Great Thinkers and Pivotal Leaders: Shaping the Global Order (IR100)

Course duration: 54 hours lecture and class time (Over three weeks)

LSE Teaching Department: Department of International Relations

Lead Faculty: Dr James Ashley Morrison

Pre-requisites: None.

Course Description:

This intensive course takes a historical approach to examining a series of pivotal transitions in the shaping of the global order across the last several centuries. Focusing on some of the world’s most influential thinkers and leaders; from Smith to Keynes; from Napoleon to Churchill and beyond; the course explores the new ideas that ascended, the leaders that defined these orders, and the interaction between the two.

A number of important questions will be examined and addressed, including;

- What role do ideas play in international relations?
- To what extent can individual leaders shape the global order?
- Do circumstances determine which ideas and which leaders come to the fore? Or do men and women make their own history?
- What does this history reveal that might help us to shape international politics today and in the future?

This course considers international order from the standpoint of both international security and international political economy.

The course will thus help students develop their capacity to analyse international relations generally and provide deeper knowledge of several of the canonical cases that continue to influence the study and practice of international politics today. It presumes no experience in either field or the social sciences more generally. As such, it is ideal for students who want a rigorous introduction to international politics. It will also appeal to students who want to delve deeper into the history and evolution of the international system.

The twelve daily sessions for the course consist of a lecture that includes discussion, followed by a class which will allow for further group work.

Reading:

All course readings are available either through the links provided or on the course Moodle.
Course Structure:
- Lectures: 36 hours
- Classes: 18 hours

Formative course work:
- An essay of 1500 words, submitted to the class teacher.
- A presentation in class on a topic agreed with the class teacher.

Assessment:
The assessment consists of:
- An essay of 1500 words (bibliography does not count, word-count must be stated on the first page of the essay), submitted as an email attachment to be sent to the class teacher. The essay will count for 25% of the final mark. Students must choose a question from among a list distributed at the end of the first week of the course.
- A two-hour written exam at the end of the programme (students will be asked to answer two out of eight questions). The exam will count for 75% of the final mark.

Lecture Schedule:
1a. Introduction and Overview
   - Introduction to the Summer School
   - Course overview
   - Analysing ideas as causes
   - Individuals versus events, structure versus agency

1b. Liberal Mercantilists: From Locke to Napoleon
   - Security versus wealth, power versus plenty
   - Mercantilist political economy
   - Locke’s role in the Glorious Revolution
   - Napoleon’s ‘Armed Doctrine’

2a. Adam Smith & the Birth of Free Trade
   - Liberal political economy
   - Smith’s influence on American Independence
   - Britain’s pivot toward trade liberalisation
2b. British Hegemony & the Free Trade Movement
- Britain’s hegemonic ascent
- The repeal of the Corn Laws
- The rise of free trade in Europe

3a. Marx: A Socialist Critique
- Karl Marx’s political economy
- Historical materialism
- The coming communist revolution

3b. Lenin & the Russian Revolution
- Lenin’s theory of imperialism
- The Russian Revolution and the creation of the USSR

4a. Rise of the New Empires: America & Germany
- Schmoller’s reconceptualisation of mercantilism
- Kipling and ‘The White Man’s Burden’

4b. The Great War: A War of Ideas
- Militarism and military thinking
- Nationalism and imperialism

5a. Wilson: An American Lost in Paris
- Wilson’s idealistic vision versus Clemenceau’s Machiavellian manoeuvring
- The negotiations at the Paris Peace Conference

5b. Interwar Descent: The Consequences of the Peace
- The seismic shifts following the war
- The failed attempts to restore international cooperation

6a. Great Depression, Great Transformations
- The Great Depression
- Hegemonic stability theory: the lack of leadership
- The Polanyian explanation: The Great Transformation

6b. The Rise of Keynes
- The decline and fall of the gold standard
- The rise of Keynes
7a. World War II: The Twenty Years’ Crisis in Europe
   - The roots of the European conflict
   - Hitler: the madness of a monster

7b. World War II: The War in the East
   - The origins of conflict in the Pacific
   - Imperialism, racism, and State Shinto

8a. The Bretton Woods System: Keynes Triumphant?
   - Keynes versus White
   - The Anglo-American postwar order

8b. The Postwar Order: American Hegemony
   - The interwar roots of the postwar order
   - The role of American hegemony

9a. Cold Warrior: Kennan’s Containment Strategy
   - The roots of the Cold War
   - Containment: Kennan’s prescription

9b. The Cold War, Beginning to End
   - A history of the Cold Wars
   - The role of ideas in the collapse of the USSR

10a. Decolonisation: Gandhi
   - Decolonisation in broad terms
   - The postcolonial critique
   - Gandhi’s *Hind Swaraj*

10b. Decolonisation: Churchill & Roosevelt
   - Churchill’s empire of chauvinism
   - American support for decolonisation

11a. Development: Prebisch & ISI
   - Raúl Prebisch and *dependencia*
   - ISI in practice
11b. Development: Friedman & EOI
- Milton Friedman and ‘The Chicago Boys’
- The Latin American Experience
- The ‘Asian Tigers’

12a. Pre-emption: The Bush Doctrine
- Condoleezza Rice before and after 9/11
- The US National Security Strategy

12b. Conciliation? Obama in Cairo and Yemen
- Obama’s Cairo Speech
- The 2009 Nobel Peace Prize
- The evolution of the War on Terror

Friday, 19 August – Final Exam
Seminar Schedule:

Seminar 1: The Rise of the Mercantilists

Key questions:
- How did mercantilists view the relationship between economics and security?
- What role did Locke play in shaping England’s foreign policy following the Glorious Revolution?
- Was Napoleon’s ascent the product of events? Or did Napoleon himself determine the events that mattered?

