

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 & Society

LSE Teaching Department: Department of International Relations

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

Pre-requisites: None.

Syllabus Version: 2024-12-16 (latest version is available via Moodle)

Course Description:

From the vote for Brexit to the election of Trump, 2016 was a reminder of the importance of ideas and pivotal leaders in shaping the global order. This course places these changes in a broader historical context, examining the evolution of the global order across the last several centuries. Focusing on some of the world's most influential thinkers and leaders—from Elizabeth I to Gandhi; from Keynes to Churchill; from Marx to Thatcher; and beyond—this 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 actors shape the global order?
- Do circumstances determine which ideas and which leaders come to the fore? Or do people 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. It will grapple with both positive (causal) and normative (ethical) questions.

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 some discussion, followed by a class which will allow for small-group work.

Course Structure:

- Lectures: 36 hours
- Classes: 18 hours

Formative course work:

- An essay plan/outline, submitted to the class teacher.
- A presentation in class on a topic agreed with the class teacher.

Assessment:

There are two “formative” assignments, which do not affect your final mark (grade):

- **Essay Plan:** You are invited to draft an essay plan related to the midterm essay. You may submit this to your teaching assistant to garner feedback. Your teaching assistant will explain the process in the first class.
- **In-class Presentation:** You are invited to register to give an in-class presentation, on which you will receive feedback. Your teaching assistant will explain the process in the first class.

There are two “summative” assessments, which will determine your final mark (grade):

- **Midterm Essay:** This will be an essay of 1500 words. The prompt itself, with further specifics, will be released (via the course Moodle) at 1730 on the Friday of Week 1. It must be uploaded to Moodle by 1730 on the Friday of Week 2. You will receive the mark (grade) in Week 3, prior to the final exam. The midterm essay will count for 50% of the final mark (grade).
- **Final Exam:** This will be a two-hour written exam at the end of the programme. The exam will count for 50% of the final mark (grade). The precise time and format of the exam will be circulated during the programme, though it will likely take place on the Friday of Week 3.

Reading:

The course readings are broken down into several types:

- **Required Material:** These materials are required. They relate to the lectures and the likely seminar discussions. The Reading Questions are intended to guide you through these materials.
- **Background Material:** These materials may be more or less helpful depending on each student’s level of prior knowledge and interest. They are sometimes listed for specific topics. There are also some general textbooks, listed separately below.
- **Additional Material:** These materials are relevant and interesting, particularly for students giving presentations, drafting essays, and/or considering theses down the road.

Please be deliberate about doing the essential/required readings. Note that we often assign only a specific portion of a larger text. Please also read the materials in the order in which they are presented on the reading

list (rather than the order in which you obtain them, alphabetical order, etc). This should make the reading more intelligible and manageable.

The course readings should all be available via the links below. Such links should work without problem from any system connected through the LSE network. Should you access Moodle from a computer not connected to the LSE network, you may be required to provide your LSE login and password. Unfortunately, the intellectual property regime makes disseminating ideas far more convoluted—and onerous—than it should be. Not least, links sometimes go bad in the middle of a course. We will handle these situations as quickly as we can.

Students should note that we often connect the course themes and questions to the daily news. This includes articles and editorials listed here, and it may include additional news items that appear during the course. Where the normal websites are unavailable or paywalled, students should follow the links via the LSE Library Catalogue. For instance, the *Financial Times* is available here:

https://librarysearch.lse.ac.uk/permalink/44LSE_INST/1f110cn/alma99148356407002021 .

No single book is exactly coterminous with the syllabus. The following are useful background readings:

- Ikenberry, G. John. *After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Order after Major Wars*. Princeton University Press: 2000.
- Kennan, George. *American Diplomacy*. University of Chicago Press: [1951] 1984 edition.
- Frieden, Jeffry. *Global Capitalism: Its Fall and Rise in the Twentieth Century*. Norton: 2007.

The Weekly Sequence:

These course elements are designed to be consumed in a particular sequence. For those who have done coursework in North America or the UK, this will be familiar. Students coming from other traditions may find the following approach to be helpful:

1. **Read and consider the Reading Questions for each week.**
2. **Read through the course materials in the order in which they appear below. Ideally, you will have gone through the readings prior to the lecture and class discussions. In a course like this—where there is a wide array of different materials—it is helpful to write a brief summary of the essential points of each piece while they are fresh. The Reading Questions should guide this.**
3. **Attend the lecture and class discussion. The lecture in particular will point you to essential passages in the reading, illuminate some of the more difficult aspects of the content, and, often, illustrate the core concepts with examples. The classes will give you a chance to test and apply your knowledge and insights. While we will work from history, we will always grapple with the application of the lessons of past to the present. So, be sure to draw connections to today's controversies and challenges.**

4. **Revisit—and revise—your reading notes, lecture notes, and responses to the reading questions. Write down points that remain unclear, questions you want to pose in the seminars, and your own critical reactions.**

Lecture Schedule:**1a. Parable of Paris, 1919**

- The Gauntlet
- The Peace
- The Consequences of the Peace

1b. 3 Big Questions

- Keynes's three Assumptions
- Structure versus Agency
- Ideational versus Material Causes
- Politics versus Economics
- Crafting your own answers
- 3 Questions → 3 Dimensions

2a. The Return to Mercantilism

- Introductory: The Return of Mercantilism, Today
- Constructing Mercantilism
- The Company View
- The Developmental View
- The Economic View (in brief) (bonus)
- The Security View
- Conclusion: Is Mercantilism the Future?

2b. The Origins of Liberal International Order

- Liberalism over Mercantilism: When? How?
- Conventional Accounts of the 1780s
- Another Story: Smith & Shelburne
- Conclusion

3a. The Pre-war Global Order

- The First Great Globalisation
- Keynes's Eulogy for the Pre-war Order
- Commercial Liberalism: Peace through Trade
- Rethinking the "Pax Britannica"
- "The White Man's Burden"

3b. The Great War

- To War
- A Materialist Story: Structural Power Shifts
- Dangerous Ideas
- Material Conditions + Ideas: Offense-Defense Balance
- Experience
- End

4a. Making Great Britain Great Again

- Preliminaries
- Leaving Gold: The “Silver Bullet”
- The Consequences of Versailles
- Returning to Gold
- Churchill Leads the World
- A New Story

4b. The Transformation of Liberalism

- The UK’s Shocking Gold Suspension
- The “Great Transformation” Synthesis
- A New Story
- States versus Markets: Liberalism’s Transformation
- Structures versus Agents

5. Tour Imperial War Museum (Lambeth, London)

6a. The Rise of Fascism

- Western Implosion
- Eastern Explosion
- The Fascist Vision of International Order
- The Humanitarian Consequences of Fascism

