

IR 332: Money, Guns and Oil

Course Time: Tuesday and Thursday from 2:00 - 3:20 PM

Professor Jonathan Markowitz

Classroom: DMC152

Office Hours: Monday's 1 -3:00 PM DMC 301. PLEASE DO NOT COME IF YOU ARE SICK.

<https://calendly.com/jonathanmarkowitz/15min>

Description of the Course and Learning Objectives: The goal of this course is to teach students to think about the relationship between economics and security across a number of different policy dimensions and issue areas. This course will focus in particular on the political economy of free trade, energy security and resource competition, and the rise of China. We will focus on unearthing the theoretical assumptions upon which contemporary policy positions rest and examine their logical and empirical validity.

By the end of this course students should be able to demonstrate that they have achieved the following learning objectives:

- 1) Understand basic political economy concepts to understand contemporary policy issues.
- 2) Apply these concepts to analyze contemporary scholarly and policy debates.
- 3) Demonstrate their ability to communicate a compelling analytic argument regarding these policy issue in writing and to present this argument as part of a class presentation.

Grading Policy: Grades will be based on participation, in-class quizzes, a midterm which consists of a policy position paper and in-class policy debate, and a final which consist of a final paper and presentation. (A breakdown of the assignments follows in the next section.) Details of the midterm and final will be distributed and discussed in class. The midterm policy position paper will be due at the end of the 8th week of class. The final paper is due on the final day of lecture. No late papers will be accepted without proper medical documentation. Participation will be based on in-class quizzes on the readings and general participation in class discussions. Note that the quizzes will cover not only the reading, but also international news. To stay up to date on global developments, students are encouraged to read the following news sites:

New York Times Online (<http://www.nytimes.com>)

Economist Online (<http://www.economist.com>)

Financial Times (<http://www.ft.com>)

BBC News (<http://news.bbc.co.uk>)

Assignment Overview:

Class Participation	10%
Quizzes	10%
Midterm Position Paper	20%
Midterm Class Debate	20%
Final Presentation	20%
Final Paper	20%

Quizzes

Students are expected to complete all readings before the class sessions in which they are discussed. Quizzes may occur at any time and unprepared students will be downgraded.

Midterm Position Paper and In-Class Policy Debate

We will be staging debates over the course of the semester. These debates are intended to help you work through course materials while also honing your critical thinking, analytic writing, and presentation skills. Each student will participate in one of these debates. Preparation for these debates will be individual, but students will work together in teams during the actual debate. Note: while the presentation will be done in groups, the position paper is an individual effort and will be ten pages. I will discuss more details about these assignments as the semester progresses.

Final Paper and Presentation

Each student will prepare a fifteen-page final paper on the relationship between the United States and one of its allies. Papers will be collected during the assigned final exam period. Groups of ~5 students writing about the same ally will be asked to prepare a presentation given to the class during *the final two days of the semester*. Again, note: while the presentation will be done in groups, the paper is an individual effort. I will discuss more details about these assignments as the semester progresses.

Students with Disabilities

Any student requesting academic accommodations based on a disability is required to register with Disability Services and Programs (DSP) each semester. A letter of verification for approved accommodations can be obtained from DSP. Please be sure the letter is delivered to me (or to your TA) as early in the semester as possible. The phone number for DSP is 213-740-0776. If you need assistance with the process, please contact me at the phone number or e-mail address above.

Academic Dishonesty

I take academic dishonesty EXTREMELY seriously. Any student violating USC's Academic

Dishonesty or Student Conduct policies will earn an 'F' in the course and will be reported to the appropriate administrators for investigation. You are responsible for reviewing the Trojan Integrity Guide: <http://www.usc.edu/student-affairs/SJACS/forms/tio.pdf> and the guide for avoiding plagiarism: <http://www.usc.edu/student-affairs/SJACS/forms/tig.pdf>

Course Schedule

Jan 14, 2025

Basic Expectations

Course Syllabus

Jan 16, 2025

Money and Military Power—

Beckley, Michael. "The Power of Nations: Measuring What Matters." *International Security*, vol. 43, no. 2, (Nov. 2018), pp. 7–44.

Anders, Therese, Jonathan Markowitz, & Chris J. Fariss. "Bread Before guns or butter: Introducing Surplus Domestic Product (SDP)." *Forthcoming International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 63, no. 5 (2020).

Lange, Glenn-Marie, Quentin Wodon, & Kevin Carey, editors. *The Changing Wealth of Nations 2018: Building a Sustainable Future*. The World Bank, 2018. (Read the first 16 pages)

Jan 21, 2025

Basic Concepts—Rents and Wealth

Yergin, Daniel. *The Prize the Epic Quest for Oil, Money & Power*. Simon and Schuster, (2011). Chapter 22, pp. 413—415.

