HIST 1501

**Liberalism: Theory and Practice**

Spring 2017

Philip Zelikow

T 330-6

Nau 242

General Course Description

Although most Americans think “liberalism” is an old-fashioned name for leftwing ideology, the rest of the world (and scholars) use the term in its classical meaning, as a set of ideas for organizing society and political life, oriented around ideals of liberty. This set of ideas was a profound turning point in the development of the modern world in the late 1700s and early 1800s. Mutations of liberalism, enemies of liberalism – these are the themes of political life recurring across the last two centuries of global history.

This is a course that follows liberalism, in theory and practice, over those last two centuries, in various parts of the world. It is a story of rise, fall, renewal, and new challenges. Now, in the early part of the 21st century, the future of ‘liberalism’ is the great political issue of this generation.

Students will be graded on class participation and on two papers (one due on March 14 and the other due on May 1).

Required readings

History is a subject mainly learned through lots of reading. And this course covers a lot of ground.

Edmund Fawcett, *Liberalism: The Life of an Idea* (Princeton: Princeton University Press,

2014) (paperback)

R.R. Palmer, *The Age of the Democratic Revolution: A Political History of Europe and*

*America, 1760-1800* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014) This is a recent paperback reissue in one book of a two volume classic. The readings are excerpts from the original first volume, "The Challenge," first published in 1959 and included in this reissue.

Domingo F. Sarmiento, *Facundo: Civilization and Barbarism* (New York: Penguin

Classics, 1998). Originally published in Spanish in 1845, this edition uses the 1868 English translation by Mary Mann.

Jan-Werner Müller, *What Is Populism?* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press,

2016)

Class schedule

January 24

1. Tyrannies and Liberties

Read: Palmer, *Age of the Democratic Revolution*, Part One, chaps 2 & 3, pp. 22-63

January 31

2. Revolutions of the Atlantic World

Read: Palmer, *Age of the Democratic Revolution*, Part One, chaps 1, 4 (part), 5 (part), 6-

9, 14-15, pp. 3-24, 85-99, 111-27, 143-282, 439-502

February 7

3. Revolution and Counterrevolution

Read: Sarmiento, *Facundo*, pp. 44-90, 116-41, 188-227

Frederick Artz, "The Creeds of Liberalism," & "The Rise of a New

Generation," in *Reaction and Revolution 1814-1832* (New York: Harper, 1934), pp. 82-109, 184-214 (on **Collab** site)

February 14

4. The Bourgeois Era

Read: Fawcett, *Liberalism*, pp. 27-79

 Deirdre McCloskey, *Bourgeois Dignity: Why Economics Can’t Explain the*

*Modern World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), pp. 355-76 (on **Collab** site)

February 21

5. The Triumph of the Liberal Nation-State

Read: Allen Guelzo, “A War Lost and Found,” *The American Interest*,

September/October 2011, pp. 6-16 (on **Collab** site)

Howard Jones, “As Others Saw Us,” *The American Interest*,

September/October 2011, pp. 17-27 (on **Collab** site)

Carlton Hayes, "The Fruition of Liberalism," from *A Generation of Materialism*

*1871-1900* (New York: Harper, 1941), pp. 46-87 (on **Collab** site)

 Fawcett, *Liberalism*, pp. 98-116

February 28

6. Liberation and Civil Rights

Read: Fawcett, *Liberalism*, pp. 85-97, 117-72

March 14

7. Liberalism and Modern Industrial Life

Read: Fawcett, *Liberalism*, pp. 173-97

March 21

8. Liberal Imperialism, Liberal War

Read: William Langer, “The Triumph of Imperialism,” from *The Diplomacy of*

*Imperialism* (New York: Knopf, 2d ed., 1956), pp. 67-96 (on **Collab** site)

 Fawcett, *Liberalism*, pp. 198-213

 Hew Strachan, “The Ideas of 1914,” from *The First World War, Vol. 1: To Arms*

(Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 1114-1139 (on **Collab** site)

 Fawcett, *Liberalism*, pp. 214-36

March 28

9. Liberalism: A Passing Phase?

Read: Excerpts from Vladimir Lenin, “State and Revolution,” Joseph Stalin, “The

Foundations of Leninism,” & Benito Mussolini, “The Doctrine of Fascism,” in Arthur Mendel, ed., *The Twentieth Century 1914-1964* (New York: Free Press, 1965), pp. 45-74 (on **Collab** site)

 Fawcett, *Liberalism*, pp. 237-74

 Excerpt from Erich Fromm, “Escape from Freedom: A Psychoanalytic View,” in

Mendel, ed., *The Twentieth Century*, pp. 75-85 (on **Collab** site)

April 4

10. Total State or Managerial State?

Read: George Orwell, “James Burnham and the Managerial Revolution,” (1946), in

*Collected Essays, Journalism, and Letters*,vol. 4, pp. 160-181 (on **Collab** site)

James Scott, *Seeing Like A State* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1998), pp. 87-102 (on

**Collab** site)

 Fawcett, *Liberalism*, pp. 275-84

April 11

11. Social Democracy and Its Troubles

Read: Fawcett, *Liberalism*, pp. 285-367

Jeremi Suri, “Counter-cultures: the rebellions against the Cold War

order, 1965-1975,” in Melvyn Leffler & Odd Arne Westad, eds., *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*, vol. II (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 460-481 (on **Collab** site)

April 18

12. The Liberal Renaissance

Read: Fawcett, *Liberalism*, pp. 368-90

 Jan-Werner Müller, “The Cold War and the intellectual history of the late

twentieth century,” in Leffler & Westad, eds., *Cambridge History of the Cold War,* vol. III, pp. 1-22 (on **Collab** site)

John W. Young, “Western Europe and the end of the Cold War, 1979-1989,” in

Leffler & Westad, eds., *Cambridge History of the Cold War*, vol. III, pp. 289-310 (on **Collab** site)

Timothy Garton Ash, “Revolution in Hungary and Poland,” *New York Review of*

*Books*, August 17, 1989 (12 pp.) (on **Collab** site)

Philip Zelikow, “The Suicide of the East?,” *Foreign Affairs*, November-December

2009, pp. 41-52 (on **Collab** site)

April 25

13. Varieties of “Populism”

Read: Müller, *What Is Populism?*, pp. 1-74

 Ross Douthat, “Among the Post-Liberals,” *New York Times*, October 6, 2016 (on

**Collab** site)

May 2

14. The Future of Liberalism

Read: Müller, *What Is Populism?*, pp. 75-103

 Fawcett, *Liberalism*, pp. 392-407