6b. Global Order and the Holocaust

- Preliminaries
- The Nazis Conspire
- Introductions
- The “Problem” & the “Solution”
- Self-Contradiction
- Elimination was Costly
- The Methods
- Adoption

7a. Generative World Wars

- Defining Global Order
- Generation
- A “mirror” to liberalism?
- The New Legal Regime

7b. Women versus the Patriarchy

- Varieties of Resistance
- Gender: ideational over material
- Where are the women?
- Constructing realities
- Changing the story
- Women Shaping Global Order
- Liberal Order after Rational Egoism (bonus)

8a. Post-War Order From Above: The Anglo-American Order

- The Puzzle: From Conflict to Cooperation
- Leadership
- The Yanks Shift toward Free Trade
- Negotiating the Postwar Order
- Creating the Postwar Monetary System
- The Genesis of the GATT
- The Ascent of the GATT
- The GATT’s Durability & Legacy

8b. Post-War Order From Below: Decolonising IR

- Introductory (bonus)
- Decolonising IR
- Rethinking “Progress”
- Gandhi’s Other Legacies
- Decolonisation at Home

9a. Marx to Marxism

- Grappling with Bolshevism
- Marx, on his own terms
- Marx’s Materialism
- Marx’s Historical Materialism
- The Revolutionary Telos
- Revolution Forestalled

- Lenin’s Interventions
- Communism at Home, Abroad

9b. The Fractured Post-War Order

- Pre-war Relations
- Wartime Relations
- The Soviet Perspective
- The Western Perspective (bonus)
- (Re)Constructing the “Periphery”

10a. Several Cold Wars

- “Containment”
- Early Attempts at Containment
- China’s Turn
- Rethinking “Containment”
- “Mr McNamara’s War”
- Détente
- The Second Cold War

10b. Liberal Triumph?

- Zooming Out
- The “End” of the Cold War
- The East will Rise Again

11a. Trade - Trajectory

- Basic IR Theory
- The WTO’s Innovations
- The WTO’s Origins
- Power-Based Bargaining
- Doha: The “Colonies” Strike Back?
- Nairobi: Back to the Future?
- “America First”

11b. The Trajectory of Money

- Building Blocks
- Global Money
- The Dollar
- The Euro
- The Renminbi

- Conclusion

12a. Wars without End(s)?

- Turning Point: September 11th
- Obama's "Change"
- Retrospective: An "Endless" War?
- American Withdrawal
- Putin's "Endless" War
- An "Endless" War in Gaza(?)

12b. Conclusion: Your Global Order

- Conceptualising Challenges
- Past: The Stories we Tell Ourselves
- Present: What can be Done?
- Future: Pursuing Solutions

Friday, Week 3 – Final Exam

Course Reading List:

Seminar 1. The 3 Big Questions

Reading Questions (b):

- To what extent do individuals meaningfully shape global order? What are the tools and mechanisms by which they might do so? Consider this with respect to an actor of your choosing (e.g. Napoleon; Gandhi; Thatcher; et al).
- What are the deeper structural variables that shape global politics?
- How do ideational and material variables interact, compete, and combine to shape global politics?
- What is typically the relationship between states and markets? What do you think *ought to be* the relationship between the two?

Required Reading (b):

- Marx, Karl. *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon*. 1852. Read the first four paragraphs of Chapter I. (It begins, “Hegel remarks somewhere...” [Link](#))
- Kelly, Jemima. “The allure — and danger — of the charismatic leader.” *The Financial Times*. 26 November 2023. [Link](#)
- Jacobs, Sam. “The Choice: Taylor Swift.” *Time*. 15 December 2023. [Link](#)
- Basu, Sulagna. “The False Dichotomy of the Material-Ideational Debate in IR Theory.” *E-International Relations*. 21 November 2019. [Link](#)
- Keynes, JM. *The General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money*. 1936. Chapter 24, only Section 1 and Section 4. [Link](#)
- Keynes, JM. *The Economic Consequences of the Peace*. 1919. Ch 3. (18 pp) [Link](#)
- Smith, Adam. *Lectures on Jurisprudence*. pp 207-209. (3 pp) [Link](#)
- Queen Elizabeth I. “Speech to the Troops at Tilbury.” (1p) 1588. [Link](#)
- Queen Elizabeth I. “The Golden Speech.” (1p) 1601. [Link](#)
- Hobbes, Thomas. *Leviathan* (London: 1651). Part I, Chapter XIII, “On the Natural Condition of Mankind.” (6 pp) [Link](#)

Additional Reading (b):

- Background: Alexander, Jesse. “Just Peace or Day of Dishonour? The Treaty of Versailles.” YouTube. 14 June 2019. [Link](#)
- Giddens, Anthony. *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration*. Oxford: Polity Press, 1984. “Introduction.” [Link](#)
- Byman, Daniel L., and Kenneth M. Pollack. “Let Us Now Praise Great Men: Bringing the Statesman Back In.” *International Security* 25, no. 4 (2001): 107-46. [Link](#)

- Locke, John. *Second Treatise of Government*. (London: 1689). Chs VIII-IX. (22 pp) [Link](#)
- North, Douglas and Barry Weingast. “Constitutions and Commitment: The Evolution of Institutions Governing Public Choice in Seventeenth-Century England.” *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 49, No. 4 (Dec., 1989), 803-832. [Link](#)
- Strange, Susan. *States and markets*. (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2015). Part I. [Link](#)

Seminar 2. Liberalism versus Mercantilism

Reading Questions (a):

- How did mercantilists view the relationship between economics and security?
- According to Schmoller, what is the relationship between political and economic development? What relevance did this relationship have for Germany in the nineteenth century?
- What was the relationship between (a) slavery and the slave trade and (b) the global ascent of Europe (in general) and the British Isles (in particular)?

Required Reading (a):

- Bonaparte, Napoleon. “The Continental System.” 21 November 1806. (2 pp) [Link](#)
- Chang, Ha-Joon. *Kicking away the ladder?: Development Strategy in historical perspective*. London: Anthem Press, 2002. Chapter 1. [Link](#)
- Williams, Eric. *Capitalism and Slavery*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1944. Ch 3, Parts A-C. (14 pp) [Link](#)
- Background: Badawi, Zeinab. *History Of Africa*. Episode 19: “Kongo and the Scramble for Africa.” [Link](#)
- “Life Aboard a Slave Ship.” The History Channel. 7 February 2019. [Link](#)
- Schmoller, Gustav von. *The Mercantile System and Its Historical Significance Illustrated Chiefly from Prussian History*. (New York: Macmillan, 1896 [1884]). Just pp 50-51; 67-77. [Link](#)

Additional Reading (a):