Required Reading:

Additional Reading
- Viner, Jacob. Essays on the Intellectual History of Economics, Ch 4. (25 pp) HB75 V78

Seminar 2: The Rise of Britain and its Liberalism

Key questions:
- On what grounds did the liberals critique the mercantilists? Were these criticisms fair?
- What did liberals see as the relationship between trade management and international conflict?
- When did Britain’s approach to trade shift from mercantilism to liberalism? What drove this shift?

Required Reading:
- Smith, Adam. Lectures on Jurisprudence. pp 207-209. (3 pp)
- Smith, Adam. The Wealth of Nations. Bk IV, Ch 2; and Selection on Free Trade. (24 pp)
Additional Reading


Seminar 3: Communism: From Marx to Lenin

Key questions:

- According to Marx, what was the relationship between ideas and interests, between ideational and material variables?
- What factors, according to Marx, would bring about the communist revolution? Where was the revolution most likely to begin, in the most or least developed societies?
- How does Marx’s communism compare to Lenin’s socialism? On what grounds does Lenin disagree?

Required Reading:


Additional Reading


Seminar 4: The Great War: Clash of Empires, Clash of Ideas

Key questions:

- According to Schmoller, what was the principle of mercantilism? What relevance did it have for Germany in the nineteenth century?
- On what bases did Kipling justify American colonisation of the Philippines? To what extent were his views in line with those embraced by other empires?
- To what extent, and in what ways, did ideas of nationalism, military strategy, imperial rivalry give rise to the First World War? How did these ideational variables interact with ‘structural’ or ‘material’ variables?
- Were liberals too optimistic about the influence that shared economic interests and ‘rationality’ exert in international relations?
Required Reading:


Additional Reading


Seminar 5: The Consequences of the War and Its Peace

Key questions:

- How, specifically, did Wilson intend to reshape the international order following the First World War? Which proposals were the most realistic? Which were the least?
- According to Keynes, what factors proved most crucial in shaping the Paris Peace Conference? What was the relative influence of material and ideational factors?
- What efforts did policymakers make to recreate the prewar international order? Why did they fail?

Required Reading:

- Eichengreen, Barry J. *Globalizing Capital*. Ch 3, 45-72. (27 pp)

Additional Reading

Seminar 6: Great Depression, Great Transformations

Key questions:

- What role did the US play in the global economy prior to its 1929 stock market crash? What role did it play after? What caused the US to shift its approach?
- How did Roosevelt view the relationship between the US economic recovery and the global economic recovery? Do you think he was correct in this assessment? Would his perspective have been more or less true for the economic positions of the other leading powers (such as Britain, Germany, France, and the USSR)?
- To what extent was Keynes a mercantilist? What role did mercantilist theory play in Keynes’s approach to international relations?
- What was ‘The Great Transformation’? To what extent do you think it occurred in the interwar period? How can it be explained?
- What role did the following factors play in shaping policy during the Great Depression: (a) international cooperation; (b) the distribution of power in the international system; (c) evolving norms and values; (d) the reconfiguration of domestic institutions; (e) the ascent of new political and economic interests; and (f) shifts in causal understandings of economics?

Required Reading:

- Keynes, JM. Essays in Persuasion. Part III, Chs 5, 7. (20 pp)
- Roosevelt, FD. First Inaugural. 4 March 1933.

Additional Reading


Seminar 7: World War II

Key questions:

- To what extent did the rise of the Nazis turn on Hitler in particular? To what extent can it be explained by deeper ‘structural’ factors, such as Europe’s political situation and western values and norms at the time?
- What role did struggle and violence play in the theories of National Socialism? What role did they play in liberal theory at the time?
How would you compare and contrast the imperial impulse in Nazi Germany with the drive to imperialism in other great powers (such as Britain, France, the US, Japan, and Russia) at that time and in the recent past?

- Compare and contrast national socialism, state Shintoism, and liberalism on the following issues: the individual versus the community; rights for minorities; international law; state sovereignty; and the relationship between wealth and security?
- What drove the Japanese to build an empire?
- What prompted Japan to attack the United States in 1941? Given the information available at the time, was this a ‘rational’ decision?

