of the Great Slump Revisited." *The Economic History Review*, New Series, 45, no. 2 (1992): 213-39.

Klein, Maury. "The stock market crash of 1929: A review article." *Business History Review* 75, no. 2 (2001): 325-351.

Metzler, Mark. *Lever of Empire: The International Gold Standard and the Crisis of Liberalism in Prewar Japan*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006.

Nowell, Gregory P. and Bruno Ventelou. *Millennial Keynes: An Introduction to the Origin, Development, and Later Currents of Keynesian Thought*. Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 2005.

Rauchway, Eric. *The Money Makers: How Roosevelt and Keynes Ended the Depression, Defeat Fascism, and Secured a Prosperous Peace*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.

Skidelsky, Robert. *John Maynard Keynes, 1883-1946: Economist, Philosopher, Statesman*. London: Penguin, 2013.

Skidelsky, Robert. *Keynes: The Return of the Master*. New York: Public Affairs, 2010.

Smethurst, Richard J. *From Foot Soldier to Finance Minister: Takahashi Korekiyo, Japan's Keynes*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009.

Turgeon, Lynn. *Bastard Keynesianism: The Evolution of Economic Thinking and Policymaking Since World War II*. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1997.

## **Module 7: What were the alternatives to capitalism?**

**First Lecture:** *The Economics of Spectacle: Fascism in Italy, Germany, and Japan, 1922-1945*

05 March 2020

Required Readings:

Kennedy, *Rise and Fall*, 291-310.

Paine, Sarah C.M. *The Wars for Asia, 1911–1949*. Cambridge University Press, 2012, pp. 13-49.

Tooze, J. Adam. “Economic History of the Nazi Regime,” in: Caplan, Jane, ed. *Nazi Germany*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008, pp. 168-195.

Supplementary Readings:

Baker, David, “The political economy of fascism: Myth or reality, or myth and reality?” *New Political Economy* 11: 2 (2006): 227-250.

Knox, MacGregor, “Conquest, foreign and domestic, in Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany.” *Journal of Modern History*, 56: 1 (1984), pp. 2-57.

Maier, Charles S., *In Search of Stability: Explorations in Historical Political Economy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987, 70-120.

Tooze, J. Adam. *The Wages of Destruction: The Making and Breaking of the Nazi Economy*. London: Penguin Books, 2008.

**Second Lecture: *The People’s Future? Communism in the Soviet Union, 1917-1991***

10 March 2020

Required Reading:

Kennedy, *Rise and Fall*, 320-333, 488-514.

Gaidar, Yegor. “The Soviet Collapse: Grain and Oil.” *American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research* (2007).

<https://msuweb.montclair.edu/~lebelp/GaidarAEISovietCollapseApril2007.pdf>.

Harrison, Mark. “Foundations of the Soviet Command Economy, 1917 to 1941.” In: *Cambridge History of Communism, vol. 1: World Revolution and Socialism in One Country*, Silvio Pons and Stephen Smith, ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017, pp. 327-347.

Supplementary Readings:

Harrison, Mark. “The Soviet Economy, 1917-1991: Its Life and Afterlife.” *The Independent Review* 22: 2 (2017), pp. 199-206.

Kotkin, Stephen. *Armageddon Averted: The Soviet Collapse, 1970-2000*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001, pp. 1-85.

Lundestad, Geir. "'Imperial Overstretch', Mikhail Gorbachev, and the End of the Cold War." *Cold War History* 1: 1 (2000): 1-20.

### **Module 8: How do you break an economy?**

#### **First Lecture: *Are Calories Weapons? The Blockade of Germany, WWI & WWII***

12 March 2020

#### Required Readings:

Kennedy, Paul. "Mahan versus Mackinder." *Militaergeschichtliche Zeitschrift* 16, no. 2 (1974): 39-66.

Offer, Avner. "The Blockade of Germany and the Strategy of Starvation, 1914-1918: An Agency Perspective." In: Chickering, Roger, ed. *Great War, Total War: Combat and Mobilization on the Western Front*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006, pp. 169-188.

#### Supplementary Readings:

Cox, Mary Elisabeth. "Hunger games: or how the Allied blockade in the First World War deprived German children of nutrition, and Allied food aid subsequently saved them." *Economic History Review* 68: 2 (2015): 600-631.

Davis and Engerman, *Blockades*, 159-238.

Ferguson, Niall. *The Pity of War*. New York: Basic Books, 1999, 248-281.