- Pincus, Steven. “Rethinking Mercantilism: Political Economy, the British Empire, and the Atlantic World in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries.” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 69(1), January 2012. Just pp 12-29. (17pp).
- Mun, Thomas. *England’s Treasure by Forraign Trade*. (London: Macmillan 1895 [1664]). Chs, 2, 4, 8, 21. [Link](#)
- Hamilton, Alexander. *Report on Manufactures*. (Boston: Potter Publishing 1892 [1791]). Just read pp 5-8, 23-25, 45-46, 52-56, 84. [Link](#)
- Viner, Jacob. *Essays on the Intellectual History of Economics*. Edited by Douglas A. Irwin. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991. Ch 4: “Power versus Plenty as Objectives of Foreign Policy in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries” (25 pp); Ch 11: “Mercantilist Thought” (17 pp) [Link](#)
- Cary, John. *Essay on the State of England*. (Bristol: 1695) pp 48-51; 130-141. [Link](#)

- Helleiner, Eric. “Neglected Chinese Origins of East Asian Developmentalism.” *New Political Economy* (2021). DOI: 10.1080/13563467.2021.1961217.
- Mazzucato, Mariana. “We Must Reimagine Governments as Creative Agents.” *Wired UK*. 25 January 2019. [Link](#)
- “The last known slave ship.” 60 Minutes. 19 June 2023. [Link](#)
- Redding, Steve. “Did Britain’s slave trade help drive its industrial revolution?” *Trade Talks with Chad P. Bown*. 8 December 2022. [Link](#)

Reading Questions (b):

- On what grounds did the liberals critique the mercantilists? Were these criticisms fair?
- What ideas and circumstances gave rise to the First Era of Globalisation?
- When did the UK’s approach to trade shift from mercantilism to liberalism? What drove this shift?
- What did liberals see as the relationship between trade management and international conflict?
- From the standpoint of liberal political economy, is the slave trade “a feature or a bug”? (meaning: does this follow from liberal theory or is it anathema to it?).

Required Reading (b):

- HM Treasury. “Freedom of Information Act 2000: Slavery Abolition Act 1833.” 31 January 2018. [Link](#)
- Malik, Kenan. “Let’s put an end to the delusion that Britain abolished slavery.” *The Guardian*. 11 February 2018. [Link](#)
- Smith, Adam. *The Wealth of Nations*. (London: 1776). Bk IV, Ch. 2 [Link](#)
- Smith, Adam. *The Wealth of Nations*. (London: 1776). Bk IV, Ch. 9, Sec 50-52. [Link](#)

Additional Reading (b):

- Background: Frieden, Jeffrey A. *Global capitalism: its fall and rise in the twentieth century*. 2007. Classmark: CC HF1359 F89. Part I.
- Kindleberger, Charles P. 1975. “The Rise of Free Trade in Western Europe, 1820–1875.” *Journal of Economic History* 35 (1):20–55.
- Mill, JS. *Principles of Political Economy*. 1848 II.V, “Of Slavery”; III.XVII, “On International Trade”. [Link](#)
- Viner, Jacob. *Essays on the Intellectual History of Economics*. Edited by Douglas A. Irwin. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991. Ch 8: “The Intellectual History of Laissez Faire”; Ch 10: “Adam Smith” [Link](#)
- Morrison, James Ashley. “Before Hegemony: Adam Smith, American Independence, and the Origins of the First Era of Globalization.” *International Organization* 66(3): 395-428. (2012) [Link](#)

Seminar 3. From Globalisation to (Great) War

Reading Questions (a):

- Were liberals too optimistic about the influence that shared economic interests and “rationality” exert in international relations?
- 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?
- What lessons can be learned from the mistakes and successes of the pre-war order?

Required Reading (a):

- Cobden, Richard. “On the Total and Immediate Repeal of the Corn Laws”. Speech in Manchester, 15 January 1846. In *Speeches on Questions of Public Policy by Richard Cobden, M.P.*, ed. by John Bright and J.E. Thorold Rogers (London: T.Fisher Unwin, 1908). 2 volumes. Just read chapter XX “Free Trade.” [Link](#)
- Keynes, JM. *The Economic Consequences of the Peace*. 1919. Chs 1-2. (17 pp) [Link](#)
- Angell, Norman. *The Great Illusion: A Study of the Relation of Military Power to National Advantage*. New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1909. Ch 3: “The Great Illusion.” (20 pp) [Link](#)
- Gast, John. *American Progress*. 1872. Oil on canvas. Held by the Autry Museum of the American West. [Link](#)
- Kipling, Rudyard. “The White Man’s Burden: The United States and the Philippine Islands.” 1899. [Link](#)
- Newkirk, Pamela. “Caged Congolese teen: Why a zoo took 114 years to apologise.” BBC. 20 August 2020. [Link](#)
- May, Theresa. “Joint Plenary Forum at the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting.” 17 April 2018. [Link](#)

Additional Reading (a):

- Schonhardt-Bailey, Cheryl. *From the Corn Laws to Free Trade: Interests, Ideas, and Institutions in Historical Perspective*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2006. Chapter 1. [Link](#)
- Osborne, Samuel. “5 of the worst atrocities carried out by the British Empire.” *The Independent*. 19 January 2016. [Link](#)
- Frieden, Jeffry A. 1997. “Monetary populism in nineteenth-century America: An open economy interpretation.” *Journal of Economic History* 57(2): 367-395.
- Ally, Russell. “War and Gold: The Bank of England, the London Gold Market and South Africa’s Gold, 1914-19.” *Journal of Southern African Studies* 17, no. 2 (1991): 221–38. [Link](#)

Reading Questions (b):

- What ideas and circumstances drove rising powers, like the United States and Germany, to challenge the nineteenth century liberal international order? How close are the parallels between these rising powers and those like Brazil, India, and China today?

- To what extent, and in what ways, did ideas of nationalism, military strategy, masculinity, and imperial rivalry give rise to the First World War? How did these ideational variables interact with “structural” or “material” variables?

