

Florida International University

EUH 5126 / INR 5935:

# Histories of Global Illiberalism

Fall 2023

Tuesdays, 5:00-7:40PM in PC 247

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Over the past several decades, historians and political scientists have written extensively on the origins and evolution of our current liberal world order. Histories of illiberalism, however, often remain national in scope, constricted in their analysis to the level of individual countries or regions. Why, then, has the so-called 'liberal' global order witnessed a constant stream of illiberal movements? What can exploring these movements through a transnational lens reveal about the connections between race, geopolitics, fascism, and the liberal international order? This seminar will explore the global connections between a range of illiberalisms since the early twentieth century: authoritarianism, fascism, colonialism, and the global 'far right.' We will adopt an interdisciplinary lens and read a range of works by historians, political theorists, IR scholars, and sociologists.

## Course Objectives

By the end of the semester students will be able to:

- ✓ Understand the range of theoretical and historiographical approaches that scholars have adopted to study fascism and illiberalism since 1945.
- ✓ Identify how notions of race and national belonging have shaped geopolitics and global political movements over the past century.
- ✓ Assess what factors drove the crisis of the European state system and facilitated the rise (and later resurgence) of right-wing reactionary movements in the same period.
- ✓ Define the characteristics of fascism as a political tradition.

## Course Work

### Participation (50%)

Active participation is the heart of graduate seminar. We expect all students to complete the readings and engage in the Australian Rules activities **before and during** each week's seminar. Grad seminar is a collective, collaborative endeavor, and what we get out of it depends on the efforts we put into it.

## Papers (50%)

Students enrolled in the course as a readings seminar will write **two** 2,000-2,500-word essays on the readings, **each worth 25%** of your final grade. Each paper will critique and analyze at a minimum either two books or one book and two articles with the aim of examining the larger themes of the course as well as the methodologies, sources, or assumptions of the authors.

One paper may take the form of a *New York Review of Books* / *Los Angeles Review of Books* -style essay. Choose three readings on a related topic and review them, using them to reflect on a broader political issue or insight about society. This assignment has two aims: first, to practice writing a formal book review, and second, to practice writing for a non-academic audience.

We will discuss and circulate prompts in advance of each paper. Papers must be submitted through Canvas. Due dates are listed below.

## Seminar Structure

This semester we will use a system called the ‘**Australian Rules**’ to promote ongoing participation and continuous collaboration between the seminar members. This system will allow us to develop a shared set of questions and problems before class so that we can devote class time to in-depth discussion, make writing a key part of our intellectual endeavor, and create an atmosphere of collegial exchange. We have adapted these rules from a set created by Dr. Jennifer Sessions at UVA.

**How it works:** The class is divided into three teams – A, B, and C – who work together to develop the discussion agenda in the week before discussion. To succeed, all three teams must work together thoughtfully and stick to the following schedule before each week’s class meeting.

Step 1: Team A will collectively develop a set of 3 written questions based on the week’s readings. These questions should be framed to address both the substance of the reading and some larger problem of method, theory, or historiographical argument. The questions must be posted on Canvas by **Friday** night.

Step 2: Team B will then work together to prepare a response to Team A that they will present in class to kick off discussion in class on **Tuesday**. Team B might critique, rebut, or expand on Team A’s answers, or raise issues not addressed by the other teams..

Each week, teams will rotate roles.

### Some Ground Rules:

- Groups should not divide up readings or the writing of questions. Our aim is to develop habits of intellectual collaboration and to share the work evenly between team members.
- Respect and courtesy are key principles. It’s great, actually, to disagree; just do so productively and professionally. Differences of interpretation and opinion are often the basis of excellent discussions.

## Standards of Conduct, Accessibility, and Accommodations

For guidelines relevant to all courses at FIU, review FIU’s [Standards of Conduct](#).

**ChatGPT or Automated Tool Use is Prohibited.** Students are not allowed to use advanced automated tools (artificial intelligence or machine learning tools such as ChatGPT) on assignments in this course. Each student is expected to complete each assignment without substantive assistance from others, including automated tools.