**Required Reading:**

- Hitler, Adolph. Three Years’ Struggle for Peace. Parts of speeches given by Hitler assembled by the Nazi party. Released September 9, 1935. [Link](#)
- Memoranda from Japanese Imperial Conference, September 1941. Appendices 3, 4, & 5. (7 pp)

**Additional Reading**


**Seminar 8: The Anglo-American Postwar Order**

**Key questions:**

- On what points did Keynes and White disagree about the design of the postwar order? Who won on each point? How would you explain these outcomes?
- What role did ideas, institutions, and interests & power play in prompting the US embrace trade liberalisation from the mid-1930s onwards?
- In so far as the postwar liberalisation depended on the US economic hegemony, why didn’t the world deglobalise as US relative economic power declined?

**Required Reading:**

Joint statement by Experts of United and Associated Nations on the Establishment of an International Stabilisation Fund. April, 1944. (10 pp)

Additional Reading


Seminar 9: Ideas in the Cold War

Key questions:

- To what extent did Churchill and Kennan describe the Cold War? And to what extent did they help to construct it?
- According to Kennan, what was the relationship between the Second World War and the Cold War?
- How much agency did Kennedy and Kruschev, as individuals, enjoy?
- How did world leaders explain the end of the Cold War in the 1990s? How does Gorbachev’s view of the role of ideas fit with Marx’s historical materialism? How does it compare to Keynes’s predictions at the end of the General Theory? How does Thatcher’s view compare?
- What new challenges emerged following the end of the Cold War? To what extent were these challenges correctly anticipated by policymakers at the time?

Required Reading:

- Eisenhower, Dwight D. Remarks from News Conference in which Domino Theory Principle was Presented. April 7, 1954. (5 pp)
- Kennedy, John F. Address to the Nation. October 22, 1962. (15 pp)

Additional Reading
- Kennan, George. *American Diplomacy*. Pt I, Ch 5: “World War II.” (17 pp)

**Seminar 10: Decolonisation**

**Key questions:**
- Why was Gandhi renamed ‘Mahatma’?
- What did Gandhi mean by ‘home rule’? To what extent was Gandhi challenging the rule of India by Westerners? To what extent was Gandhi challenging the rule of Indians by Western norms and values?
- Given the trajectory of India since 1909, how successful has he been in mounting each challenge?
- On what grounds did Churchill reject Gandhi’s bid for home rule? If Churchill were alive today, would he believe his earlier views were wrong? On what grounds would he make that assessment?

**Required Reading:**
- Gandhi, Mohandas K. *Hind Swaraj or Indian Home Rule*. [1909] Read all but Chs 2-3, 9, 15, and appendices.

**Additional Reading**

**Seminar 11: Competing Development Strategies**

**Key questions:**
- What is ‘dependency’ theory? How does it relate to the terms of trade?
- What challenges and limitations come with relying on a strategy of import substitution industrialisation? Has ISI ever worked?
- According to its advocates, what are the principles of the ‘Chicago School’ approach to macroeconomic and foreign economic policy? Where, do they claim, has it been embraced?
- What is the relationship between democracy, individual (political) liberty, and the economic policies supported by the ‘Chicago School’? To what extent are the ‘Chicago Boys’ accountable for the political repression in the Pinochet regime?
- Given the examples of Chile under Augusto Pinochet, Singapore under Lee Kuan Yew, and South Korea under Park Chung-hee, do rapid economic development and political repression go hand-in-hand?

**Required Reading:**
Friedman, Milton. *Commanding Heights* Interview. PBS. October 2000. pp 14-17 (3 pp)

**Additional Reading**

- Frieden, Jeff. *Global Capitalism*. Chs 13, 18 (42 pp)

**Seminar 12: Wars on Terror**

**Key questions:**

- How did the Bush administration define ‘terror’? How did it define the objectives and enemies of the ‘War on Terror’?
- In his Cairo speech, how did Obama attempt to shift the US approach to the Islamic world?
- To what extent is the use of ‘targeted killing’ in line with the values Obama espoused previously?
- Is the use of ‘targeted killing’ a substitute for, or a complement to, more ‘conventional’ pursuits of American security objectives?
- Do you expect subsequent presidents to use ‘targeted killing’ at a greater or lesser rate than Obama has done?

**Required Reading:**

- Obama, Barack. Speech in Cairo. 4 June 2009. [Video](#) | [Text](#)
- Obama, Barack. Remarks by the President on Winning the Nobel Peace Prize. October 9, 2009. [Link](#) (1 p)
- Junod, Tom. 'The Lethal Presidency of Barack Obama'. *Esquire*, August 2012. [Link](#)

**Additional Reading**

Credit Transfer: If you are hoping to earn credit by taking this course, please ensure that you confirm it is eligible for credit transfer well in advance of the start date. Please discuss this directly with your home institution or Study Abroad Advisor.

As a guide, our LSE Summer School courses are typically eligible for three credits within the US system and 7.5ECTS in Europe. Different institutions and countries can, and will, vary. You will receive a digital transcript and a printed certificate following your successful completion of the course in order to make arrangements for transfer of credit.

If you have any queries, please direct them to summer.school@lse.ac.uk