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

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

Summer School Programme Area: International Relations, Government and Society

LSE Teaching Department: Department of International Relations

Lead Faculty: Dr James Ashley Morrison (Dept. of International Relations)

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 in the Shared Folder: http://bit.ly/GTPL18

Course Structure:
- Lectures: 36 hours
- Classes: 18 hours

Formative course work:
- An essay plan/outline, submitted to the class teacher (via email) by Friday, 3 August at 17:00.
- 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 by Friday 10 August at 17:00. The essay will count for 50% of the final mark. Students will respond to a prompt distributed at the end of the first week of the course.
- A two-hour written exam at the end of the programme. The exam will count for 50% of the final mark. The precise time and location of the exam will be circulated during the programme, though it will take place on Friday 17th August.

Lecture Schedule:
1a. Introduction and Overview (Mon 30 Jul)
- Introduction to the Summer School
- Course overview
- A Parable: Paris, 1919
- Individuals versus events, structure versus agency

1b. The 3 Big Questions (Mon 30 Jul)
- Individuals versus events, structure versus agency
- Ideational versus Material Variables
- States versus Markets
- Security versus wealth, power versus plenty

2a. Locke and the Mercantilists (Tue 31 Jul)
- Mercantilist political economy
- Locke’s role in the Glorious Revolution
- Napoleon’s “Armed Doctrine”

2b. Adam Smith, British Hegemony & the Free Trade Movement (Tue 31 Jul)
- Liberalism over mercantilism: When & how?
- Conventional accounts of the 1780s
- My story: Smith & Shelburne

3a. Rise of the New Empires: America & Germany (Wed 1 Aug)
- Schmoller’s re-conceptualisation of mercantilism
- Kipling and “The White Man’s Burden”

3b. The Great War: Clash of Empires, Clash of Ideas (Wed 1 Aug)
- Militarism and military thinking
- Nationalism and imperialism

4a. Liberal Rejoinders (Thu 2 Aug)
- The Demise of Globalisation
- Wilson’s idealistic vision versus Clemenceau’s Machiavellian manoeuvring
- Viner and Keynes on Mercantilism

4b. Interwar Descent and the Great Transformation (Thu 2 Aug)
- The seismic shifts following the war
- The failed attempts to restore international cooperation
- The Great Depression and the demise of the gold standard system

5. Imperial War Museum Tour (Fri 3 Aug)

6a. The Second World War (Mon 6 Aug)
- Japan: From isolation to empire
- Europe’s “Twenty Years’ Crisis”
- Explaining this Aggression
- The fascist vision of international order

6b. Grappling with Fascism (Mon 6 Aug)
- The difference with fascism
- “Conspiracy”
- Our broader challenges

7a. The Generative World Wars (Tue 7 Aug)
   - Generation
   - Human rights
   - The new legal regime
   - Varieties of resistance
   - Women’s advance

7b. Decolonisation (Tue 7 Aug)
   - Gandhi’s revolutionary international order
   - Churchill’s challenge
   - Independence
   - Gandhi’s legacies
   - A new world order

8a. The Postwar Monetary Order (Wed 8 Aug)
   - Keynes’s revolutionary vision
   - Creating the postwar system
   - A (brief) history of the Bretton Woods System

8b. The Postwar Trade Regime (Wed 8 Aug)
   - Negotiating the postwar order
   - The genesis of the GATT
   - The ascent of the GATT
   - The GATT’s durability and legacy

9a. Marx to Marxism (Thu 9 Aug)
   - Marx’s materialism
   - Marx’s historical materialism
   - Lenin’s intervention
   - The Russian revolution
   - Communism at home, abroad

9b. Beginnings of the Cold War (Thu 9 Aug)
   - Prewar relations
   - Wartime relations
   - The Soviet perspective
   - The Western perspective
10a. The Several Cold Wars (Mon 13 Aug)
- “Containment”
- China’s Turn
- Mr McNamara’s War
- Détente
- The Second Cold War

10b. Moving Past the Cold War (Mon 13 Aug)
- The end of the Cold War
- Lessons from the Cold War
- The undead Cold War
- Analysing our trajectory today

11a. Asymmetric Political Violence (Tue 14 Aug)
- Political violence (in general)
- Asymmetric political violence
- Strategies
- Categorising the violence

11b. The Wars on Terror: From Bush to Obama (Tue 14 Aug)
- 9/11 in Perspective
- Bush’s War on Terror
- Towards a Pax Obama?
- Killing Bin Laden
- An Endless War?