We are committed to making this class as inclusive and accessible as possible. If you have concerns, preferred pronouns, or need accommodation of any type for this course, please reach out to either of us. Students with disabilities may also wish to contact the [Disability Resources Center](#).

## Readings

Many of the books for the course are available online through the FIU Library Catalogue, as indicated below. We have marked these books as ‘optional’ at the campus bookstore. Those books not available through the library are available for purchase in the campus bookstore, but can often be found cheaper online.

Articles and excerpted chapters are all available as .pdfs on Canvas.

## COURSE SCHEDULE

### Week One – August 22<sup>nd</sup> – Introduction

Geoff Eley “What is Fascism and Where Does it Come From?” *History Workshop Journal*, 91:1 (2021): 1-28.

Richard Steigmann-Hall, “Star-Spangled Fascism: American Interwar Political Extremism in Comparative Perspective,” *Social History* 42:1 (2017):94-119.

## PART ONE: THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO FASCISM

### Week Two – August 29<sup>th</sup> – Canonical Approaches

Robert Paxton, *The Anatomy of Fascism* (Vintage, 2005). ISBN 978-1400033911.

Federico Finchelstein, “On Fascist Ideology,” *Constellations* 15:3 (2008): 320-331.

### Week Three – September 5<sup>th</sup> – Post-Structural Approaches

Michel Foucault, *Society Must be Defended: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1975-1976*, ed. Bertani and Fontana (Picador, 1997), Chapter Eleven.

Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (U. Minnesota Press, 1987), chapter 9, “1933: Micropolitics & Segmentarity.”

Klaus Theweleit, *Male Fantasies, Vol. 1: Women, Floods, Bodies, History* (U Minn Press, 1987). ISBN 978-0816614493. Read pages 1-228.

George Bataille, “The Psychological Structure of Fascism,” *New German Critique* 16 (1979): 64-87.

#### **Week Four – September 12<sup>th</sup> – Critical Theories of Fascism**

Theodore Adorno, *Aspects of the New Right-Wing Extremism* (Polity, 2020). ISBN 978-1509541454.

Theodore Adorno, “Freudian Theory and the Patterns of Fascist Propaganda,” in Bernstein and Adorno, eds., *The Culture Industry: Selected Essays on Mass Culture* (Routledge, 1991), 132-157.

Walter Benjamin, “The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction,” in *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections*, trans. Harry Zohn (Schocken Books, 1969).

#### **Week Five – September 19<sup>th</sup> – Fascism and Modernity**

Carl Schmitt, *The Concept of the Political* (U Chicago Press, 2007). ISBN 978-0226738925.

Hannah Arendt, “Ideology & Totalitarianism: A New Form of Government” in *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (Harcourt, 1994), 460-479.

Hannah Arendt, “The Seeds of a Fascist International,” in Kohn, ed., *Essays in Understanding, 1930-1945 Formation, Exile, and Totalitarianism* (Shocken, 1994), 140-150.

George Mosse, “Fascism and the French Revolution,” in *The Fascist Revolution* (The University of Wisconsin Press, 2021), 57-76.

Aimé Césaire, *Discourse on Colonialism* (Monthly Review Press, 2000). ISBN 978-1583670255. Available online through [FIU Libraries](#).

### **PART TWO: THE ILLIBERAL REVOLUTION**

#### **Week Six – September 26<sup>th</sup> – The Economic Origins of Interwar Illiberalisms**

Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation* (Beacon Press, 2001). ISBN 978-0807056431. Read Part Two, Section Two.

Adam Tooze, *The Deluge: The Great War, America and the Remaking of the Global Order, 1916-1931* (Penguin, 2015). ISBN 978-0143127970. Read the Introduction and Part One.

Moishe Postone “Critique, State, and Economy,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Critical Theory* (Cambridge UP, 2006), 165-193.

#### **Week Seven – October 3<sup>rd</sup> – World War Two as the Collapse of the European Liberal Order**

Richard Overy, *Blood and Ruins: The Last Imperial War 1931-1945* (Viking, 2022). ISBN 978-0670025169. Read the Introduction and Chapters 1-3.

