LSE

Centre for International Studies

Celebrating 50 years of Research at **LSE**

The LSE Centre for International Studies
A History: 1967-2017

Written by A.C. McKeil, LSE

Contents

Cover photograph: Professor Oka, c1976. Visiting Professor in the Centre of International Studies with his wife and Dr Michael Donelan in the entrance to the library in the Old Building

Acknowledgements

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-A.C. McKeil

I. Foundation:
Geoffrey Goodwin's Achievement, 1967-1977

The LSE Centre for International Studies, founded in 1967, is the longest standing outpost in British academia of a deliberately multi-disciplinary approach to the international. This history is about the origins and development of that approach in British academia, first taking shape and issuing from the Centre. Recovering this history is important not only because of the nostalgic charm of the Centre's fiftieth anniversary. The history and character of "international studies", from its first British outpost at the LSE onwards, is still largely neglected in the written record and fading from collective memory at a time when the question of the disciplinary boundaries and core problematic of International Relations has reemerged in contemporary academic debates.[1]

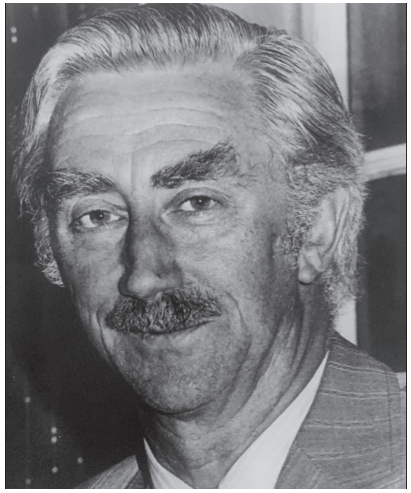
The current debate echoes this history of the origins and development of British "international studies" and can benefit from its exploration. It remains overlooked how the Centre's multi-disciplinary approach institutionalized a departure of the LSE Department of International Relations from C.A.W. Manning's attempt to define and distinguish a distinct and discreet discipline.[2] This was an important shift in academic outlook and practice. In contrast to the ambition of conceptually pre-defining the disciplinary boundaries of "International Relations", as Manning attempted, or "International Politics", as the subject was denominated at Aberystwyth, "international studies" stands for an intellectually distinct approach, letting the concerns of the subject-matter nominate themselves whilst not making them the intellectual monopoly of any one discipline. This international studies approach to the subject-matter of the international has a noticeably pragmatic character. It

1 Justin Rosenberg, 'International Relations in the Prison of Political Science', *International Relations*, 30:2 (2016), pp. 127-153; Iver B. Neumann, 'International Relations as a Social Science', *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 43:1 (2014), pp. 330-350.

2 David Long, 'Of Mustard Seeds and Shopping Lists: C.A.W. Manning and International Relations at the LSE', *International Politics*, 54:1 (2017), pp. 118-123.

overrides academic questions about disciplinary boundaries and grand theory in favour of applying any and all disciplinary outlooks and methods of immediate utility for understanding and explaining international problems and concerns. Because the motivations of the Centre's origins were deliberately in opposition to disciplinary division and over specialization, its creation was ahead of its times, from the perspective of today's context where multi-disciplinarity is prized by funding providers and trans-disciplinary journals are among the most prestigious. The Centre was able to bypass pressures towards disciplinary specialization and support multi-disciplinary and innovative research on a wide range of issues with an international dimension.

The earliest record of the Centre's origins is a letter, written by Hedley Bull, addressed to Geoffrey Goodwin, dated 24 September 1963. This was one year after Goodwin had succeeded Manning as the LSE Montague Professor of International Relations. Bull would have been taking up a fellowship at Princeton University that year.[3] At Princeton, he would have come to be aware of the research centres being established in leading US universities. There might seem, therefore, to be a case for considering the rise of international studies in the UK to be the diffusion of an American academic movement. Looking at the evidentiary details does not entirely support the diffusion narrative however. Certainly, international studies had an earlier emergence in American academia than in Britain. The International studies Association was founded in 1958, and its journal *International Studies Quarterly* was founded in 1959, just under a decade before the LSE Centre, and far ahead of the establishment of the British International Studies Association in 1975. Today, the ISA is the premiere organization of international studies in the world, with over 7,000 members and a host of regional associations. However, Bull would have had little connection or even awareness of the ISA in 1963. It was a small American West Coast organization, in its beginnings, with a paid membership of less than 60 persons in 1963.[4] Bull was more concerned with the lack of a UK centre, one comparable to those present at Harvard and Columbia Universities. In his letter to Goodwin, Bull lamented the absence of such a centre in the UK and professed that, 'In the best of all possible worlds the advancement of research in International Relations would proceed by way of the creation, under the aegis of the International Relations department, though involving related disciplines, of a Centre of International Studies.'[5] Bull recommended a small range of international topics, emphasizing the need to involve Strategic Studies, to be researched in the Centre by a permanent staff. He recommended this staff would ideally include those interested from related departments of Political Science, History, and International Law in addition to its core of International Relations scholars.



Geoffrey Goodwin.