12a. The Future of Trade (Wed 15 Aug)
- The international regime complex
- The WTO is born
- Explaining the transformation
- Doha: The “colonies” strike back?
- Nairobi: Back to the Future

12b. The Future of Money (Wed 15 Aug)
- Building blocks
- Global money
- The dollar
- The euro
- The renminbi
Conclusion

Friday, 17 August – Final Exam
Seminar Schedule:

Seminar 1: The Rise of the Mercantilists (Tue 31 Jul)

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:
- Queen Elizabeth I. “Speech to the Troops at Tilbury.” (1p) 1588. [http://www.luminarium.org/renlit/tilbury.htm](http://www.luminarium.org/renlit/tilbury.htm)
- Locke, John. Further Considerations Concerning Raising the Value of Money. 1695. [https://db.tt/RlqxiB30](https://db.tt/RlqxiB30)
- Cary, John, Essay on the State of England. (1695) pp 48-51; 130-141 [http://ota.ox.ac.uk/tcp=headers/A35/A35207.html](http://ota.ox.ac.uk/tcp=headers/A35/A35207.html)

Additional Reading

Seminar 2: The Rise of Britain and its Liberalism (Wed 1 Aug)

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)  
  https://contentstore.cla.co.uk/secure/link?id=67d740a1-6e4e-e611-80c6-005056af4099
- Smith, Adam. *The Wealth of Nations*. 1776. Bk IV, Ch. 2  
  http://www.econlib.org/library/Smith/smWNCover.html
  http://www.econlib.org/library/Smith/smWNCover.html

**Additional Reading**
  http://www.econlib.org/library/Mill/mlP.html

**Seminar 3: The Great War: Clash of Empires, Clash of Ideas (Thu 2 Aug)**

**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:**
  http://www.kiplingsociety.co.uk/poems_burden.htm

Course content is subject to change.  
Last updated: December 2017
Additional Reading


Seminar 4: The Consequences of the War and Its Peace (Fri 3 Aug)

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?
- To what extent was Keynes a mercantilist? What role did mercantilist theory play in Keynes’s approach to international relations?
- 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)?

Required Reading:

- Roosevelt, FD. First Inaugural. 4 March 1933. [Video] | [Text]

**Additional Reading**


**Seminar 5: Museum Reactions; Essay Prep (Mon 6 Aug)**

**Key questions:**

- When was the Imperial War Museum created—and to what end?
- How has the IWM changed over time? How might you explain these changes?
- What were the most surprising, moving, difficult and maddening objects in the Museum?

**Required Reading:**

- Review essay assignment and prepare outline.

**Seminar 6: Grappling with the Axis (Tue 7 Aug)**

**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, Adolf. “On National Socialism and World Relations.” Speech delivered in the German Reichstag, January 30, 1937. (30 pp) [Link](Link) | [Library](Library)
- Hitler, Adolf. Speech delivered at the Berlin Sports Palace, January 30, 1941. [Link](Link)

**Additional Reading**

- Hitler, Adolf. *Three Years’ Struggle for Peace*. Parts of speeches given by Hitler assembled by the Nazi party. Released September 9, 1935. [Video](Video)

**Seminar 7: Decolonisation (Wed 8 Aug)**

**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:**

**Additional Reading**


**Seminar 8: The Allied Response (Thu 9 Aug)**

**Key questions:**
- How did the Allies characterise the nature of the challenge posed by the fascists? On what points did they differ?
- How does Arendt’s characterisation of totalitarian political-economic systems compare to the view advanced by Schmoller? Which describes Nazi Germany better?
- What role did ideas, institutions, and interests & power play in prompting the Allies to embrace reglobalisation in the 1930s and after the Second World War?

**Required Reading:**
- The Atlantic Charter. August 14, 1941. (1 p) [http://avalon.law.yale.edu/wwii/atlantic.asp](http://avalon.law.yale.edu/wwii/atlantic.asp)

**Additional Reading**
- Chamberlain, Neville. Radio broadcast announcing state of war with Germany. September 3, 1939. Link

Seminar 9: Communism: From Marx to Stalin (Mon 13 Aug)

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:
- Marx, Karl. The German Ideology, in Karl Marx: Selected Writings, David McLellan, ed. pp 175-98. https://contentstore.cla.co.uk/secure/link?id=d9d5b42d-1e4f-e611-80c6-005056af4099

Additional Reading

Seminar 10: Ideas, Interests, and Power in the Cold War (Tue 14 Aug)

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:


Additional Reading

- Kennan, George. American Diplomacy. Pt I, Ch 5: “World War II.” (17 pp)
- Eisenhower, Dwight D. Remarks from News Conference in which Domino Theory Principle was Presented. April 7, 1954. (5 pp)

Seminar 11: Wars on Terror (Wed 15 Aug)

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?
- Will subsequent presidents use “targeted killing” more or less than Obama has done?
Required Reading:

- Obama, Barack. Speech in Cairo. 4 June 2009. [Video](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=94XMZDpO10c) | [Text](https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2009/06/04/speech-president-cairo)

Additional Reading


Seminar 12: The Future of Global Order (Thu 16 Aug)

Key questions:

- What have been the roots of global order since the end of the Second World War?
- How have the evolution of US interests and the change in its relative power changed the global order?
- What are the greatest challenges to the current global order? In what areas is change most likely? What actors are best positioned to precipitate this change? How might they precipitate it?

Required Reading:

- Sender, Henny. “Resistible rise: China’s currency conundrum.” Financial Times. 26 October 2016. [https://search-proquest-com.gate3.library.lse.ac.uk/docview/1843185897/1E6851246B3B4D08PQ/1?accountid=9630](https://search-proquest-com.gate3.library.lse.ac.uk/docview/1843185897/1E6851246B3B4D08PQ/1?accountid=9630)

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 7.5 ECTS 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