Harrison, Mark. "Myths of the Great War." In: *Economic History of Warfare and State Formation*. Edited by Jari Eloranta, Eric Golson, Andrei Markevich, and Nikolaus Wolf. Singapore: Springer, 2016, pp. 135-159.

Offer, Avner. *The First World War: An Agrarian Interpretation*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989.

#### **Second Lecture: *Do Numbers Kill? Sanctions as a Coercive Tool***

17 March 2020

#### Required Readings:

H.R. 3162. "An Act to deter and punish terrorist acts in the United States and around the world...." 107<sup>th</sup> Congress (1<sup>st</sup> Session): Section 311 (Special Measures for Jurisdictions,

Financial Institutions or International Transactions of Primary Money Laundering Concern).  
<https://www.congress.gov/bill/107th-congress/house-bill/3162/text/enr>.

Utley, Jonathan G. "Upstairs, Downstairs at Foggy Bottom: Oil Exports and Japan, 1940-41." *Prologue* 8: 1 (1976): 17-28.

Lambert, Nicholas. "The Strategy of Economic Warfare: A Historical Case Study and Possible Analogy to Contemporary Cyber Warfare." In: Goldman, Emily O. and John Arquilla, ed. *Cyber Analogies*, Technical Report: NPS-DA-14-001.  
<https://calhoun.nps.edu/bitstream/handle/10945/40037/NPS-DA-14-001.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>

#### Supplementary Readings:

Anderson, Irvine H. "The 1941 De Facto Embargo on Oil to Japan: A Bureaucratic Reflex." *Pacific Historical Review* 44: 2 (1975): 201-231.

Blackwill, Robert and Jennifer M. Harris. *War by Other Means: Geoeconomics and Statecraft*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016.

Engerman, *Naval Blockades*, 383-416.

Lambert, Nicholas. *Planning Armageddon: British Economic Warfare and the First World War*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Miller, Edward. *Bankrupting the enemy: the US financial siege of Japan before Pearl Harbor*. Naval Institute Press, 2012.

Zarate, Juan. *Treasury's War: The Unleashing of a New Era in Financial Warfare*. New York: Public-Affairs, 2013.

### **Third Lecture: Strategic Bombing as Economic Warfare, 1939-1945**

19 March 2020

#### Required Readings:

Brauer, *Castles*, 197-243.

#### Supplementary Readings:

Biddle, Tami Davis. *Rhetoric and Reality in Air Warfare: The Evolution of British and American Ideas about Strategic Bombing, 1914-1945*. Princeton University Press, 2009, pp. 176-214.

Brodie, *Missile Age*, 71-144

Douhet, Giulio. *The Command of the Air*. New York: Coward-McCann, 1942.  
[http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/readings/command\\_of\\_the\\_air.pdf](http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/readings/command_of_the_air.pdf)

Engerman, *Naval Blockades*, 321-382.

Ellis Johnson, *Mines Against Japan*. Silver Spring, MD: Naval Ordnance Laboratory, 1973, pp. 13-63.

Overy, Richard J. *The Bombers and the Bombed: Allied Air War over Europe, 1940-1945*. New York: Penguin, 2015.

Sebald, W.G. "A Natural History of Destruction." *The New Yorker* (04 November 2002).

*The United States Strategic Bombing Surveys: (European War)(Pacific War)*. Maxwell: Air University Press, 1987, Summary Chapters.

<https://archive.org/details/unitedstatesstra00cent>

### **Module 9: Does quantity have a quality all its own?**

**Lecture:** *Two "Miracles": Albert Speer vs. Detroit*

31 March 2020

Required Readings:

Gropman, Alan. *Mobilizing U. S. Industry in World War II*. Washington, DC: GPO, 2004, pp. 1-7, 93-140.

Scherner, Jonas and Jochen Streb. "The Mirage of the German Armament Miracle." In: Eloranta, Jari, et al., ed. *Economic History of Warfare and State Formation*. Springer: Singapore, 2016, pp. 243-258.

Supplementary Readings:

Fishback, Price and Taylor Jaworski. "World War II and US Economic Performance." In: Eloranta, *Economic History of Warfare*, 221-241.

Klein, Maury. *A Call to Arms: Mobilizing America for World War II*. Bloomsbury Publishing USA, 2013, pp. 45-84, 511-535, 673-694.