This is evidence that the idea for the Centre was Bull's, but it was Goodwin who was its principal founder and guiding organizer during its early years. In Peter Lyon's words, Goodwin was an, 'institution-builder in earnest,' and, 'an assiduous and influential committee man'.[6] This was the nature of his contributions to the Centre, as its founder and the guiding director of its Steering Committee, 1967-1977. Goodwin's break from Manning's agenda may have been qualified by their bitter political differences over Manning's persistent defence of the apartheid regime and Goodwin's Christian-based opposition to it. Intellectually, both Manning and Goodwin shared an interest in international organization, particularly the League and United Nations. Neither was it the case that Goodwin did not have a sense that there was a discipline of International Relations, and that there were right and wrong ways of going about studying it.[7]

Perhaps the best way to contrast the approaches of Manning and Goodwin to the international is in how Manning attempted to distinguish and define the discipline, while Goodwin was an expansionist, pushing for expansion on all fronts, supporting the development of International Political Economy and Foreign Policy Analysis, for instance, as well as traditional topics. The critical factor in the break however was institutional, as Manning's attempt to define

3 J.D.B. Miller, 'Hedley Bull, 1932-1985', in J.D.B. Miller and R.J. Vincent (eds.), *Order and Violence: Hedley Bull and International Relations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 8.
4 Henry Teune, 'The ISA', 1982, p. 3.
5 Hedley Bull, Correspondence with Geoffrey Goodwin, 1963.
6 Peter Lyon, 'Obituary: Professor Geoffrey Goodwin', *The Independent*, 8 May 1995.
7 Interview with Andrew Linklater, 29 March 2017.

and distinguish a distinct and discreet autonomous discipline encountered bureaucratic inertia that Manning was unable to overcome.[8]

The Centre at the LSE entrenched the departure from Manning's vision. With Goodwin's recommendation, LSE Director Sydney Caine made formal enquiries into the Ford Foundation's interest in funding the proposed centre in 1964. This funding was secured for establishing the Centre, to the tune of $280,000 US Dollars, with conversion, £50,000 Pounds Sterling. The involvement of the United States in the Vietnam conflict was reaching its peak at the time and the Ford Foundation had allotted a tidy budget of eight million dollars to fund research on China and East Asia. With these funds, research centres were supported across the US, and the LSE was earmarked as the research initiative's UK wing. Following John F. Kennedy's assassination, Goodwin placed an ad in *The Economist,* noting,

> a fitting memorial to Mr. Kennedy would be to create a Centre of International Studies devoted to the study of those problems of East-West relations with which he was so deeply concerned, you may like to know that the development of a centre of this kind modeled perhaps on the Centre of International Studies at Harvard is currently under discussion at the London School of Economics.
>
> The need for such a centre is, I agree, self-evident; both Mr. Kennedy's connection with the LSE and the wide range of international studies already to be found there would seem to make LSE a very appropriate place for its development.
>
> –Yours faithfully, Geoffrey Goodwin. [9]

The combination of the research area structure of the Centre following from Goodwin's use of Bull's suggestions, and the Centre's connection to China and East Asia research interests, gave the Centre's early years a noticeably Area Studies character, principally with emphasis on the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and Communist China.[10]

8 Long, 'Of Mustard Seeds and Shopping Lists', p. 122-123; David Long, 'C.A.W. Manning and the Discipline of International Relations', *The Round Table*, 94:1 (2005), pp. 77-96.
9 *The Economist*, 4 January 1964.
10 F.S. Northedge, 'The Department of International Relations at LSE: A Brief History, 1924-1971', in Harry Bauer and Elisabetta Brighi (eds.), *International Relations at LSE: A History of 75 Years* (London: Millennium Publishing Group, LSE, 2003), p. 19.

LSE Director, Sydney Caine, 1964.

The multi-disciplinary approach of the Centre was evident chiefly in the membership of its Steering Committee. The multi-disciplinary approach did not follow from the influence of the earlier ISA. Neither was it Bull's nor Goodwin's idea originally, although it was Goodwin who carried it through in practice. Receiving a proposal for a Centre of International Studies from Goodwin, LSE Director Caine expressed hesitation, based on the tendency of such centres to divide and limit contact rather than unify universities. Goodwin had the authority of being the Vice-Chairman of the Academic Board, the Chairman being the Director. Caine ultimately approved the Centre but covered the upfront costs of the Centre from university funds, which were to be reimbursed later by the Ford Foundation contributions, starting with a 'seed corn' grant of £5,000 pounds. With control over the purse, Caine also required the Steering Committee of the Centre to be inter-departmental, and had a hand in selecting its membership.

It is remarkable how closely Goodwin's proposal for the Centre followed the recommendations of Bull's letter. However, he added an argument for the merits of a multi-disciplinary approach, following the Director's intervention. Quoting a lengthy passage from the proposal provides the best picture of the Centre's early rationale. Goodwin wrote,

> Despite the growing significance and complexity of international problems one of the weaknesses of international studies in Great Britain is the lack of any academic centre concerned primarily with research. The Institute of War and Peace Studies at Columbia or the Centre for International Affairs at Harvard have no counterpart in Britain. In this country only non-academic bodies such as the Royal Institute for International Affairs, the Institute for Strategic Studies, and the Institute of Race Relations can be regarded as centres of research into contemporary international affairs. These institutes have made, and are making, a most valuable contribution to the understanding of international problems and any academic centre of international studies would expect to work closely with them. But they are necessarily preoccupied mainly with immediate and concrete issues of policy, whereas an academic centre would be primarily concerned with long-range rather than short-range problems, with the re-examination of fundamental assumptions, and with those aspects of international relations which lend themselves to more theoretical analysis.
>
> A Centre for International Studies at the London School of Economics would be able to draw upon an already lively interest in international studies and offer a wealth of academic talent, both at the School and in other colleges of the University. International studies already figure prominently, not only in the work of the International Relations Department, but in the courses of instruction in International Economics, International History, International Law, Government, Geography, and Anthropology.[11]

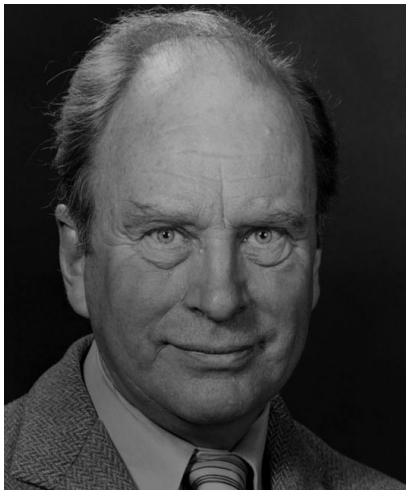
11 Geoffrey Goodwin, 'Proposal for the Research Group on the Future of the School', 1964.