Patrick O. Cohrs, *The New Atlantic Order: The Transformation of International Politics, 1860–1933* (Cambridge UP, 2022). Read Part IV, chapters 14, 18, and 21.

**Paper 1 due Friday 10/6 at Midnight**

### **Week Eight – October 10<sup>th</sup> – The Holocaust**

Timothy Snyder, *Bloodlands: Europe Between Hitler and Stalin* (Basic Books, 2022). ISBN 978-1541600065. Read the Introduction and Chapters 1, 4-6. Available online through [FIU Libraries](#).

Timothy Snyder, *Black Earth: The Holocaust as History and Warning* (Tim Duggan Books, 2015). Introduction and Chapter One.

Hannah Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil* (Penguin Classics, 2006). ISBN 978-0143039884. Available online through [FIU Libraries](#).

### **Week Nine – October 17<sup>th</sup> – Fascist Technopolitics**

Tiago Saravia, *Fascist Pigs: Technoscientific Organisms and the History of Fascism* (MIT Press, 2018). ISBN 978-0262536158.

Ruth Ben-Ghiat, *Fascist Modernities: Italy, 1922-1945* (University of California Press, 2001), Chapter 5, “Conquest and Collaboration,” pp. 123-170.

### **Week Ten – October 24<sup>th</sup> – Fascist Imperialisms**

Louise Young, *Japan’s Total Empire: Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism* (University of California Press, 1998). ISBN 978-0520923157. Available online through [FIU Libraries](#).

Reto Hofmann, “The Fascist New-Old Order,” *Journal of Global History* 12:2 (2017): 166-183.

Daniel Hedinger, “The Imperial Nexus: The Second World War and the Axis in Global Perspective.” *Journal of Global History* 12:2 (2017): 184–205.

### **Week Eleven – October 31<sup>st</sup> – The Fascist Revolution in Asia**

Maggie Clinton, *Revolutionary Nativism: Fascism and Culture in China, 1925-1937* (Duke University Press, 2017). ISBN 978-0822363620. Available online through [FIU Libraries](#).

Reto Hofmann, “Imperial Links: The Italian-Ethiopian War and Japanese New Order Thinking, 1935-6.” *Journal of Contemporary History* 50, no. 2 (2015): 215–33.

## **PART THREE: GLOBAL CONNECTIONS**

### **Week Twelve – November 7<sup>th</sup> – Fascist Aesthetics**

Julia Adeney Thomas and Geoff Eley, *Visualizing Fascism: The Twentieth Century Rise of the Global Right* (Duke UP, 2020). ISBN 978-1478003762. Selections TBD. Available online through [FIU Libraries](#).

George Mosse, *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (Oxford UP, 1996). ISBN 978-0198026150. Available online through [FIU Libraries](#).

### **Week Thirteen – November 14<sup>th</sup> – Fascist Cultural Diplomacy**

Benjamin Martin, *The Nazi-Fascist New Order for European Culture* (Harvard UP, 2016). ISBN 978-0674545748.

Daniel Hedinger, “The Spectacle of Global Fascism: The Italian Blackshirt Mission to Japan's Asian Empire,” *Modern Asian Studies* 51:6 (2017): 1999–2034.

### **Week Fourteen – November 21<sup>st</sup> – Transnational Neofascist Networks**

Andrea Mammone, *Transnational Neofascism in France and Italy* (Cambridge UP, 2015). ISBN 978-1107030916.

Pablo del Hiero, “The Neofascist Network and Madrid, 1945–1953: From City of Refuge to Transnational Hub and Centre of Operations,” *Contemporary European History* 31:2 (2022): 171–194.

### **Week Fifteen – November 28<sup>th</sup> – The Postcolonial Conservative Revolution**

Kyle Burke, *Revolutionaries for the Right: Anticommunist Internationalism and Paramilitary Warfare in the Cold War* (Chapel Hill, 2018). ISBN 978-1107030916. Available online through [FIU Libraries](#).

Leslie James, “Blood Brothers: Colonialism and Fascism as Relations in the Interwar Caribbean and West Africa,” *American Historical Review* 127:2 (2022): 634-663.

**Paper 2 due Friday 12/8 at Midnight**