Required Reading (b):

- Brooke, Rupert. “1914.” In *Collected Poems*. [1915]. “The Soldier.” [Link](#)
- Owen, Wilfred. “Anthem for the Doomed.” (1917) Text: [Link](#) Reading by Sean Bean: [Link](#)
- Wilson, Woodrow. “Address to a Joint Session of Congress Requesting a Declaration of War Against Germany,” April 2, 1917. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, The American Presidency Project. [Link](#)
- Wilson, Woodrow. “The Fourteen Points.” January 8, 1918. (5 pp) [Link](#)
- Orpen, William. *The Signing of Peace in the Hall of Mirrors, Versailles, 28th June 1919*. Oil on canvas. 1919. Housed at the Imperial War Museum, London. [Link](#)

Additional Reading (b):

- Background: Kennan, George. *American Diplomacy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984 [1951]). Ch 4: “World War I.” (19 pp).
- Biography of Rupert Brooke via Oxford DNB. [Link](#)
- Owen, Wilfred. “Dulce et Decorum Est.” [1917-18] [Link](#)
- Van Evera, Stephen. “The Cult of the Offensive and the Origins of the First World War.” *International Security* 9:1 (Summer 1984), pp. 58-107. Just skim to get main argument. (49 pp) [Link](#)
- Sagan, Scott D. “1914 Revisited: Allies, Offense, and Instability.” *International Security* 11, no. 2 (1986): 151-75. (24 pp) [Link](#)
- Weaver, Judith L. “Edith Bolling Wilson as First Lady: A Study in the Power of Personality, 1919-1920.” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 15, no. 1 (1985): 51-76. [Link](#)

Seminar 4. Liberalism’s Crises and (Great) Transformation

Reading Questions (a):

- What efforts did policymakers make to recreate the pre-war international order? Why did they fail?
- What roles were played by ideational and material variables in the causes of the Great Depression? What roles did these factors play in the responses to this crisis?
- To what extent was Keynes a mercantilist? What role did mercantilist theory play in Keynes’s approach to international relations?

Required Reading (a):

- Mundell, Robert. “A Reconsideration of the Twentieth Century.” Address given upon receipt of the Nobel Prize. 10 December 1999. [Link](#)

- Churchill, Winston. Speech on the Gold Standard Bill. House of Commons. 4 May 1925. (4 pp) [Link](#)

Additional Reading (a):

- Eichengreen, Barry. *Globalizing capital: a history of the international monetary system*. 2008. Chapter 3. [Link](#)
- Keynes, JM. *The Economic Consequences of the Peace*. 1919. Chs 4-6. [Link](#)
- Morrison, James Ashley. *England's Cross of Gold: Keynes, Churchill, and the Governance of Economic Beliefs*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2021. Ch 1: "Genesis and Exodus: The Tragedy of England's Return to Gold"; Ch 2: "The Road to Calvary: From Orthodoxy to Theocracy." [Link](#)
- Keynes, JM. "The Economic Consequences of Mr Churchill." July 1925. In *Collected Writings*. Edited by Elizabeth Johnson and Donald Moggridge. Volume IX: *Essays in Persuasion*. (23 pp) [Link](#)
- Simmons, Beth A. *Who adjusts?: domestic sources of foreign economic policy during the interwar years*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994. Chapter 2, "The Interwar Gold Standard." [Link](#)

Reading Questions (b):

- Are economists like Keynes, Mundell, and Eichengreen right when they suggest that the (massive!) problems of the 1930s could have been avoided if the gold standard had been abandoned in the 1920s?
- What can be said for the benefits of a system that constrains the modern authorities, as the gold standard was designed to do?
- What lessons does the gold standard teach about "modern" forms of money like bitcoin?

Required Reading (b):

- Keynes, JM. "The End of the Gold Standard." 27 September 1931. In *Collected Writings*. Edited by Elizabeth Johnson and Donald Moggridge. Volume IX: *Essays in Persuasion*. (5 pp) [Link](#)
- Keynes, JM. *The General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money*. 1936. Ch 23, Parts I-V. (19 pp) [Link](#)
- Morrison, James Ashley. "Restoring the Gold Standard, Revisited" in *England's Cross of Gold: Keynes, Churchill, and the Governance of Economic Beliefs*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2021. pp 301-307. [Link](#)

Additional Reading (b):

- Ruggie, John Gerard. "International Regimes, Transactions, and Change: Embedded Liberalism in the Postwar Economic Order." *International organization* 36, no. 2 (1982): 379–415. [Link](#)
- Morrison, James Ashley. "Shocking Intellectual Austerity: The Role of Ideas in the Demise of the Gold Standard in Britain." 2016. *International Organization*, 70(1), 175-207. doi:10.1017/S0020818315000314.

Seminar 5. Museum Reactions; Essay Prep

Reading Questions (a):

- 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 (a):

- Kennedy, Maev. “Imperial War Museum’s new look at a century of warfare.” *The Guardian*. 16 July 2014. [Link](#)
- Oliver, John. “Museums.” *Last Week Tonight*. HBO: 3 October 2022. [Link](#)
- [In lieu of additional reading for today, please choose an essay topic and draft an essay plan for the midterm essay.].

Seminar 6. Grappling with Fascism

Reading Questions (a):

- 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?
- Compare and contrast fascism and liberalism on the following issues: (a) the individual versus the community; (b) rights for minorities; (c) international law; (d) state sovereignty; (e) struggle and violence; and (f) the relationship between wealth and security?
- 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 prior to the First World War?
- What ideational and material variables 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 (a):

- Hitler, Adolf. “On National Socialism and World Relations.” Speech delivered in the German Reichstag, January 30, 1937. (30 pp) [Link](#) [LSE Library](#)
- “The Hossbach Memorandum,” in *Documents on German Foreign Policy, 1918-1945*, series D, vol. 1 (Washington: United States Government Printing Office), pp. 29-39. (10 pp) [Link](#)
- Hitler, Adolf. Speech delivered at the Berlin Sports Palace, January 30, 1941. [Link](#)
- Orwell, George. Review of Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*. March, 1940. [Link](#)
- Memoranda from Japanese Imperial Conference, September 1941. Appendices 3, 4, & 5. (7 pp) [Link](#)

Additional Reading (a):

- Bullock, Allan, “Hitler and the Origins of the Second World War,” in Wm. Roger Louis, ed., *The Origins of the Second World War: A. J. P. Taylor and His Critics* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1972), pp. 117-45. (28 pp).
- Sagan, Scott D. “The Origins of the Pacific War,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, Vol. XVIII, No. 4 (Spring 1988), pp. 893-922. (29 pp) [Link](#)
- Tharoor, Ishaan. “What George Orwell said about Hitler’s Mein Kampf.” *The Washington Post*. 25 February 2015. [Link](#)
- “‘Mein Kampf is the Shell, We’re Removing the Fuse.’” Interview of Christian Hartmann by Felix Bohr and Steffen Winter. Translated from the German by Ella Ornstein. *Der Spiegel*. 23 May 2012. [Link](#)

Reading Questions (b):

- How does Arendt’s characterisation of totalitarian political-economic systems compare to the view advanced by Schmoller? Which describes Nazi Germany better?
- “While Hitler and Stalin were both monstrous leaders, Arendt is wrong to prioritise their ‘totalitarianism’ at the expense of the key distinctions between their fascist and communist ideologies.” Discuss.