Goodwin suggested further that the inter-disciplinary seminars held at the LSE in European Institutions, Soviet Studies, and Foreign Policy Analysis demonstrated the fruitfulness of inter-disciplinary research. In light of this change in the proposal, we can venture the suggestion that the emergence of international studies in the UK is indebted to an LSE Director's resistance to the intellectual and institutional fragmentation of his university. But, the role Goodwin played as the principal mover in the Centre's establishment and early years needs emphasis.

Geoffrey Goodwin was the founding Director of the Centre and chair of its Steering Committee, whose original membership included some of the most notable professors working at the LSE at the time. Steering Committee membership was intellectually high-powered, partly because it was multi-disciplinary, drawing interested minds from across departments. It is worth noting the Committee was not exclusively a "boys club", with Coral Bell, a recent hire as Reader of International Relations, and later highly honoured IR scholar, being a founding member.[12] Other members of the original Committee were D.H.N. Johnson, an international lawyer, international historian James Joll, the political scientists Ghita Ionescu and Leonard Shapiro, Maurice Freedman, an anthropologist with an interest in East Asia, economist Peter Wiles, and Peter Lyon and Geoffrey Stern of the Department of International Relations. While Director Caine had a hand in selecting these figures, it was Goodwin's reputation and the high esteem his colleagues held him in that brought the Steering Committee together.[13]

Once the Director's approval was attained, funding provided, and the above Committee convened, so began the Centre's ongoing year-by-year research activities and output. Ever since, a regular task of the Centre has been the search for physical desk space. At the LSE, there is not enough space, and what space can be accessed is expensive. Over its fifty-year history, the CIS has been based in at least six office spaces. The Centre has moved between various offices, across its history, the best-remembered being in the Old Building, where wood panelled walls lent a certain gravitas to the Centre's proceedings and impressed incoming fellows. The first fellows of the Centre were housed in the East Building, but the Centre had no dedicated offices at the time.[14] It is interesting to note that none of the departments at the LSE had

12 Desmond Ball and Sheryn Lee (eds.), Power and International Relations: Essays in Honour of Coral Bell (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 2014).
13 Interview with James Mayall by Kirsten Ainley, 12 May 2014.
14 Interview with Nicholas Sims, 29 November 2016.



James Joll, 1980.

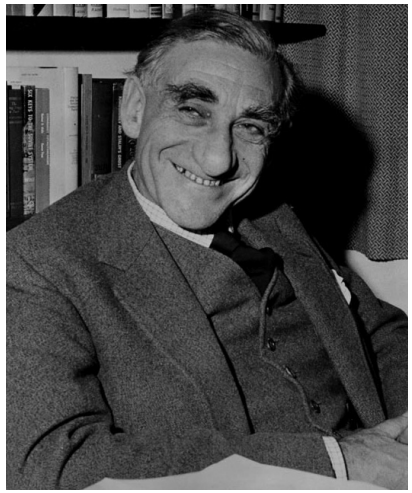
Ghita Ionescu, 1970.

committed "home" buildings at the time. All were strewn together across campus, justified by the mythology of a single-faculty university.[15] Inter-disciplinarity has a physical component to it. As the disciplines were formally divided, so they have been physically divided, giving rise to the need for physical inter-disciplinary space.

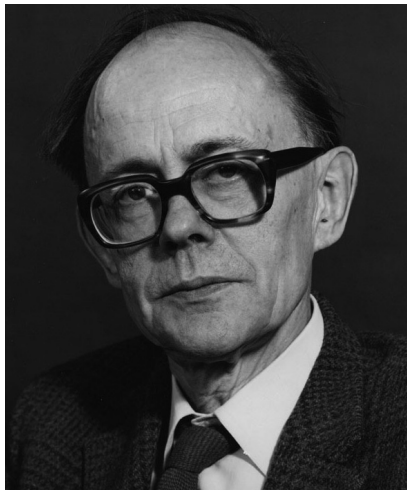
The next, and most important, step Goodwin and the Centre took was the establishment of the Cambridge University Press International Studies Series. Starting in 1970 with a five-year contract for monographs in international studies, its earliest publications included the work of its fellows, for instance, Cornelius Ogunsanwo, *China's Policy in Africa, 1958-1971*, and work on *The Strategic Debate in Peking, 1965-1966* by later member of the Steering Committee, Michael Yahuda. This Cambridge series would become a significant and influential series in British International Relations, and abroad, with a number of important contributions to its record.

The CUP International Studies Series had that British international studies quality of a pragmatic connection to international problems, akin but not restricted or identical to Area Studies. When, for instance, Bull brought the edited Martin Wight papers to the CIS for publication, they were passed over by Philip Windsor. Windsor never committed to International Relations as a discipline. He always considered it

15 Ralf Dahrendorf *LSE: A History of the London School of Economics and Political Science, 1895-1995* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 519-20.



Leonard Shapiro, 1970s.