Olson, Mancur. "Dictatorship, Democracy, and Development." *American Political Science Review*, vol. 87, no. 3, (Sept. 1993), pp. 567–76

Lake, David A. "Powerful Pacifists: Democratic States and War." *American Political Science Review*, vol. 86, no. 1, (Mar. 1992), pp. 24–37. Cambridge Core.

Rosenberg, Matthew, et al. "Predatory Islamic State Wrings Money From Those It Rules." *The New York Times*, 29 Nov. 2015. <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/11/30/world/middleeast/predatory-islamic-state-wrings-money-from-those-it-rules.html>.

Mullainathan, Sendhil. "Why a Harvard Professor Has Mixed Feelings When Students Take Jobs in Finance." Evernote,

<https://www.evernote.com/shard/s403/sh/cfd4ee68-d8d5-4ab0-8900-5d3fd986c44b/ce7679bf6bf9ee72>.

Planet Money Episode #829: Rigging The Economy . open.spotify.com,
<https://open.spotify.com/episode/7oc9fyEfW7pSD5vTTwxw1a>.

Jan 23, 2025

Professor at conference. NO CLASS. Make-up TBA

Jan 28, 2025

Mercantilism, Predatory States and Empire vs. The New Model

Rosecrance, Richard. "The rise of the virtual state: territory becomes passe." *Foreign Affairs* 75, no. 4, (July/August) 1996, pp. 45-61.

Markowitz, Jonathan, Christopher Fariss, & Blake R. McMahon. "Producing Goods and Projecting Power: How What You Make Influences What You Take." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, vol. 63, no. 6, (July 2019), pp. 1368–402.

Jan 30, 2025

How Shifts in the American Economy Influenced U.S. Foreign Policy

Frieden, Jeffrey A.. 1994. "International Investment and Colonial Control: A New Interpretation". *International Organization* 48 (4): 559–93. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2706896>.

Fordham, Ben, "The Domestic Politics of World Power: Explaining debate over the United States Battleship Fleet 1890-1991" *International Organization- Forthcoming*

Feb 4, 2025

Theories of The Capitalist Peace

McDonald, Patrick J. "The purse strings of peace." *American Journal of Political Science* 51, no. 3 (2007): 569-582.

Gartzke, Erik. "The Capitalist Peace." *American Journal of Political Science*, vol. 51, no. 1, (2007), pp. 166–91. JSTOR.

Mousseau, Michael. "The Social Market Roots of Democratic Peace." *International Security*, vol. 33, no. 4, (2009), pp. 52–86.

Feb 6, 2025

Professor at Workshop. NO CLASS. Make-up TBA

Feb 11, 2025

How Economic Actors Influence Security Policy

Frieden, Jeffrey A. "Actors and Preferences in International Relations." In *Strategic Choice and International Relations*, edited by David A. Lake and Bob Powell, (1999), pp. 39-76.

Brooks, Stephen G. "Economic Actors' Lobbying Influence on the Prospects for War and Peace." *International Organization*, vol. 67, no. 4, (Oct. 2013), pp. 863–88

Feb 13, 2025

Is Conquest Declining?

Fazal, Tanisha M. "State Death in the International System." *International Organization* 58, no. 2 (2004): 311-44. Accessed January 25, 2021. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3877860>.

Altman, Dan. "The Evolution of Territorial Conquest After 1945 and the Limits of the Territorial Integrity Norm." *International Organization* 74, no. 3 (2020): 490-522.

Markowitz, Jonathan N. Suzie Mulesky, Benjamin A. T. Graham, Christopher J. Fariss, 2020. "[Productive Pacifists: The Rise of Production-Oriented States and Decline of Profit-Motivated Conquest](#)" *International Studies Quarterly* 64(3):558–572

Feb 18, 2025

Does Conquest Still Pay?

Lieberman, Peter. "The Spoils of Conquest." *International Security*, vol. 18, no. 2, (1993), pp. 125–53.

Brooks, Stephen G. "The Globalization of Production and the Changing Benefits of Conquest." *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, vol. 43, no. 5, (1999), pp. 646–70.

Coe, Andrew J., and Jonathan N. Markowitz. "[Crude Calculations: Productivity and the Profitability of Conquest](#)" *International Organization* 75, no. 4 (2021): 1058-86. doi:10.1017/S0020818321000291.

