

International Studies 602:
**Liberalism, Socialism, Nationalism:
Re-readings for the Twenty-First Century**

Formerly 216 Ingraham (now Blackboard Collaborate Ultra on Canvas)

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Office hours: T (10-11), R (12:30 to 1:30), and by appointment
(we can do this via telephone or BBC Ultra)

Course description: Revised version for weeks remaining after 3/12/2020 (midterm) due to COVID-19

This course is an interdisciplinary seminar, based upon the Socratic method. It will incorporate mainstay historical texts on standard philosophical and ideological precepts of our era and contemporary riffs on how those concepts are being interpreted and utilized—often without reflection. Thus, the focus will primarily be on advanced industrial nations of today’s European Union (January 21, 2020) and the U.S., where those ideologies first developed in the late eighteenth century. Up to one third of our texts will be historical; however, much will be drawn from very contemporary (2019 and 2020) attempts to explain abrupt changes in our notions of social organization (neoliberalism, citizenship, nationality, capitalism, etc.) and the very language we utilize to explain these changes. This is particularly complex at present because of virulent political polarization, and trends toward utilizing these terms as insults in the age of social media as purveyor of “truth.”

The approach is composed of a “history of ideas” along with some theoretical framework from International Relations theory in Political Science. While the disciplines of history and political science are often at odds, we will try to take the best from each—the context of past decisions from history without drawing mistaken historical analogies, and the search for objective frameworks to analyze governments from political science which are reproducible and therefore more scientific, without resorting to constructing frameworks for their own sake. Part of our mutual endeavor will be to ascertain if and how deciding a truth or truths can exist in today’s polarized world—a reality some feared would arise from the World Wide Web in its infancy, a mere twenty-five years ago.

Readings: the course will require you to read some primary and secondary sources, or documents establishing the original parameters of the concepts covered in this course. We will also read scholarship and opinion pieces from *Foreign Policy* and many other journals. All course materials will be available through the Journals tab at the University of Wisconsin-Madison Main Library, online, or by posting to Canvas. You will not have to purchase books. In

addition, a subscription to the *Economist*, *New York Times* or the *Financial Times* is highly recommended as your primary tool for your written work. All three have student subscription offers. I expect there to be many changes to the readings throughout the course, so please attend class and listen carefully. On at least three occasions, it will be strongly recommended that you attend a distinguished lecture by a visiting diplomat or scholar (e.g. EU to U.S. Ambassador, Nancy Fraser, inter alia).

Seminar oral contribution: a substantial portion (30%) of this course will be assessed according to your participation in the course during discussions. Groups may be assigned to lead the discussion each week: the leader will be chosen at random and there will also be respondents chosen from each working group. This means all must be ready to participate at all times—students who have zero experience with this type of oral participation need to see me immediately to get pointers (even the 7th week of classes is too late!). On occasion, we will utilize the computers in our classroom to search for objective truths and facts as they are presented on the web, or “alternative facts.” Those who are assigned one particular term will have to do a report instantaneously when called upon.

Written work and exams: **Extra information on the final paper can be found far below.** On occasion, I will assign responses to discussion questions, which will be mandatory and due before some classes. These will be turned in on Canvas before class, thus, at the latest by 9:00 am T/R mornings. These answers will compose 10% of your grade. There will be an in-class midterm, essay version on Thursday, March 12th, composing 30% of your grade. The final paper will be worth 30%, and will be a personalized research paper that you prepare in consultation with me. The topic will be chosen by you, not dictated by me. If you are desirous of a “lecture” course in which you sit back and take notes and wait for exams on lectures presented to you on Powerpoint, this course is not for you.

Course timeline:

Week One (January 21, 23), Introduction and the Origins of Liberalism

Adam Smith, *A Wealth of Nations* and David Hume, “That Politics Should be Reduced to a Science,” (short selections); Branko Milanovic, *The Clash of Capitalisms: the Real Fight for the Global Economy’s Future*, *Foreign Policy*, January-February 2020.