Peter Wiles, 1980s.

to be a 'focus' of studies,[16] 'where other disciplines meet'.[17] In his recommendation letter to Goodwin, he wrote, 'My Dear Geoffrey, … it is obviously of great interest. Like everything he wrote it is peppered with insights, it is elegant, sometimes witty, and very erudite. Obviously the book ought to be published.' But, Windsor was not convinced of, 'whether it is in the main fields of interest to which the Centre has addressed itself over these past years.' His argument was that,

> the Centre has mainly concerned itself with a particular field of enquiry and set of problems. The manuscript is not concerned with these – and while I would be the first to bow to a generalist rather than a specialist, the Centre, in its humble way has been establishing a reputation as an impresario of specialized knowledge. I would find it very difficult to imagine how we could present this as a book consonant with the other in our series. … My general conclusion, therefore, is that it is not for us but for somebody else.[18]

16 Interview with Chris Brown, 22 March 2017.

17 Quoted in, Hugh Dryer, 'Decency and Tragedy in International Relations Thought: The Legacy of Philip Windsor', in Harry Bauer and Elisabetta Brighi (eds.), *International Relations at LSE: A History of 75 Years* (London: Millennium Publishing Group, LSE, 2003), p. 105.

18 Philip Windsor, Correspondence with Goodwin, 22 September 1975.

Even the venerated Martin Wight, whose eventually published and famous lectures that attempted in a way to define a realm of thought, rather than address a given international problem within a specialist area, did not fit the Centre's publishing agenda.[19]

Geoffrey Stern, 1980s.

At the LSE, with full funding from the Ford Foundation grant, research activities in international studies exploded. Five fellows were invited per year. The late Zygmunt Bauman was an early fellow along with Oran R. Young, in 1969, and Hedley Bull himself in 1971. Kenneth Waltz, although not a fellow of the Centre, visited the Centre in 1976-77, presumably researching his famed *Theory of International Politics,* published in 1979. The Centre also funded postdoctoral Research Fellowships, which were distinguished from the Fellows, conceived as visiting on sabbatical. In addition to these, the Centre also funded Post-Graduate Studentships at £750 pounds, which was much better than the £500 pound SSRC grants open to post-graduate applications at the time. The Centre provided twenty-one of these studentships in its first five years, including one for Chris Brown, in 1968-1970, whose research was titled in the records as, 'Contemporary Theories of International Relations'. Perhaps worth noting, in the case of Brown, is his later support for the conception of the international as a 'field of study', and not a discipline.[20] The Centre's studentships were justified as training for a burgeoning field in need of many more teachers and researchers. And, the majority of these graduate studentships did result in students taking up posts, as Goodwin noted in his reports. Beyond these fellowships, the Centre also worked with the Language Centre to provide French Studies, with an emphasis on teaching French as a second language in manageable time. More substantially, the Centre offered an M.Sc. European Studies programme to students, which combined courses from members of the Centre and School, and generated a moderate revenue.

Goodwin chaired the Steering Committee from 1967 through to 1977, and sustained its inspiration. Following Goodwin's lead, in 1971 F.S. Northedge supported the establishment of *Millennium: Journal of International Studies,* a second outpost of "international studies" in British academia. The publishing record of this second outpost has become increasingly focused on contributions to critical International Relations, but it does include a wide array of disciplinary contributions, including many from Ernest Gellner, as well as Anthony Smith, and one from the above noted economist, Peter Wiles. In its early years, *Millennium* published more content of a practical and less theoretical character, including several contributions from Goodwin, in accordance with the publication output of the CIS. An interesting twist is that as *Millennium* became more theoretical in inclination, it also became a site for inroads into International Relations, shaping into a kind of forum for expanding the disciplinary horizons of International Relations. Not only has *Millennium* become increasingly a 'Journal of *Critical* International Studies',[21] but its Editors have also invited influential thinkers from other disciplines to deliver the keynote address in its annual conferences, including the political theorists William Connolly and Chantal Mouffe, the philosopher Bruno Latour, and recently, the historian and post-colonial theorist Dipesh Chakrabarty. *Millennium,* like the CIS, has been an important site of the development of multi-disciplinary "international studies".

Despite Goodwin's decidedly practical attitude to international affairs (perhaps as an influence from his previous military career), he was nevertheless not opposed to abstract theory of the international. On the contrary, he was interested and encouraging of it, but was aware of his limitations in it.[22] The first two public lecture series hosted by the Centre had themes of practical concerns, 'The External Relations of the European Community', in 1973, and five lectures by Dr. Valery Chalidze on 'Problems of Human Rights in the USSR', also in 1973. Yet, in 1974, working with a promising PhD student, Andrew Linklater, Goodwin had the idea of hosting a public lecture series at the LSE under the auspices of the Centre on 'New Dimensions

19 Ian Hall *The International Thought of Martin Wight* (New York: Palgrave, 2006); Martin Wight *International Theory: The Three Traditions*, edited by Gabriele Wight and Brian Porter (London: Leicester University Press, 1991).
20 Chris Brown *Practical Judgement in International Political Theory: Selected Essays* (London: Routledge, 2010), p. 1.
21 Mark Hoffman, 'Critical Voices in a Mainstream Local: Millennium, the LSE International Relations Department and the Development of International Theory', in Harry Bauer and Elisabetta Brighi (eds.), International Relations at LSE: A History of 75 Years (London: Millennium Publishing Group, LSE, 2003), p. 154.
22 Interview with Andrew Linklater, 29 March 2017.

of World Politics'. This lecture series had a discernibly theoretical theme, of theorizing beyond the state-centric and "billiard ball" image of the international. Leading International Relations thinkers including Richard Rosecrance, Joseph S. Nye, and E.B. Haas delivered lectures on theoretical topics, which were followed by private seminars that Linklater helped organize. Part of the downside of being an expansionist in International Relations was the degree to which Goodwin was overwhelmed with work. And, being too busy to edit the lecture series himself, he invited Linklater to co-edit, and eventually to co-author the introduction. Linklater used the proceedings of the seminars to form the contents of the introduction to the collected book publication, not holding punches in his criticisms of these leading thinkers, which would raise a few eyebrows, Goodwin cautioned, but allowed.[23] Goodwin only topped and tailed.