Required Reading (b):

- “The Wannsee Protocol,” January 20, 1942. [Link](#)
- Arendt, Hannah. *The Origins of Totalitarianism*. Ch 12.1 “The So-Called Totalitarian State.” 1958 ed. (30 pp) [Link](#)
- Evans, Gavin. “The unwelcome revival of ‘race science.’” *The Guardian*. 18 March 2018. [Link](#)
- Davies, Caroline. “Imperial War Museums gallery to question way Holocaust understood.” *The Guardian*. 27 January 2021. [Link](#)

Additional Reading (b):

- *Conspiracy*. 2001. Directed by Frank Pierson. HBO Films, in association with the BBC. [Link](#)
- Fink, Ida. “A Conversation.” In *A Scrap of Time and Other Stories*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1989. [Link](#)
- Fink, Ida. “A Spring Morning.” In *A Scrap of Time and Other Stories*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1989. [Link](#)

Seminar 7. Generating a New World Order

Reading Questions (a):

- How did the Allies characterise the nature of the challenge posed by the fascists? On what points did they differ?

- How did Franklin 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 truer—or less true—for the economic positions of the other leading powers (such as Britain, Germany, France, and the USSR)?
- When considering the UN Declaration of Human Rights, what do you find to be pleasantly surprising? What do you find to be disappointing?
- “Declarations such as the UN Declaration of Human Rights are, at best, mere parchment barriers. At worst, they simply reflect the narrow interests of particular privileged elites.” Discuss.

Required Reading (a):

- Marhoefer, Laurie. “The forgotten origins of the modern gay rights movement in WWI.” *The Conversation*: 12 May 2017. [Link](#)
- Churchill, Winston. “War Speech.” Speech before the House of Commons, delivered September 3, 1939. [Link](#)
- Eisenhower, Dwight D. “Order of the Day.” Statement given to Allied invading troops on D-Day, June 6, 1944. [Link](#)
- Jackson, Justice Robert H. “Statement on War Trials Agreement.” August 12, 1945. [Link](#)
- Roosevelt, Eleanor. “The Struggle for Human Rights.” Sorbonne, Paris, 28 September 1948. [Link](#)
- United Nations. *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. 1948. [Link](#)
- United Nations. “Women Who Shaped the Universal Declaration.” Accessed 8 June 2023. [Link](#)

Additional Reading (a):

- Churchill, Winston. “The Munich Agreement.” Speech before the House of Commons, delivered October 5, 1938. [Link](#)
- Chamberlain, Neville. Radio broadcast announcing state of war with Germany. 3 September 1939.
- Churchill, Winston. “Their Finest Hour.” Speech before the House of Commons, delivered 18 June 1940. [Link](#)

Reading Questions (b):

- Using cases of your choice, illustrate how women (and/or other underrepresented groups) have been (i) *excluded* and (ii) *elided* from the shaping of global order.
- How did women shape the World Wars? How has the position of women in the global *order been shaped by* the World Wars?
- Do men and women approach IR differently? In so far as they do, how will women’s advance change global order?
- “Where are the women,” today?

Required Reading (b):

- Background: Butler, Judith. “Gender Theory, Explained.” Big Think+ Legends. 8 June 2023. [Link](#)
- Background: Hutchings, Kimberly. “Feminism and International Relations.” 3 October 2014. Video recorded for the Open University. [Link](#)
- Enloe, Cynthia H. *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*. 2nd ed. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014. Chapter 1. (30 pp) [Link](#)
- Javdani, Mohsen. “The way to fix bias in economics is to recruit more women.” *Financial Times*. 25 February 2019. [Link](#)
- Essex County Recruiting Committee. “Murdered by the Huns.” c.1915. (British recruitment poster featuring Edith Cavell.) [Link](#)
- Stoddard, Katy. “How the Guardian reported the death of Edith Cavell.” *The Guardian*. 16 October 2015. [Link](#)
- “Faithful Unto Death - Queen Alexandra unveils Nurse Cavell memorial. Oct 12th, 1915.” British Pathé. [Link](#)
- History of the Edith Cavell Memorial. Historic England. [Link](#)
- Singh, Anita. “Revealed: New evidence that executed wartime nurse Edith Cavell’s network was spying.” *The Telegraph*. 12 September 2015. [Link](#)
- The Royal Mint. “The Royal Mint honours Edith Cavell.” 27 May 2015. [Link](#)
- HM Treasury. “Edith Cavell commemorative coin marks 100th anniversary of her death.” 12 October 2015. [Link](#)
- King, Gilbert. “Eleanor Roosevelt and the Soviet Sniper.” *Smithsonian Magazine* 21 February 2013. [Link](#)
- Background: Aleksandra Wisniewska, Billy Ehrenberg-Shannon, and Sarah Gordon. “Gender pay gap: how women are short-changed in the UK.” *Financial Times* 25 September 2020. [Link](#)
- Thomas, Daniel and Oliver Hawkins. “Nearly 80 percent of UK employers pay men more than women.” *Financial Times*. 5 April 2023. [Link](#)
- Leach, Anna, Federica Cocco and Caroline Nevitt. “Work out your personal gender pay gap.” *Financial Times* 10 November 2017. [Link](#)

Additional Reading (b):

- Background: Griffin, Penny. “Refashioning IPE: What and How Gender Analysis Teaches International (global) Political Economy.” *Review of International Political Economy* 14, no. 4 (2007): 719-36. [Link](#)
- Teele, Dawn Langan. *Forging the Franchise: The Political Origins of the Women’s Vote*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018. Ch 1. [Link](#)
- Criado Perez, Caroline. “The deadly truth about a world built for men – from stab vests to car crashes.” *The Guardian*. 23 February 2019. [Link](#)
- Hutchings, Kimberly, and Patricia Owens. “Women Thinkers and the Canon of International Thought: Recovery, Rejection, and Reconstitution.” *American Political Science Review* 115, no. 2 (2021): 347–59. doi:10.1017/S0003055420000969. [Link](#)

- Winkler, Elizabeth. “Was shakespeare a woman?” *The Atlantic*. June 2019. [Link](#)
- Slaughter, Anne-Marie. “Political good girls are fighting a losing battle: Female candidates still follow rules that their male competitors gleefully ignore.” *Financial Times*. 25 April 2019. [Link](#)

Seminar 8. Whose Postwar Global Order?

Reading Questions (a):

- Describe the role of (a) ideas; (b) domestic institutions; (c) interests, and (d) power in prompting the Allies to embrace re-globalisation in the 1930s and after the Second World War.