Koistinen, Paul A. C. *Arsenal of World War II: The Political Economy of American Warfare, 1940-1945*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2018.

Tooze, J. Adam. "No Room for Miracles. German Industrial Output in World War II Reassessed." *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* (2005): 439-464.

**Decision Exercise: *Dollars vs. Blood: How the Allies Won WWII***

02 April 2020 – Guest Lecturer: TBD

Required Readings:

Kennedy, *Rise and Fall*, 347-357.

Harrison, Mark. *The Economics of Coercion and Conflict*. London: World Scientific, 2015, pp. 67-98.

Supplementary Readings:

Ellis, John. *Brute Force: Allied Strategy and Tactics in the Second World War*. London: Andre Deutsch, 1991.

Harrison, Mark. “The Economics of World War II: An Overview.” In: Harrison, Mark, ed. *The Economics of World War II: Six Great powers in International Comparison*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000, pp. 1-42.

Levine, Alan J. “Was World War II a Near-Run Thing?” *Journal of Strategic Studies* 8: 1 (1985): 38-63.

O’Brien, Phillips Payson. “East versus West in the Defeat of Nazi Germany.” *Journal of Strategic Studies* 23: 2 (2000): 89-113.

O’Brien, Phillips Payson. *How the War was Won: Air-Sea Power and Allied Victory in World War II*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Overy, Richard J. *Why the Allies Won*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1997.

Tooze, J. Adam and Jamie Martin, “The Economics of the War with Nazi Germany.” In: Geyer, Michael and Adam Tooze, ed. *The Cambridge History of the Second World War, Volume III: Total War: Economy, Society, Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015, pp. 27-55.

**Module 10: Is energy power?**

**First Lecture: *The Geopolitics of Energy: The Hydrocarbon Revolution***

07 April 2020

Required Readings:

Mitchell, Timothy. “Carbon Democracy.” *Economy and Society* 38: 3 (2009): 399-432.



Painter, David S. "Oil and the American century." *The Journal of American History* 99: 1 (2012): 24-39.

#### Supplementary Readings:

Chanis, Jonathan. "U.S. Foreign Policy and Petroleum," in: Foreign Policy Association, *Great Decisions 2017* (2017), 65-78.

Ediger, Volkan Ş. and John V. Bowlus. "A Farewell to King Coal: Geopolitics, Energy Security, and the Transition to Oil." *The Historical Journal* 62: 2 (2019): 427-449.

Hughes, Thomas Parke. "Technological Momentum in History: Hydrogenation in Germany 1898-1933." *Past & Present* 44 (1969): 106-132.

Jack, Marian. "The Purchase of the British Government's Shares in the British Petroleum Company 1912-1914." *Past & Present* 39 (1968): 139-168.

Maurer, John H. "Fuel and the Battle Fleet: Coal, Oil, and American Naval Strategy, 1898-1925." *Naval War College Review* 34: 6 (1981): 60-77.

Jones, Christopher. "Petromyopia: Oil and the Energy Humanities." *Humanities* 5: 2 (2016).

Painter, David S. "The Marshall Plan and Oil." *Cold War History* 9: 2 (2009): 159-175.

Yergin, Daniel. *The Prize: The Epic Quest for Oil, Money, and Power*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1990.

Yergin, Daniel. *The Quest: Energy, Security, and the Remaking of the Modern World*. New York: Penguin, 2012.

#### **Second Lecture: Anthropogenic Climate Change as a Strategic Challenge**

09 April 2020

#### Required Readings:

Ahmed, Nafeez. "U.S. Military Could Collapse Within 20 Years Due to Climate Change, Report Commissioned by Pentagon Says." *Vice News* (24 October 2019), [https://www.vice.com/en\\_us/article/mbmkz8/us-military-could-collapse-within-20-years-due-to-climate-change-report-commissioned-by-pentagon-says](https://www.vice.com/en_us/article/mbmkz8/us-military-could-collapse-within-20-years-due-to-climate-change-report-commissioned-by-pentagon-says).