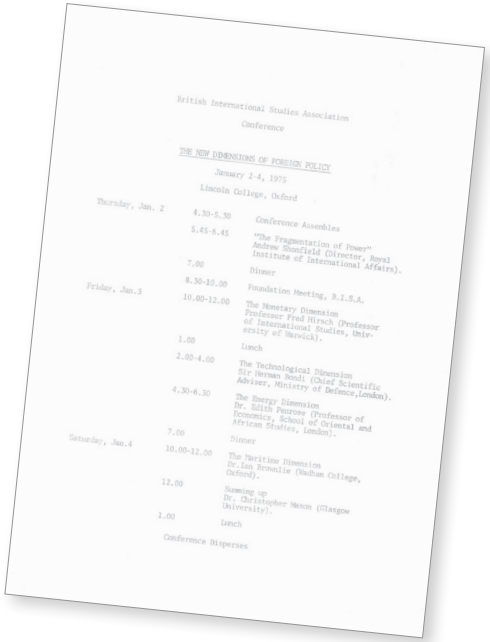
Susan Strange.

Goodwin was above all an intellectual collaborator, which goes to the spirit of the "international studies" approach. He was a masterful seminar leader and committee chair – a true academic leader. This is not to suggest he was irreproachable. For instance, he had a reputation for being irritable, rather short-fused at times. This came from an impaired leg and need for a walking cane, a handicap received from an episode of polio contracted during his wartime military service. It was painful and frustrating for the large and formerly able-bodied soldier. He was, however, able to admit when he was wrong and he kept collaborative working relations running.

One of Goodwin's major collaborators in the international studies movement was Susan Strange. In correspondence with LSE Director Ralph Dahrendorf, he supported Strange's proposal for establishing a post of 'Senior Research Officer in International Business Relations', in 1975.

23 Interview with Andrew Linklater, March 29th 2017; Geoffrey L. Goodwin and Andrew Linklater (eds.), *New Dimensions of World Politics* (London: Groom Helm, 1975).

At this time, Goodwin was working with Strange to extend the growth of "international studies", with another larger set of outposts. Strange was never convinced of the notion of International Relations as a distinct discipline and strongly supported the search for new ideas promised by the multi-disciplinary agenda of "international studies". She was serving as Vice-President of the ISA at this time, under Kenneth Boulding's Presidency in 1974-75. In the case of BISA, Strange's account lends support to the diffusion narrative. She characterized her efforts towards establishing BISA, after her experience working at the ISA, as, 'the sincerest form of flattery – imitation.'[24] Goodwin and Strange were principal shapers of the British International Studies Association, founded in 1975.



British International Studies Association

Conference

THE NEW DIMENSIONS OF FOREIGN POLICY

January 2-4, 1975

Lincoln College, Oxford

Thursday, Jan. 2

4.30-5.30 Conference Assembles

5.45-6.45 "The Fragmentation of Power" Andrew Shonfield (Director, Royal Institute of International Affairs).

7.00 Dinner

Friday, Jan.3

8.30-10.00 Foundation Meeting, B.I.S.A.

10.00-12.00 The Monetary Dimension Professor Fred Hirsch (Professor of International Studies, University of Warwick).

1.00 Lunch

2.00-4.00 The Technological Dimension Sir Herman Bondi (Chief Scientific Adviser, Ministry of Defence,London).

4.30-6.30 The Energy Dimension Dr. Edith Penrose (Professor of Economics, School of Oriental and African Studies, London).

Saturday, Jan.4

7.00 Dinner

10.00-12.00 The Maritime Dimension Dr.Ian Brownlie (Wadham College, Oxford).

12.00 Summing up Dr. Christopher Mason (Glasgow University).

1.00 Lunch

Conference Disperses

BISA Inaugural Conference, 1975.

In principle, BISA has striven to be a multi-disciplinary forum since its founding, encouraging participation from the family of disciplines interested in the international. Strange was a firm proponent of this intellectual big tent policy, but she was never satisfied with the degree of participation from the family of international disciplines, particularly the lack of interest from economists and lawyers in BISA.[25] She would later defend the merits of a multi-disciplinary international studies approach in her ISA Presidential Address, 1995.[26]

24 Susan Strange, '1995 Presidential Address: ISA as a Microcosm', *International Studies Quarterly*, 39:3 (1995), p. 289.

25 Chris Brown, 'Susan Strange: A Critical Appreciation', *Review of International Studies*, 25:3 (1999), p. 533.

26 Strange, '1995 Presidential Address'.

To suggest a date, the movement towards "international studies" was fully established and mainstream in Britain when, in 1975, BISA launched the *British Journal of International Studies*, later renamed the *Review of International Studies*. This journal changed the landscape of the literature, becoming a leading journal for publishing advanced research in international studies in British academia. Its character was and has been deliberately multi-disciplinary, always in principal striving to 'reach beyond the traditional grounding of the discipline so that it reflects the changing nature of global politics, new political challenges and contemporary understandings.'[27] The ring of outposts for "international studies" in British academia, starting from the LSE Centre, with its Cambridge International Studies Series, *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, and BISA hosting the *British Journal of International Studies,* effectively made "international studies" mainstream in British academia.

Goodwin was a key figure in this development. He retired in the academic year 1977-78. In the LSE Centre for International Studies Steering Committee meeting of 6 March 1978, it was decided that 'Professor Goodwin should, if he so desires, be appointed as a life member of the Steering Committee in order to assist with the further working of the Centre.'[28]

27 *Review of International Studies*, Call for Papers, www.cambridge.org/core/journals/review-of-international-studies/information.
28 CIS Steering Committee, Minutes, 6 March 1978.