Required Reading (a):

- Kindleberger, Charles P. *The World in Depression, 1929-1939*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973. pp 288-300. (12 pp) [Link](#)
- Roosevelt, Franklin D. First Inaugural Address. 4 March 1933. [Link](#)
- The Atlantic Charter. August 14, 1941. (1 p) [Link](#)
- International Monetary Fund. *Joint statement by Experts of United and Associated Nations on the Establishment of an International Stabilisation Fund*. April, 1944. (10 pp) [Link](#)
- Gopal, Priyamvada. “Why can’t Britain handle the truth about Winston Churchill?” *The Guardian*. 17 March 2021. [Link](#)

Additional Reading (a):

- Bailey, Michael, Judith Goldstein, and Barry Weingast. “The Institutional Roots of American Trade Policy: Politics, Coalitions, and International Trade.” *World Politics* 49, no. 3 (1997): 309-38. (20 pp) [Link](#)
- Hiscox, Michael J. “The Magic Bullet? The RTAA, Institutional Reform, and Trade Liberalization.” *International Organization* 53, no. 4 (1999): 669-98. (21 pp) [Link](#)
- Irwin, Douglas A., Petros C. Mavroidis, and Alan O. Sykes. *The Genesis of the GATT*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008. Introduction, 1.1-1.3, 1.7-1.8, 1.12. [Link](#)
- Ikenberry, G. John. *After Victory*. Ch 6: “The Settlement of 1945.” (52 pp) [Link](#)
- Keynes, JM. “Proposals for an International Currency Union.” 2nd Draft. November 18, 1941. In *Collected Writings*. Edited by Donald Moggridge. Volume 25, pp 42-66. (24 pp) [Link](#)
- Hayek, FA. *The Road to Serfdom*. Ch 15, “The Prospects of International Order”. (20 pp) [Link](#)

Reading Questions (b):

- Why was Gandhi termed “Mahatma”? Do you agree with this designation?
- What did Gandhi mean by “self 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 over the last one hundred years, how successful has Gandhi been in achieving each objective?

- 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?
- What would Gandhi think about the concept and pursuit of “sustainable development”? What would he think about the climate crisis?
- In his critique of Gandhi, Orwell invokes the challenge that the Holocaust brings to pacifists: “If you are not prepared to take life, you must often be prepared for lives to be lost in some other way.” In this timeless debate, do you side with Gandhi or Orwell?

Required Reading (b):

- Gandhi, Mohandas K. *Hind Swaraj or Indian Home Rule*. (Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House, 1938 [1909]). Read all but Chs 2-3, 9, 15, and appendices. [Link](#)
- Naidu, Sarojini. “The Gift of India.” 1917. [Link](#)
- Churchill, Winston. “Our Duty in India.” Speech given at Albert Hall, March 18, 1931. [Link](#)
- Re-read: Kipling, Rudyard. “The White Man’s Burden: The United States and the Philippine Islands.” [1899] [Link](#)
- Review: Gast, John. *American Progress*. 1872. Oil on canvas. Held by the Autry Museum of the American West. [Link](#)
- Kipling, Rudyard. “If–.” [1910] [Link](#)

Additional Reading (b):

- Izzard, Eddie. *Dress to Kill*. 1999. [Link](#)
- Anil, Pratinav. “‘War Orgasms’: Assessing the Churchill balance sheet.” [Review of Tariq Ali’s *Winston Churchill: His Times, His Crimes*.] *History Today* 72: 6, June 2022. [Link](#)
- Strimpel, Zoe. “How far should reparative justice go?” *Analysis*. BBC. 24 July 2023. [Link](#)
- Redden, Elizabeth. “Painting over Kipling.” *Inside Higher Ed*. 20 July 2018. [Link](#)
- Mbembe, Achille. *On the Postcolony*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001. “Introduction: Time on the Move.” [Link](#)
- Long, William J. *A Buddhist Approach to International Relations: Radical Interdependence*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021. [Link](#)
- Chakrabarty, Dipesh. *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*. “Introduction.” [Link](#)
- Williams, Eric. 1944. *Capitalism and Slavery*. UNC Press Books. Chapter 2. [Link](#)
- Mishra, Pankaj. *Age of anger: A history of the present*. Macmillan, 2017. Prologue.
- Bhambra, Gurinder K. “Relations of Extraction, Relations of Redistribution: Empire, Nation, and the Construction of the British Welfare State.” *The British journal of sociology* 73, no. 1 (2022): 4–15. [Link](#)
- *Mad Men*. AMC. Clip of Peggy and Don in a Hierarchy. [Link](#)

- Singh, Sunny. “Why the lack of Indian and African faces in Dunkirk matters.” *The Guardian*. 1 August 2017. [Link](#)
- Orwell, George. “Benefit of Clergy: Some Notes on Salvador Dali.” *The Saturday Book* for 1944, 1944. [Link](#)
- Orwell, George. “Reflections on Gandhi.” *The Partisan Review*, January 1949. [Link](#)

Seminar 9. From Marx to Cold War

Reading Questions (a):

- What are the essential differences between materialism and historical materialism? Is it possible to be a “materialist” without also being a “historical materialist”?
- Explain a case of your choice—in international relations, broadly construed—using Marx’s materialist method.
- Marx argues that the superstructures—from religious beliefs to art, from political and legal systems to concepts of love and beauty—are all based on an underlying material substructure. Do you agree? Defend your answer using illustrative examples of your choosing (e.g. specific laws; moral codes; works of art; etc).
- 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?
- Is Marx’s communist revolution yet to come? What evidence suggests that it might be so? What evidence suggests that it is not so?

Required Reading (a):

- Marx, Karl. *The German Ideology*. (Moscow: 1932 [1846]). “Preface” [Link](#)
- Marx, Karl. *The German Ideology*. (Moscow: 1932 [1846]). “First Premises of the Materialist Method” [Link](#)
- Marx, Karl. *The German Ideology*. (Moscow: 1932 [1846]). “History: Fundamental Conditions” [Link](#)
- Marx, Karl. *The German Ideology*. (Moscow: 1932 [1846]). “Private Property and Communism” [Link](#)
- Marx, Karl. *The German Ideology*. (Moscow: 1932 [1846]). Just the first four paragraphs under: “Conclusions from the Materialist Conception of History” [Link](#)
- Marx, Karl. *The German Ideology*. (Moscow: 1932 [1846]). “Ruling Class and Ruling Ideas” [Link](#)
- Engels, Friedrich and Karl Marx. *The Communist Manifesto*. In *Capital, The Communist Manifesto, and other writings of Karl Marx*. Edited by Max Eastman. (New York: Carlton House, 1932). Just these sections: [Opening]; “I. Bourgeois and Proletarians”; “IV. Position of the Communists in Relation to the Various Existing Opposition Parties” [Link](#)
- Lenin, VI. *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*. (Sydney: Resistance Books, 1999 [1917]). Read (in this order): p 75, 119-120, 83-89; 91-92; 105-07; and 108. [Link](#)

Additional Reading (a):

- Background: Flanders, Stephanie. “Masters of Money: Karl Marx.” BBC. 30 Jan 2016. [Link](#)
- Orwell, George. *The Road to Wigan Pier*. London: Victor Gollancz, 1937. Chapters 2, 8, 13. [Link](#)
- Trotsky, Leon. *The Revolution Betrayed*. 1937. Appendix: “Socialism in One Country.” [Link](#)

Reading Questions (b):

- How does Marx’s communism compare to the versions of communism that took hold in (a) the USSR, (b) Mao’s China, and (c) Nkrumah’s Ghana? Did these modifications follow from new ideas or the dictates of varied circumstances?
- In what way(s) is Marx most relevant today?