Goodell, Jeff. "The Pentagon and Climate Change: How Deniers Put National Security at Risk." *Rolling Stone* (12 February 2015): <https://www.rollingstone.com/politics/news/the-pentagon-climate-change-how-climate-deniers-put-national-security-at-risk-20150212>

Grantham, Jeremy. “The Race of Our Lives Revisited.” GMO White Paper (August 2018): [https://fi.intms.nl/fi\\_43a1c02c/files/downloads/201808-jeremy-grantham---the-race-of-our-lives-revisited.pdf](https://fi.intms.nl/fi_43a1c02c/files/downloads/201808-jeremy-grantham---the-race-of-our-lives-revisited.pdf)

Lapowsky, Iffie. “How Climate Change Became a National Security Problem.” *Wired* (20 October 2015): <https://www.wired.com/2015/10/how-climate-change-became-a-national-security-problem/>

Rich, Nathaniel. “Losing Earth: The Decade We Almost Stopped Climate Change.” *New York Times Magazine* (01 August 2018): <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2018/08/01/magazine/climate-change-losing-earth.html>

Rotman, David. “Hot and Violent.” *MIT Technology Review* (22 December 2015), <https://www.technologyreview.com/s/544616/hot-and-violent/>.

Supplementary Readings:

Banerjee, Neela, Lisa Song, and David Hasemyer, “Exxon: The Road Not Taken.” *Inside Climate News* (2015): <https://insideclimatenews.org/content/Exxon-The-Road-Not-Taken>

Mann, Michael. *Sources of Social Power, Volume 4: Globalizations, 1945-2011*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013, pp. 361-399.

Rich, Nathaniel. “Losing Earth: The Decade We Almost Stopped Climate Change.” *New York Times Magazine* (01 August 2018): <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2018/08/01/magazine/climate-change-losing-earth.html>.

Snyder, Timothy. “The Next Genocide.” *New York Times* (12 September 2015): <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/09/13/opinion/sunday/the-next-genocide.html>.

Snyder, Timothy. “Hitler’s world may not be so far away.” *Guardian* (16 September 2015): <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/sep/16/hitlers-world-may-not-be-so-far-away>.

U.S. Army War College. *Implications of Climate Change for the U.S. Army* (2019), [https://climateandsecurity.files.wordpress.com/2019/07/implications-of-climate-change-for-us-army\\_army-war-college\\_2019.pdf](https://climateandsecurity.files.wordpress.com/2019/07/implications-of-climate-change-for-us-army_army-war-college_2019.pdf).

U.S. Global Change Research Program, *Fourth National Climate Change Assessment, Volume 2: Impacts, Risks, and Adaptation in the United States*. Washington DC: G.P.O., 2018), Summary Findings: [https://nca2018.globalchange.gov/downloads/NCA4\\_Ch01\\_Summary-Findings.pdf](https://nca2018.globalchange.gov/downloads/NCA4_Ch01_Summary-Findings.pdf).

Wallace-Wells, David. “The Uninhabitable Earth.” *New York Magazine* (July 2017): <http://nymag.com/intelligencer/2017/07/climate-change-earth-too-hot-for-humans.html>.

## **Module 11: How do you create order from chaos and vice versa?**

**First Lecture: *Creating the Postwar Liberal-Internationalist Order, 1944-1950***

14 April 2020

Required Readings:

Block, Fred. "Economic Instability and Military Strength: The Paradoxes of the 1950 Rearmament Decision." *Politics & Society* 10: 1 (1980): 35-58.

Eichengreen, Barry. "Lessons from the Marshall Plan." World Bank Development Report 2011: Background Case Note.  
[http://web.worldbank.org/archive/website01306/web/pdf/wdr\\_2011\\_case\\_study\\_marshall\\_plan\\_1.pdf](http://web.worldbank.org/archive/website01306/web/pdf/wdr_2011_case_study_marshall_plan_1.pdf)

Leffler, Melyvn P. "The United States and the Strategic Dimensions of the Marshall Plan." *Diplomatic History* 12: 3 (1988), 277-306.

Wood, Robert E. "From the Marshall Plan to the Third World." In: Leffler, Melvyn P. and Painter, David S., ed. *Origins of the Cold War*. New York: Routledge, 2005, pp. 239-249.

Supplementary Readings:

Eichengreen, Barry. *Exorbitant Privilege: The Rise and Fall of the Dollar and the Future of the International Monetary System*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Eichengreen, Barry. *Globalizing Capital: A History of the International Monetary System*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008.

Hearden, Patrick J. *Architects of Globalism: Building a New World Order During World War Two*. Fayetteville: University of Arkansas, 2002, pp. 11-64

Helleiner, Eric. *Forgotten foundations of Bretton Woods: International development and the making of the postwar order*. Cornell University Press, 2014, pp. 99-132.