#936 Planet Money Episode #936 13,000 Economists. 1 question. [open.spotify.com https://open.spotify.com/episode/2S6RClrLDdRm9BuHESYrr5](https://open.spotify.com/episode/2S6RClrLDdRm9BuHESYrr5)

Feb 20, 2025

The Cold War and the U.S. Liberal Economic Order

Kennan, George. "The long telegram." *The State Department*. Retrieved from <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/coldwar/documents/episode-1/kennan.htm> (1946).

Ikenberry, G. John. "Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Persistence of American Postwar Order." *International Security*, vol. 23, no. 3, (1998), pp. 43–78.

Feb 25, 2025

Opening Markets, Alliances and Securing Sea-Lanes

Posen, Barry. "Command of the Commons: The Military Foundation of U.S. Hegemony." *International Security*, vol. 28, no. 1, (Aug. 2003), pp. 5–46.

Fordham, Benjamin O. "Power or Plenty? Economic Interests, Security Concerns, and American Intervention." *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 52, no. 4, (2008), pp. 737–58.

Beckley, Michael. "The Myth of Entangling Alliances: Reassessing the Security Risks of U.S. Defense Pacts." *International Security*, vol. 39, (Apr. 2015), pp. 7–48.

Feb 27, 2025: (Post-Cold War Era: Grand Strategy Debate)

Should the U.S. Pull or Lean Forward?

CLASS DEBATE 1: Should the U.S. Pull back or Lean Forward?

Posen, Barry R. "Pull Back: The Case for a Less Activist Foreign Policy." *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 92, no. 1, (2013), pp. 116–28.

Brooks, Stephen G., et al. "Lean Forward: In Defense of American Engagement." *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 92, no. 1, (2013), pp. 130–42.

Slaughter, Anne-Marie. "A World of Liberty Under Law." (2008).

Rice, Condoleezza. "Rethinking the national interest." *Foreign Affairs* 87, no. 4, (2008), pp. 2-26.

Avey, Paul C., Jonathan N. Markowitz, & Robert J. Reardon. *Disentangling Grand Strategy: International Relations Theory and U.S. Grand Strategy (November 2018)*. 2018.

Mar 4, 2025

Should the U.S. Pull or Lean Forward 2?

CLASS DEBATE 2: Does Hegemony Pay?

Drezner, Daniel W. "Military Primacy Doesn't Pay (Nearly As Much As You Think)." *International Security*, vol. 38, no. 1, (July 2013), pp. 52–79.

Norrlöf, Carla. "Dollar Hegemony: A Power Analysis." *Review of International Political Economy*, vol. 21, no. 5, (Sept. 2014), pp. 1042–70.

Brooks, Stephen, and William Wohlforth. *America Abroad: The United States' Global Role in the 21st Century*. Oxford University Press, 2016.— Chapter 9 Assessing the Economic and Institutional Logic of Deep Engagement and Chapter 10 Assessing the Economic Benefits of Deep Engagement Brooks and Wohlforth.

Mar 6, 2025

Midterm, Midterm Position Paper Due

Mar 11, 2025

Is War Obsolete: Does Military Power Still Pay?

Braumoeller, Bear F. *Only the dead: the persistence of war in the modern age*. Oxford University Press, 2019. Chapter 1-2

Fazal, Tanisha M., and Paul Poast. "War is not over." *Foreign Aff.* 98 (2019): 74.

Mar 13, 2025

Energy Security

Kelanic, Rosemary A. *The Petroleum Paradox: Oil, Coercive Vulnerability, and Great Power Behavior: Security Studies: Vol 25, No 2* (May 2016), pp.181-213.

Lind, Jennifer, and Daryl Press. "Markets or Mercantilism? How China Secures Its Energy Supplies." *International Security*, vol. 42 (May 2018), pp. 170–204.

Mar 18, 2025

SPRING BREAK

Mar 20, 2025

SPRING BREAK

Mar 25, 2025

Markets and Mercantilism

CLASS DEBATE 3: Should states worry about Energy Security or just rely on markets?

Gholz, Eugene, and Daryl Press. "Protecting the Prize: Oil and the Us National Interest." *Security Studies* 19, no. 3 (2010), pp. 453-85.

Levi, Michael. "The Enduring Vulnerabilities of Oil Markets." *Security Studies* 22, no. 1 (2013), pp. 132-138.

"The Cult of Energy Security and Great Power Rivalry Across the Pacific," in Goldstein and Mansfield (eds.) *The Nexus of Economics, Security, and International Relations in East Asia* (Stanford U. Press, 2012) (with Danielle Cohen), pp. 144-76.

The Economist-The New Power and Superpowers-Special Report on The Geopolitics of Energy

"Clean Power Is Shaking up the Global Geopolitics of Energy, Clean Power Is Shaking up the Global Geopolitics of Energy." *The Economist. The Economist*,

<https://www.economist.com/special-report/2018/03/15/clean-power-is-shaking-up-the-global-geopolitics-of-energy>.