Required Reading (b):

- Nkrumah, Kwame. *Neo-Colonialism, the Last Stage of imperialism*. Thomas Nelson & Sons, Ltd., London. 1965. Just read “Introduction.” [Link](#)
- Mao Zedong. *Combat Liberalism*. (Seattle: Fanshen Books, 1967) 4th edition [Originally written September 7, 1937]. [Link](#)
- Kahlo, Frida. “Self-Portrait Dedicated to Leon Trotsky.” 1937. [Link](#)
- Kahlo, Frida. “The Two Fridas.” 1939. [Link](#)
- Angelou, Maya. “Still I Rise.” In *And Still I Rise: A Book of Poems*. (London: Virago, 1986). [Link](#)
- Frank, Andre Gunder. “The Development of Underdevelopment.” In *The Globalization and Development Reader: Perspectives on Development and Global Change*, edited by J. Timmons Roberts, Amy Bellone Hite, and Nitsan Chorev. second (2014): 105–115. [Link](#)
- Wallerstein, Immanuel. 1993. “The world-system after the cold war.” *Journal of Peace Research*, 30(1), pp. 1-6. [Link](#)

Additional Reading (b):

- Trickey, Erick. “The Forgotten Story of the American Troops Who Got Caught Up in the Russian Civil War.” *Smithsonian Magazine*. 12 February 2019. [Link](#)
- Cardoso, Fernando Henrique and Enzo Faletto. *Dependency and development in Latin America*. Translated by Marjory Mattingly Urquidi. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979. [Link](#)
- London School of Economics & Political Science. “Debating [Picketty’s] *Capital and Ideology*.” 26 April 2021. Featuring Dr Poornima Paidipaty (Chair); Speakers: Professor Gurminder Bhambra, Dr Jens Lerche, Dr Sanjay G. Reddy, Professor Diego Sánchez-Ancochea, Dr Nora Waitkus; and Thomas Picketty (respondent). [Link](#)

Seminar 10. The Several Cold Wars—and “After”

Reading Questions (a):

- What, according to Kennan, are the “sources of Soviet conduct”? What was the role of things like (a) national character, (b) communist ideology, (c), the distribution of power, and (d) the experience of the Second World War?
- What did Kennan think regarding the possibility of a war with Russia? What did he propose as the US security strategy vis-a-vis Russia?
- To what extent did Churchill and Kennan describe the Cold War? And to what extent did they help to construct it?
- How much agency did Kennedy and Khrushchev, as individuals, enjoy in the context of the Cuban Missile Crisis?

Required Reading (a):

- Churchill, Winston. “Sinews of Peace (Iron Curtain).” Commencement address given at Westminster College, Fulton, Missouri, March 5, 1946. [Link](#)
- Kennan, George. “The sources of Soviet conduct.” *Foreign Affairs* (July 1947). (10 pp) [Link](#)
- Kennan, George. “America and the Russian Future.” *Foreign Affairs* (April 1951) [Link](#)
- Eisenhower, Dwight D. Remarks from News Conference in which Domino Theory Principle was Presented. April 7, 1954. (5 pp) [Link](#)
- Kennedy, John F. Address to the Nation. October 22, 1962. (15 pp) [Link](#)
- Deng Xiaoping. Speech before the U.N. General Assembly. April 10, 1974. [Link](#)

Additional Reading (a):

- Frank, Andre Gunder. *Latin America: underdevelopment or revolution: essays on the development of underdevelopment and the immediate enemy*. 1996. [Link](#)
- “NSC-68: United States Objectives and Programs for National Security.” April 14, 1950. Excerpts. (10 pp) [Link](#)
- Gaddis, John Lewis, “NSC-68 and the Korean War,” in *Strategies of Containment*. 1982. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 89-126. [Link](#) (37 pp)
- *The Fog of War: Eleven Lessons from the Life of Robert S. McNamara*. Directed by Errol Morris. 2003. Transcript via: [Link](#)
- Cukier, Kenneth and Viktor Mayer-Schönberger. “The Dictatorship of Data: Robert McNamara epitomizes the hyper-rational executive led astray by numbers.” *MIT Technology Review*. 31 May 2013. [Link](#)

Reading Questions (b):

- 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?

- To what extent has the Cold War actually ended? (Defend your response with examples and argumentation.).

Required Reading (b):

- Fukuyama, Francis. “The End of History?” *The National Interest*. Summer 1989. [Link](#)
- Bush, George, Mikhail Gorbachev, Margaret Thatcher, Francois Mitterrand, Brian Mulroney, and Fidel Castro. “What Did We End the Cold War For?” *New Perspectives Quarterly* 13, no. 1 (1996): 18-28. (10 pp) [Link](#)
- Putin, Vladimir. Interview. *Financial Times*. 28 June 2019. [Link](#)
- Tolokonnikova, Nadezhda. Interview with Lawrence O’Donnell. *MSNBC*. 7 November 2017. [Link](#)
- Imperial War Museum. “Why Russia took Crimea first.” 22 February 2023. [Link](#)
- Anghel, Veronica and Dietlind Stolle. “In praise of reality, not realism: An answer to Mearsheimer.” *EUIdeas*. 28 June 2022. [Link](#)

Additional Reading (b):

- Ikenberry, G. John. *After Victory*. Ch 7: “After the Cold War.” [Link](#)
- Mahbubani, Kishore. “Obama in Asia: West Looks East After the ‘End of History’.” *New Perspectives Quarterly*. Winter (2010). [Link](#)
- Huntington, Samuel. “The Clash of Civilizations?” *Foreign Affairs* (Summer 1993). [Link](#)
- Fukuyama, Francis. “The ‘End Of History’ 20 Years Later.” *New Perspectives Quarterly*. Winter (2010) [Link](#)
- Dafe, Florence. 2019. “Fuelled Power: Oil, Financiers and Central Bank Policy in Nigeria.” *New Political Economy* 24 (5): 641–58. [Link](#)
- Mearsheimer, John J. “The causes and consequences of the Ukraine war.” A lecture delivered at the The Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, 16 June 2022. [Link](#)
- Kostelka, Filip. “John Mearsheimer’s lecture on Ukraine: Why he is wrong and what are the consequences.” *EUIdeas*. 11 July 2022. [Link](#)

Seminar 11. The Trajectory of the Global Economic Order

Reading Questions (a):

- How have the evolution of US interests and the change in its relative power shaped the global order?
- Is the WTO defunct?
- Is Trump’s approach to foreign economic policy best described as “neo-mercantilist”? What are the most important similarities—and differences—between his approach and those approaches of the mercantilists of the past?