II. Steady Steering: *Directors Michael Leifer and James Mayall, 1978-1996*

The initial five-year funding from the Ford Foundation was dedicated to establishing the Centre. That goal had been fulfilled by 1972 and further funds were not forthcoming. Attempts were made by Goodwin to restart the fire, but the Ford Foundation had new priorities, and declined his proposals to renew funding. Without a ready funding source, the initial boom years of the Centre, with its explosion of research activities, came to an end. Amidst reducing numbers of supportable fellows, and the elimination of graduate student positions, James Joll wrote of 'the gloomy situation of the Centre for International Studies'.[29]

LSE and CIS Directors inherited a prestigious and innovative Centre that was in need of financial support. In 1973-75, two CIS studentships were financed by the Japan Foundation Endowment. H.A. Allen also secured an SSRC research grant. Revenue from the MSc. European Studies programme was reported to be £3,000 pounds per year. Director Caine's successor, Walter Adams, was supportive, pressing for the Centre to find funding first and foremost from outside sources, but providing small sums to support administration, the CIS Secretary Mrs. Horn's salary mostly, as well as 'rent free' office space in St. Clement's Inn Passage.

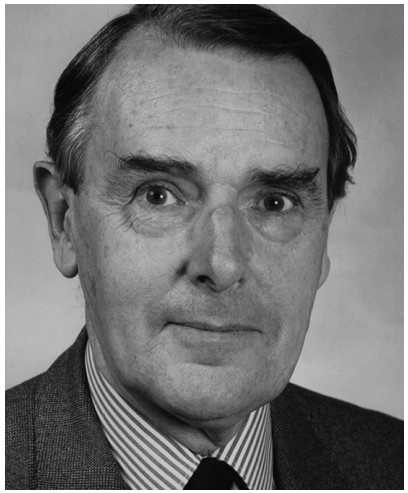
The LSE at the time was facing its own financial struggles.[30] Subsequent LSE Directors, Ralf Dahrendorf and I.G. Patel continued this minimal life-support and did not thwart the Centre, joining meetings of its Steering Committee when their schedules permitted.

29 James Joll, Correspondence, 11 May 1972.
30 Dahrendorf *LSE*, p. 418, 499-500.

St. Clement's Inn passage, 1971.

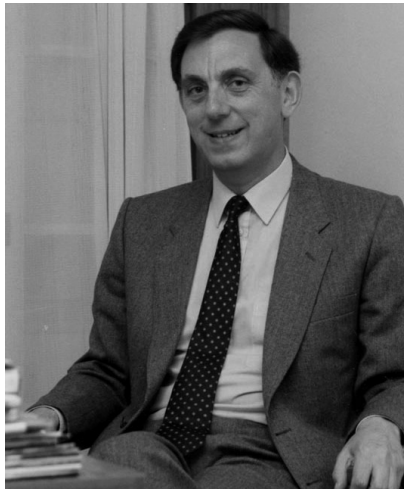
With reduced capacities, the Centre had a diminished output. Its later Directors focused on maintaining the quality of its few Fellows and its Cambridge book series. Professor Ian Nish stood as a substitute Chair of the Steering Committee in Goodwin's absence in 1978, and on again off again whenever its later Directors were unavailable. The second Director of the CIS was Michael Leifer.

In line with the Centre's traditions, he was a South East Asia specialist with a far-flung network of connections amongst practitioners therein. He was also interested in practical policy relevant questions. During this period, the Centre continued to produce its Cambridge LSE Monographs in International Studies series, with typically Soviet and East Asian specialized research topics, including Yitzhak Shichor, *The Middle East in China's Foreign Policy,* and James Mayall and Cornelia Navari's *The End of the Post-War Era: Documents on Great Power Relations 1968-1975.*



Ian Nish, 1980s.

When Leifer assumed the Director's chair, membership of the Steering Committee had doubled and keeping it steady was a primary task in maintaining the Centre's course. Philip Windsor, whose philosophical depth on Cold War questions was renowned, had been invited to join the Committee, as had the formidable Susan Strange, and the reputedly quarrelsome character of international historian Donald Cameron Watt. It would have been a difficult Committee to control. It was an intellectual powerhouse, partly due to its inter-departmental composition. It was also a pack of alpha academic personalities at the height of their careers. Leifer had the knack for saying the apparent-but-not-usually-spoken-out-loud during meetings.[31] His interjections into his colleague's discussions, like, 'Shooting himself in the foot!', would steer committee meetings.



Michael Leifer, 1980s.

31 Interview with John Kent, 23 November 2016.

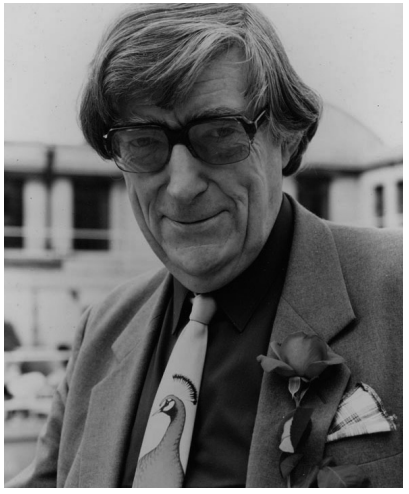
Cambridge LSE Monographs in International Studies series.

In 1971-72, James Mayall was elected to the Steering Committee, in place of Coral Bell, who left the School to take up the Chair of International Relations at Sussex University.