Mar 27, 2025

U.S. in the Middle East

Rovner, Joshua, and Caitlin Talmadge. "Hegemony, force posture, and the provision of public goods: The once and future role of outside powers in Securing Persian Gulf oil." *Security Studies* 23, no. 3, 2014, pp. 548-581.

Gholz, Eugene. "Restraint and U.S. Oil Security." Chapter 4 in *U.S. Grand Strategy in the 21st Century* by Tervor Thrall and Benjamin Friedman Routledge, 2018.

Apr 1, 2025

Other Ways Oil Affects U.S. Security—

Charles Glaser, "How Oil Influences U.S. National Security," *International Security*, Vol. 38, No. 2 (Fall 2013), pp. 112-146.

Colgan, Jeff D. "Fueling the fire: Pathways from oil to war." *International Security* 38, no. 2 (2013), pp. 147-180.

Robert A. Heffner, "The United States of Gas," *Foreign Affairs* (May/June 2014).

Edward Morse, "Welcome to the Revolution," *Foreign Affairs* (May/June 2014).

Fred Krupp, "Don't Just Drill, Baby – Drill Carefully," *Foreign Affairs* (May/June 2014)

Apr 3, 2025

The Resource Curse

CLASS DEBATE 4: Is there a resource curse?

Haber, Stephen, and Victor Menaldo. "Do natural resources fuel authoritarianism? A reappraisal of the resource curse." *American political science Review* 105, no. 01 (2011), pp. 1-26.

Andersen, Jørgen J., and Michael L. Ross. "The Big Oil Change A Closer Look at the Haber–Menaldo Analysis." *Comparative Political Studies* (2013): 0010414013488557.

Ross, Michael L. "What Have We Learned about the Resource Curse?" *Annual Review of Political Science*, vol. 18, no. 1, May 2015, pp. 239–59.

Apr 8, 2025

The Resource Curse and Conflict

Ross, Michael L. "How Do Natural Resources Influence Civil War? Evidence from Thirteen Cases." *International Organization*, vol. 58, no. 1, 2004, pp. 35–67.

Colgan, Jeff. "Oil and Revolutionary Governments: Fuel for International Conflict." *International Organization*, vol. 64, Aug. 2009, pp. 661–94.

The Battle Raging In Nigeria Over Control Of Oil | VICE on HBO. YouTube,
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vAgw_Zyznx0&feature=youtu.be.

Apr 10, 2025

Resource Competition in the South China Sea

Fravel, M. Taylor, and Charles L. Glaser. "How Much Risk Should the United States Run in the South China Sea?." *International Security* 47, no. 2 (2022): 88-134.

Colby, Elbridge A. *The strategy of denial: American defense in an age of great power conflict*. Yale University Press, 2021-Chapter 9.

Apr 15, 2025

Maritime Resource Competition and the Newly Emerging Arctic

Markowitz, Jonathan N. *Perils of Plenty: Arctic Resource Competition and the Return of the Great Game*. Oxford University Press, 2020. Chapter 5: Russia, The Rent-Seeking Revisionist

Satellite images show huge Russian military buildup in the Arctic
<https://www.cnn.com/2021/04/05/europe/russia-arctic-nato-military-intl-cmd/index.html>

A Thawing Arctic Is Heating up a New Cold War.
<https://www.nationalgeographic.com/environment/2018/10/new-cold-war-breeds-as-arctic-ice-melts/>

Sara McLaughlin Mitchell (2020) Clashes at Sea: Explaining the Onset, Militarization, and Resolution of Diplomatic Maritime Claims, *Security Studies*, 29:4, 637-670, DOI:10.1080/09636412.2020.181145

Apr 17, 2025

How Should the U.S. Manage China's Rise

Arvind Subramanian, "The Inevitable Superpower: Why China's Rise Is a Sure Thing." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 90, No. 5, (September/October 2011), pp. 66-78.

Beckley, Michael. "China's Century? Why America's Edge Will Endure." *International Security - INT SECURITY*, vol. 36, (Jan. 2012), pp. 41-78.

Lake, David A. "The Challenge: The Domestic Determinants of International Rivalry Between the United States and China." *International Studies Review* 16, no. 3, (2014), pp. 442-447.

Evan Braden Montgomery, "Contested Primacy in the Western Pacific: China's Rise and the Future of U.S. Power Projection," *International Security*, Vol. 38,

No. 4 (Spring 2014), pp. 115-149

Apr 22, 2025

Final Review

Apr 24, 2025

Final Class Presentations

Apr 29, 2025

Final Class Presentations

May 1, 2025

Final Paper Due