Week Two (January 28, 30), Historical Origins of Capitalism and Socialism (Derivatives of Liberalism)

Tuesday: Richard Rorty, “Science as Solidarity,” (1987), and Karl Marx, short selection from *Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844*, in Appleby, et.al., *Knowledge and Pomo*; Michael Rapport, *Nineteenth-Century Europe*, Chapter 4 (Democracy, Socialism), pp. 271-296.

Thursday: A.C. Pigou (1949) *Socialism versus Capitalism*, Chapters 1-2, <https://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.1133/page/n9> (Links to an external site.) Short selections on Hayek/Polanyi dispute, including page 88 of G. Stedman Jones book below.

Week Three: (February 4, 6), Capitalism and its Early Critics, Nationalism

Tuesday: Eric Weitz, German Communism (Group Chat)

Thursday: Michael Rapport, *Nineteenth-Century Europe*, pp. 297-321; Rogers Brubaker, *Nationalism Reframed*, Chapter Four (when you get to page 103 and he starts talking about the "New Europe," quit!).

Week Four: (February 11,13) Nationalism turns into World Wars, how “Nationalist” was early Socialism, “Embedded Liberalism” in the Inter-War Years

Tuesday: Look carefully at the R.R. Hill PDF of Michael Ignatieff's civic versus ethnic nationalism. Please also bring the "Fascism/Totalitarianism" outline I've provided from a lecture. Tony Judt's "Rehabilitation of Europe" or Chapter Three of his *Postwar: A History of Europe since 1945*.

Thursday: Two chapters from Tim Snyder, *Bloodlands: Europe Between Hitler and Stalin* (2010); Graziosi chapter on Communism and Nationalism (Pons, ed., *Oxford Collected History of Communism*, Volume 3, 2019).

Week Five (February 18, 20): from National Socialism to Socialism in One Country (fascism)*

Tuesday: More detailed reading of Tim Snyder's book *Bloodlands: Europe Between Hitler and Stalin*, chapters on Class Terror and National Terror.

Thursday: Jeffrey A. Frieden's *Global Capitalism: Its Fall and Rise in the Twentieth Century.*, pp. 206-250; Daniel Stedman Jones' *Masters of the Universe: Hayek, Friedman and the Birth of Neoliberal Politics* (neoliberalism as “the” new ideology), Chapter Three.

*Extra credit given to those who attended EU to U.S. Ambassador Stavros Lambrinidis lecture on Monday, February 17

Week Six: (February 25, February 27) Post-War Keynesianism to the Washington Consensus

Tuesday: mop-up work on mistaken readings (autarky) from Frieden book, written comparison with Stedman Jones's concepts of neoliberalism.

Thursday, February 27th, class will be held at the "Fracturing Democracy" conference in Vilas for the lecture on populism by **Claudia Strauss** ("Populist conventional discourses"). Find a short selection online by either Cas Mudde or Yasche Mounk. Make sure you know what "populism" is before the lecture.

Week Seven (March 3, 5) from the Washington Consensus to Critiques of Neoliberalism

Tuesday: Read David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*, Chapters 1 and 3. Read John Williamson on *The Washington Consensus*, first 8 pages only), remembering that this is a 2004 "recall" in writing of a speech given in 1989.

Thursday: Nancy Fraser and Rahel Jaeggi, *Capitalism: A conversation in Critical Theory*, 2019, pp. 64, 73-89.

Week Eight (March 10, 12) In-Class Review (Tuesday) and In-Class Midterm (Thursday)

Spring Break (March 14-March 22), which turned into **the Era of Coronavirus**

Week Nine (March 24, 26) The Case of Eastern Europe, or the "Imitation Imperative"

Tuesday: Fall of the Wall lecture, Ivan Krastev and Stephen Holmes, *The Light That Failed* (2020), pp. 1-18, 54-69.

Thursday: Lecture on Eastern European accession countries and "acquis Communautaire," Meunier and Vachudova, "Liberal Intergovernmentalism, Illiberalism and the Potential Superpower of the EU," *Journal of Common Market Studies* (2018).