In 1990-91, Mayall took up the Directorship and Chair of the Centre when Michael Leifer became LSE Pro-Director. As one of the longest standing members of the Steering Committee, and with a practical approach to the subject-matter of the international, Mayall's ascension to the Director's chair was a good fit for the Centre. Mayall had been a major contributor to the Centre's activities and research output since his invitation to the Board. He had helped in liaising with its Cambridge book series editors. He also published in the series and several times with Steering

Department of International Relations 1992. James Mayall is seated third from left of the front row. Fred Halliday is third from right on the middle row.

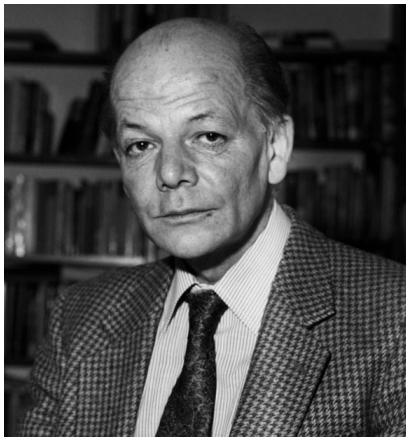
Committee member D.C. Watt as well, including working with him on the annual *Current British Foreign Policy* (1970-73). Under his Directorship the Centre kept a steady course of cultivating the international studies approach with consistent publishing output and hosting distinguished Fellows.



Donald C. Watt, 1980s.

In the year Mayall took the chair, 1991, a significant election to the Steering Committee was Fred Halliday. Halliday had been a student of D.C. Watt, but they had something of a falling out when Halliday broke from Watt's mould and made his own extraordinary path, leading to tensions in the Steering Committee.[32] By the time he joined the Steering

32 Interview with John Kent, 23 November 2016.



Philip Windsor, 1980s.

Committee he was a full professor in the Department of International Relations, not International History, and was a public intellectual of growing importance. A linguist, fluent in 12 or more languages, with a global network and reputation, and never being confined by disciplinary boundaries, Halliday embodied the values of transdisciplinarity and applied knowledge in international studies. During his time on the Steering Committee and in the Department of International Relations, he was a firm supporter of the LSE Centre for International Studies.[33]

International studies had by this point become the norm, with the ISA, BISA, the proliferation of regional associations and their journals deepening and broadening their activities and output. Amidst this global expansion of international studies, the first British outpost, the LSE CIS, stood out as an ideal place for sabbatical research. The calibre of the research Fellows in the Centre during this period is impressive. These Fellows include Andrew Linklater, Hidemi Siganami, Dennis McNamara, Robert Jackson, Mark Mazower, Mervyn Frost, Cornelia Navari, Carsten Holbraad, and Nick Rengger amongst many others. There was a veritable 'IS' community, as Nick Rengger recalls. The benefits of membership in this community were access to multi-disciplinary exchanges, often made in bi-weekly meetings of the Centre at *The Beaver's Retreat,* the LSE bar where Philip Windsor would hold court at the end of the working day.[34] Over the years, even though the *Retreat* has been retired from service, the international studies outpost at the LSE Centre has maintained this 'IS' community for a diversity of scholars from across the globe researching an immense variety of projects, free from the constraints of teaching demands and disciplinary boundaries.

During the period of 1977-1996, further Centres for international studies were established in Britain, first at Cambridge, then at Oxford. In 1996, James Mayall took up a post at Cambridge with its Centre of International Studies and carried on the expansion of international studies from there.

33 Interview with Margot Light, 26 January 2017.
34 Interview with Nicholas Rengger, 29 November 2016.

III. Staying in the Fight: *Directors Margot Light, John Kent, and Kirsten Ainley 1997-2017*

The Centre eventually came to be formally housed in the Department of International Relations, because the IR department maintained its financial support when other departments began to look for ways to trim their budgets whilst under increasing funding pressures. Despite this formal financial adjustment, the Centre maintained its multi-disciplinary identity and approach.

Margot Light.

Margot Light succeeded Mayall as Director and Chair of the Steering Committee. She was again an ideal candidate for the role. Light had been a member of the Steering Committee since Mayall had assumed the Chair. She had a publishing record in the "international studies" approach, as a specialist on Soviet and post-Soviet foreign policy.

In 1991, assisted by the British Council, she had helped recruit CIS Fellows from Russia by conducting interviews in Moscow to assess the viability of the research proposals submitted in response to a call for applications. This was the first time Russian International Relations scholars were invited to competitively apply for fellowships and conduct interviews, rather than being selected by their institutions based on political reliability. Under Light's Directorship, one Post-Doctorate Fellow position was re-opened in the Centre as well. This was an important re-opening, as post-doctorate research of a multi-disciplinary nature is, as a rule, more innovative,

not only because rising academics need to be innovative and create their own intellectual space, but because incoming generations bring in fresh questions, ideas, connections, and concerns. Leslie Vinjamuri, later Director of the Centre on Conflict, Rights and Justice at SOAS, was the first to take up the position whilst researching international human rights.

This period of the Centre, 1997-2017, produced some of the most widely read contributions from its monograph series. Edward Keene's now classic *Beyond the Anarchical Society* was published in the Cambridge LSE Monographs in International Studies Series in 2002. Karen E. Smith and Margot Light co-edited *Ethics and Foreign Policy*. Mats Berdal and Spyros Economides co-edited *United Nations Interventionism, 1991-2004*. Yet, in 2005-6, after considering overlap between its different books series, Cambridge University Press made the decision to discontinue the LSE series in international studies. This was a potential loss for international studies. The then Director of the Centre, John Kent, rescued the Centre's publishing output, however, by establishing a new contract with the Routledge LSE International Studies Series. This series lost the prestige of a university press, but if one surveys the texts published in the Routledge series, the quality and import of the research was not diminished. Christopher Coker contributed two monographs, *The Warrior Ethos,* and *Ethics in War in the 21st Century,* and Nicholas Sims contributed *The Future of Biological Disarmament* in 2009.