- Did Trump’s foreign policy represent a temporary deviation from the norms of global order or the start of a new normal? In what ways does Biden’s approach compare and contrast to the approach embraced by Trump?

Required Reading (a):

- Barton, John H., et al. *The Evolution of the Trade Regime: Politics, Law, and Economics of the GATT and the WTO*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006. Ch 1. “Political Analysis of the Trade Regime.” (26 pp). [Link](#)
- Williams, Aime. “Persistence of Donald Trump’s China tariffs frustrates US business.” *Financial Times*. 3 June 2021. [Link](#)
- Davis, Christina L. “It is Up to China to Save the Global Trading System.” *Financial Times*. 9 March 2018. [Link](#)
- Williams, Aime and Daniel Dombey. “US wields \$2bn tariff threat against 6 nations over digital taxes.” *Financial Times*. 2 June 2021. [Link](#)
- Background: Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala, Katherine Tai, and Pamela Coke-Hamilton with Soumaya Keynes and Rachana Shanbhogue on the podcast *Money Talks*. Episode entitled “The new logic of trade.” 6 October 2021. [Link](#)
- Okonjo-Iweala, Ngozi. “Interview on *Hard Talk* with Stephen Sackur.” BBC. 17 January 2023. [Link](#)

Additional Reading (a):

- Navarro, Peter. “The Trump Doctrine: Peace Through Strength.” *The National Interest*. 31 March 2016. [Link](#)
- Romans, Christine, et al. “Trump Launches Trade War Against China.” with commentary from Catherine Rampell and Stephen Moore. CNN. 6 July 2018. [Link](#)
- Peterson, John. 2018. “Structure, Agency and Transatlantic Relations in the Trump Era.” *Journal of European Integration* 40 (5): 637–52. [Link](#)
- Thompson, Helen. “Inevitability and Contingency: The Political Economy of Brexit.” *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 19, no. 3 (August 2017): 434–49. [Link](#)
- May, Theresa. Speech at Lancaster House. 17 January 2017. [Link](#)
- Langley, William, Bethan Staton, and Eleanor Olcott. “Harrow Beijing school loses its hallowed British branding.” *Financial Times*. 16 May 2022. [Link](#)
- Romei, Valentina and John Reed. “The Asian century is set to begin.” *Financial Times*. 26 March 2019. [Link](#) @ipe

Reading Questions (b):

- What currency and/or monetary system is best positioned to replace the US dollar as the “global money” of the future?
- Is Bitcoin radically overvalued in the market? Is it radically undervalued? Defend your answer.

Required Reading (b):

- Ai Weiwei. Editorial on the Belt and Road Initiative. *The Guardian*. 19 March 2022. [Link](#)
- Riordan, Primrose and Nicolle Liu. “Hong Kong’s leader has ‘piles of cash’ at home after US sanctions.” *Financial Times*. 29 November 2020. [Link](#)
- Choyleva, Diana. “China advances in challenge to dollar hegemony.” *Financial Times*. 1 July 2021. [Link](#)
- Quick, Becky. “Interview with Warren Buffett on Bitcoin.” *CNBC*. 7 May 2018. [Link](#)
- Sharma, Ruchir. “What strong gold says about the weak dollar.” *Financial Times*. 23 April 2023. [Link](#) [Note: this is an opinion piece by the chair of Rockefeller International.]
- Wolf, Martin. “A New World of Currency Disorder Looms.” *Financial Times*. 29 March 2022. [Link](#)
- Stognei, Anastasia. “Russia embraces China’s renminbi in face of western sanctions.” *Financial Times*. 26 March 2023. [Link](#)

Additional Reading (b):

- Cohen, Benjamin J. *The Future of Money*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006. Ch 1. [Link](#)
- Eichengreen, Barry. *Exorbitant Privilege: The Rise and Fall of the Dollar and the Future of the International Monetary System*. Oxford University Press USA - OSO, 2011. Ch 1 and Ch 7. [Link](#)
- Giles, Chris. “Mark Carney calls for global monetary system to replace the dollar.” *Financial Times*. 23 August 2019. [Link](#)
- McNally, Christopher A., and Julian Gruin. 2017. “A Novel Pathway to Power? Contestation and Adaptation in China’s Internationalization of the RMB.” *Review of International Political Economy* 24 (4): 599–628. [Link](#)
- McDowell, Daniel and David A. Steinberg. 2017. “Systemic Strengths, Domestic Deficiencies: The Renminbi’s Future as a Reserve Currency.” *Journal of Contemporary China*. 26 (108): 801-819. [Link](#)

Seminar 12. Whither Global Order?

Reading Questions (a):

- 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 redefine 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?
- Will the responses to COVID-19 come to represent a temporary deviation from the norms of global order or the start of a new normal?

- What are the greatest challenges to the current global order? In what areas is change most likely? What actors are best positioned to precipitate these changes? How might they precipitate them?

Required Reading (a):

- Bush, George W. “Address to a Joint Session of Congress and the American People.” September 20, 2001. [Link](#)
- Bush, George W. “National Security Strategy of the United States of America.” 17 September 2002. (Skip Ch 9.) (30 pp) [Link](#)
- Obama, Barack. “A New Beginning.” Speech delivered in Cairo, Egypt, 4 June 2009. [Link](#)
- Junod, Tom. “The Lethal Presidency of Barack Obama.” *Esquire*. August 2012. [Link](#)
- McNamara, Kathleen R., and Abraham L. Newman. “The Big Reveal: COVID-19 and Globalization’s Great Transformations.” *International Organization*, 2020, 1–19. doi:10.1017/S0020818320000387 [Link](#)
- “How COVID-19 could change the financial world order.” *The Economist*. May 2020. [Link](#)

Additional Reading (a):

- Anderson, Stuart. “Economists Say ‘Economic Nationalism’ Is Economic Nonsense.” *Forbes*. 25 February 2017. [Link](#)
- Obama, Barack. Remarks by the President on Winning the Nobel Peace Prize. October 9, 2009. [Link](#)
- Carty, Anthony. “The Iraq Invasion as a Recent United Kingdom ‘Contribution to International Law.’” *European Journal of International Law* 16, no. 1 (2005): 143-51. (8 pp) [Link](#)
- Dill, Janina. “The 21st century belligerent’s trilemma,” *European Journal of International Law*, 26, no. 1 (2015). (26 pp) [Link](#)
- Morrison, James Ashley. “Must this Brexit Break Britain?” 18 July 2016. [Link](#)
- Kirshner, Jonathan. “America, America.” *Los Angeles Review of Books*. 15 January 2017. [Link](#)

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