Week Ten (March 31, April 2), "Conservative Mantras," the Death of Liberalism

Tuesday: Paul Nolte, "A Different Sort of Neoliberalism: Making Sense of German History since the 1970's" ["ordoliberalism"], *Bulletin of the German Historical Institute*, Spring 2019; Wendy Brown, Chapter Three of *In the Ruins of Neo-liberalism: the Rise of Anti-Democratic Politics in the West* (2019).

Tim Garton Ash, September 2019 *The Guardian* Opinion on British nativism and populism, selected pages from Edward Luce, *Retreat of Western Liberalism*.

Week Eleven (April 7, 9), Populism, Explanatory Factors (Morals, Economics, Education, Regional Identity?)

Tuesday: Francis Fukuyama, *Identity*, Chapter Three, Nationalism and Religion; Adam Tooze, *Crashed: How a Decade of Financial Crisis Changed the World* Chapter 9 "Europe's Forgotten Crisis: Eastern Europe"

Thursday: Pippa Norris and Ron Inglehart, *Cultural Backlash: Trump, Brexit and Authoritarian Nationalism* (2019), exact selections TBD.

Week Twelve: (April 14, 16), "Millennial" Socialism, "Cultural" Nationalism, and other "Epithets"

Individual project work: we will **only** have our session online on Thursday, April 16. On that day, each individual will reveal which of the three or four major themes below that they've

chosen thus far, and how they will approach the topic with a list of questions they consider important.

Information on Final Paper: I would like you to choose one of the following “intellectual hipster” works upon which to base your written work—an 8-10 page essay on one of the major themes of the course. In each case, the scholar involved has a major reputation, oftentimes with the label “bad” preceding their discipline (historian, political scientist, journalist, economist). Each has written a provocative text which you will need to examine carefully, utilizing it as a basis to see how it is being treated by fellow established “experts,” [aka, “elites”], in the media, and topically. These texts are: Thomas Piketty, *Capitalism and Ideology* (2020 Arthur Goldhammer translation), Francis Fukuyama’s *Identity*, or Yascha Mounk’s *The People Versus Democracy*. If you have another text you’d like to consider, please let me know right away. The paper is due on the last full formal day of finals, e.g. Friday, May 8 at 5:00 pm.

Week Thirteen: (April 21, 23)

Individual presentations on specific course-related readings chosen for final papers. Two “readers” will be assigned for each presentation, and those individuals will be responsible for leading the discussion.

Week 14: (April 28, 30)

Individual presentations again. Appointments to prepare for final papers.

Other standard campus information:

- Policy on academic conduct and integrity: I follow standard campus policy on academic integrity including what qualifies as plagiarism and cheating—serious offenses. Please see the website for further particulars: [https://conduct.students.wisc.edu/academic-integrity](https://conduct.students.wisc.edu/academic-integrity;);
- **Given that we will conduct the last four to five weeks of the semester virtually and online, I wish to caution students that directly copying sources and concepts from the Internet will not be tolerated as “final” work. I will use a method to identify such copied work;**
- Special accommodation: anyone needing special examination accommodations should consult the McBurney Center and bring me the appropriate documentation as soon as possible. See <https://mcburney.wisc.edu>;
- Examination dates fixed: there will be NO exceptions granted for changes of examination, in particular, the midterm, except for situations involving well-documented family emergencies or travel on University business;
- Attendance: as this is a course where attendance is of prime importance, any absences over two can seriously affect your course participation grade;
- This course follows the standard Carnegie Definition of course time and preparation per unit earned, meaning two hours of class preparation expected for every hour in class; thus, this course meets 150 minutes total per week (3 times 50-minute “hours”) and requires six hours of preparation in exchange for 3 credits.

- Learning objectives: students are expected to learn how to amass interpretations of evidence from sources and learn to draw their own conclusions supported by the evidence of which interpretation is closer to the facts (a term requiring much explanation). They are also expected to learn how to present these ideas in brief format in front of their peers, and to learn to facilitate conversation and carefully considered argument on highly-charged topics such as illiberalism, socialism, foreign policy, nationalism, ideology, and re-distributive politics.