As of 2017, Cambridge University Press has renewed the LSE CIS International Studies series. This return has arisen largely from the collaboration of long-time Cambridge Editor John Haslam, who had worked on the original Cambridge series for many years, with the series' lead editor George Lawson, current CIS Director Kirsten Ainley and CIS Management Committee members Ayça Çubukçu and Stephen Humphreys. The renewed series stays faithful to the values inherent in international studies. It is oriented around work with an overtly international or transnational dimension that challenges disciplinary conventions, develops arguments that cannot be grasped within existing disciplines and uses scholarly inquiry as a means of addressing pressing political concerns that exceed national boundaries. The reestablishment of the series promises to sustain and extend the international studies approach in the years ahead.

Yet, the old question, about Manning's agenda of defining and distinguishing the discipline versus Goodwin's expansionist agenda, persists in academic discourse and practice. Justin Rosenberg has suggested that International Relations has failed to produce any 'big ideas' because it has not identified a distinct problematic to call its own.[35] He makes an important and persuasive case for considering the special subject-matter of International Relations to be concerned with contexts of a 'multiplicity of co-existing societies', or, as former LSE Montague Burton Professor Iver B. Neumann would put it, 'systems of polities'.[36] Today, International Relations in the UK appears to be edging towards delivering Manning's intellectual revenge, potentially carving off a distinct and autonomous realm of thought. P.T. Jackson has come to the defence of 'international studies as a meeting-place for a variety of academic disciplines', however, prioritizing the search for knowledge over academic disciplinary divisions and distinctions.[37] As such, it is a revived debate, its dividing fissure first made by Goodwin's break from Manning's approach and the turn to international studies.

The "international studies" approach has proven merits and an impressive track record of important contributions, as this history has shown. While the intellectual trajectory laid out by Rosenberg and Neumann is cogent, the reason for establishing a Centre for International Studies was never to produce big ideas or point-score for a specific discipline. Instead, it was to provide a space to re-examine fundamental assumptions about international relations, broadly defined. In 50 years, and through the work of more than 300 Fellows, the Centre has made significant strides towards achieving Goodwin's vision. The continuing high number of applications for Visiting Fellowships at the Centre bodes well for its future.

35 Rosenberg, 'International Relations in the Prison of Political Science', p. 2.
36 Ibid.; Iver B. Neumann, 'Lecture, IR100: Concepts of International Society', LSE, 2014-15.
37 Patrick Thaddeus Jackson, 'Out of one Prison, into Another? Comments on Rosenberg', *International Relations*, 31:1 (2017), pp. 83.

Appendix I: Centre Directors and Steering (later Management) Committee Members

Directors:
Geoffrey Goodwin
Michael Leifer
James Mayall
Margot Light
John Kent
Kirsten Ainley
William Callahan
Christopher Coker

Board Members:

Coral Bell
Maurice Freedman
Ghita Ionescu
D.H.N. Johnson
James Joll
Peter Lyon
Leonard B. Schapiro
Geoffrey Stern
Peter Wiles
Carol Harlow
Anthony B. Polonsky
Susan Strange
Fred Northedge
Peter Reddaway
Rosalyn Higgins
Patricia Birnie
A. Suart
Raymond Chapman
H. Tint
Ian Brownlie
Cyril Grunfeld
Ivo Lapenna
Markus Miller
D. Valentine
Vincent Wright
Howard Machin
Alan Marin
Ian Nish
Alan Sked
Gordon Smith
Paul Taylor
Donald Watt
Anthony Best
Saul Estrin
Fred Halliday
Christopher Hill
Leopold Labedz
Dominic Leiven
Steen Mangen
Max Steuer
J.F. Weiss
Philip Windsor
Brian Hindley
G. Plant
Paul Preston
Michael Burleigh
D. Bethlehem
Christopher Greenwood
McGregor Knox
Andrew Walter
Anthony Smith
David Stevenson
Michael Yahuda
Mathias Koenig-Archibugi
Daniel Chalmers
George Lawson
Karen Smith
Danny Quah
Tarak Barkawi
Catherine Boone
Ayça Çubukçu
Katerina Dalacoura
Timo Fleckenstein
Stephen Humphreys
Heather Jones
Tomila Lankina
James Morrison

Centre for International Studies

Celebrating 50 years of Research at **LSE**

The LSE Centre for International Studies

This booklet marks the 50th Anniversary of the founding of the Centre for International Studies. The Centre was one of the first major interdepartmental and interdisciplinary initiatives at LSE and was initially funded by the Ford Foundation. The primary purpose of the Centre is to encourage innovative research in international studies, broadly conceived. The Centre has hosted more than 300 visiting scholars from around the world, working on an extremely diverse range of topics. These Fellows connect the Centre to more than 80 countries through their home affiliations or research topics, and are drawn not just from universities but also from international organisations, government departments, NGOs, media organisations and think tanks.

The CIS supports both individual scholarship and, through its events programme, intellectual dialogue among communities of scholars, reflective practitioners, students and engaged members of the public. The Departments of International Relations, History, Sociology, Law, Government, Social Policy and Economics supported its creation and remain represented today in the Centre's Management Committee, along with the Department of International Development. The Centre is formally housed in the Department of International Relations but retains its interdisciplinary identity.

The booklet traces the history of the Centre through LSE's archives and interviews with key figures in its establishment and management. It tells the story of the Centre as a place of resistance against pressures towards disciplinary division in the social sciences and demonstrates the enduring importance of utilising a broad range of disciplinary outlooks and methods to confront global challenges.

More information on the Centre can be found on its website: **http://lse.ac.uk/cis**