Kunz, Diane B. *Butter and Guns: America's Cold War Economic Diplomacy*. New York: Free Press, 1997.

Milward, Alan S., "Was the Marshall Plan Necessary?" *Diplomatic History* 13: 2 (1989), 231-252.

**Second Lecture: *Can You Have Your Cake and Eat It, Too? Vietnam vs. the Great Society, 1965-1968***

16 April 2020

Required Readings:

Bator, Francis M. "No good choices: LBJ and the Vietnam/Great Society Connection." *Diplomatic History* 32: 3 (2008): 309-340.

Collins, Robert M. "The Economic Crisis of 1968 and the Waning of the "American Century." *American Historical Review* 101: 2 (1996): 396-422.

Supplementary Readings:

Collins, Robert M. *More: The Politics of Economic Growth in Postwar America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Gavin, Francis J. "The Gold Battles within the Cold War: American Monetary Policy and the Defense of Europe, 1960-1963." *Diplomatic History* 26: 1 (2002): 61-94.

Rockoff, Hugh. *America's Economic Way of War: War and the US Economy from the Spanish-American War to the Persian Gulf War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012, pp. 276-304.

Rockhoff, Hugh. "War and Inflation in the United States from the Revolution to the Persian Gulf War." *Economic History of Warfare and State Formation*. Ed. Jari Eloranta, et al., pp. 159-195.

## **Module 12: Are budgets strategy?**

### **First Lecture: *The Rise of the Military-Industrial Complex***

21 April 2020

Required Readings:

Kennedy, *Rise and Fall*, 357-372

Congressional Research Service. "Defense Primer: Future Years Defense Program (FYDP)." IF 10831 (16 February 2018).

Congressional Research Service. "Defense Primer: Planning, Programming, Budgeting and Execution Process (PPBE)." IF 10429 (22 September 2016).

Eisenhower, Dwight D. "Farewell Radio and Television Address to the American People, January 17th, 1961":

[https://www.eisenhower.archives.gov/all\\_about\\_ike/speeches/farewell\\_address.pdf](https://www.eisenhower.archives.gov/all_about_ike/speeches/farewell_address.pdf)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OyBNmecVtdU>

Fordham, Benjamin O. "Costs and Benefits of Postwar U.S. Military Spending," in: Bacevich, Andrew J., ed. *The Long War: A New History of US National Security Policy since World War II*. Columbia University Press, 2007, pp. 371-404.

Supplementary Readings:

Adams, Gordon, and Cindy Williams. *Buying National Security: How America Plans and Pays for Its Global Role and Safety at Home* New York: Routledge, 2010, pp. 93-119.

Brodie, *Missile Age*, 358-389.

Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments. *Strategy in Austerity* (2012):  
[https://csbaonline.org/uploads/documents/CSBA\\_StrategyInAusterity\\_Online.pdf](https://csbaonline.org/uploads/documents/CSBA_StrategyInAusterity_Online.pdf)

Enthoven, Alain C. and K. Wayne Smith. *How Much is Enough? Shaping the Defense Program, 1961-1969*. Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, 2007:  
[https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/commercial\\_books/2010/RAND\\_CB403.pdf](https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/commercial_books/2010/RAND_CB403.pdf)

Friedberg, Aaron L. "Why Didn't the United States Become a Garrison State?" *International Security* 16: 4 (1992): 109-142.

Koistinen, Paul A. C. *State of War: The Political Economy of American Warfare, 1945-2011*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2012.

Korb, Lawrence J. "The Budget Process in the Department of Defense, 1947-77: The Strengths and Weaknesses of Three Systems." *Public Administration Review* 37: 4 (1977): 334-346.

Lasswell, Harold D. "The Garrison State." *American Journal of Sociology* 46: 4 (1941): 455-468.

Leffler, Melvyn P. "Defense on a Diet." *Foreign Affairs* 92: 6 (2013): 65-76.

Leffler, Melvyn P. "National Security." *Journal of American History* 77: 1 (1990): 143-152.

**Second Lecture: Can You Buy Science On an Installment Plan?**

23 April 2020

Required Readings:

Clarke, Arthur C. "Superiority." (1951):  
[http://www.mayofamily.com/RLM/txt\\_Clarke\\_Superiority.html](http://www.mayofamily.com/RLM/txt_Clarke_Superiority.html).

Kevles, Dan. "Cold War and Hot Physics: Science, Security, and the American State, 1945-56." *Historical Studies in the Physical and Biological Sciences* 20: 2 (1990): 239-264.

Morse, Philip M. "Must We Always Be Gadgeteers?" *Physics today* 3 (1950): 4.

Supplementary Readings:

Forman, Paul. "Behind Quantum Electronics: National Security as Basis for Physical Research in the United States, 1940-1960." *Historical Studies in the Physical and Biological sciences* 18: 1 (1987): 149-229.

**Module 13: Does globalization undermine military power?**

**First Lecture:** *The Decline of Britain as a Great Power*

28 April 2020

Required Readings:

Barnett, Correlli. "The British illusion of world power, 1945–1950." *RUSI Journal* 140: 5 (1995): 57-64.

Kennedy, Paul. "Strategy versus Finance in Twentieth-Century Great Britain." *International History Review* 3: 1 (1981): 44-61.

Supple, Barry. "Fear of Failing: Economic History and the Decline of Britain." *Economic History Review*, New Series, 47: 3 (1994): 441-58.

Supplementary Readings:

Barnett, Correlli. *The Collapse of British Power*. London: Methuen, 1972.

Broadberry, Stephen and Peter Howlett, "Lessons Learned? British Mobilization for Two World Wars

Edgerton, David. "The Decline of Declinism." *Business History Review* 71: 2 (1997): 201-206.

Edgerton, David. *The Rise and Fall of the British Nation: A Twentieth-Century History*. London: Allen Lane, 2018.

Edgerton, David. *Warfare State: Britain, 1920-1970*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

English, Richard, and Michael Kenny. "British Decline or the Politics of Declinism?" *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 1: 2 (1999): 252-266.

Friedberg, Aaron L. "Britain and the Experience of Relative Decline," *Journal of Strategic Studies* 10: 3 (1987), pp. 331-362.

Galpern, Steven G. *Money, Oil, and Empire in the Middle East: Sterling and Postwar Imperialism, 1944-1971*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

**Second Lecture: Deindustrialization & Financialization: The United States since the 1970s**

30 April 2020

Readings:

Kennedy, *Rise and Fall*, 413-437, 514-535.

Strange, Susan. "The Persistent Myth of Lost Hegemony." *International Organization* 41: 4 (1987): 551-574.

Supplementary Readings:

Arrighi, Giovanni. "The World Economy and the Cold War, 1970-1990." In: Leffler, Melvyn P., et al., ed. *Cambridge History of the Cold War, Volume III: Endings*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010, pp. 23-44.

Eichengreen, Barry. *Globalizing Capital: A History of the International Monetary System*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008.

Ferguson, Niall, Charles S. Maier, Erez Manela, and Sargent Daniel J., ed. *The Shock of the Global: The 1970s in Perspective*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010.

Frieden, Jeffrey A. *Global Capitalism: Its Fall and Rise in the Twentieth Century*. New York: W.W. Norton, 2007.

Gavin, Francis J. *Gold, Dollars, and Power: The Politics of International Monetary Relations, 1958-1971*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004.

Gavin, Francis J. "The Legends of Bretton Woods." *Orbis* 40: 2 (1996): 251-256.

Gavin, Francis J. "Bretton Woods: A Golden Era?" In: Vasquez, Ian, ed. *Global Fortune: The Stumble and Rise of World Capitalism*. Washington, DC: Cato Institute Press, 2000, pp. 213-224.

Mann, *Social Power*, volume 4: 129-178, 322-360.

Sargent, Daniel. *Superpower Transformed: The Remaking of American Foreign Relations in the 1970s*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.

Stein, Judith. *Pivotal Decade: How the United States Traded Factories for Finance in the Seventies*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011.

**Simulation**

02 May 2020 (tentative)

Guest Moderator: Paul Solman, PBS Newshour

Required Readings: TBD

Supplementary Readings: TBD

**Final Session: What Have We Learned So Far?**

**Lecture:** *Is strategy insurance or an index fund?*

05 May 2020

Required Readings:

Betts, Richard. "Is Strategy an Illusion?" *International Security* 25: 2 (2000): 5-50.

Fuller, William. "What Is a Military Lesson?" in: Lee, Bradford A. and Karl Walling, ed. *Strategic Logic and Political Rationality: Essays in Honor of Michael I. Handel*. London: Frank Cass, 2003, pp. 38-59.

Kennedy, *Rise and Fall*, 438-446.

Supplementary Readings: N/A