

## HERTOG 2022 POLITICAL STUDIES PROGRAM

### Contemporary Political Ideologies: From Populism to Post-Liberalism

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American politics is in a state of flux. The two major parties are closely divided. The range of political viewpoints expressed in national media widens every day. How did we reach this situation? And what political possibilities await the American people?

In this course, we will examine the ideology of “neoliberalism” and several of its challengers. By close reading of primary and secondary sources, we will investigate the arguments, attitudes, and priorities of neoliberals, populists, nationalists, socialists, and post-liberals. Our class discussion will help us make sense of the last decade in American politics—and suggest where things may be headed from here.

#### Course Materials

- Course Reader
- John B. Judis, *The Politics of Our Time: Populism, Nationalism, Socialism* (New York: Columbia Global Reports, 2021)

#### Resources:

To learn more about the ideas and figures discussed in this course, we encourage you to explore a project supported by the Hertog Foundation: **The Great Thinkers** (<http://thegreatthinkers.org/>) and **Contemporary Thinkers** (<http://contemporarythinkers.org/>) websites.

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**Monday, July 18, 2022**

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**9:30 AM to 12:30 PM ET**

**Session I: Points of Origin**

#### Readings:

- John B. Judis, Introduction, *The Politics of Our Time*, pp. 15–42
- Perry Anderson, “History and Lessons of Neoliberalism,” from *The Other Davos* (Zed Books, 2001)
- Daniel Bell, Preface & Ch. 12, *The Winding Passage: Essays and Sociological Journeys 1960–1980* (Abt Books, 1980)
- Ronald Reagan, “Remarks Announcing Candidacy for Republican Party Nomination,” November 13, 1979
- Ross Douthat, Introduction, *The Decadent Society* (Simon & Schuster, 2021)

## Discussion Questions:

- 1) According to Perry Anderson, what problems did neoliberalism set out to solve? Was it successful?
- 2) What problems does the post-industrial society create for liberalism, neo- or otherwise?
- 3) How does President Reagan's announcement speech exemplify neoliberal approaches to public policy?
- 4) How does Ross Douthat define decadence? Is he right that contemporary American society is a decadent society?

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## Tuesday, July 19, 2022

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9:30 AM to 12:30 PM ET

### Session II: Populism

#### Readings:

- John B. Judis, *The Politics of Our Time*, pp. 43–111
- Christopher Caldwell, "What Is Populism?" *Claremont Review of Books* (Fall 2018)
- Walter Russell Mead, "The Jacksonian Revolt," *Foreign Affairs* (March/April 2017)
- Jeffrey Bell, "The Rise of Values Politics," in *Populism & Elitism* (Regnery, 1992)

#### Discussion Questions:

- 1) How does Caldwell define populism?
- 2) How does Jacksonian populism fit into Caldwell's framework?
- 3) Why, according to Bell, did the American elite become increasingly pessimistic in its political and cultural outlook during the 1960s?
- 4) Is populism compatible with neoliberalism?

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## Wednesday, July 20, 2022

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9:30 AM to 12:30 PM ET

### Session III: Nationalism

#### Readings:

- John B. Judis, *The Politics of Our Time*, pp. 181–236; 267–93
- Christopher DeMuth, "The Nation Is the Heart of the Matter," *Law & Liberty*, April 2022
- President Donald Trump, "Address in Warsaw," July 6, 2017
- President Joe Biden, "Remarks on the United Efforts of the Free World to Support the People of Ukraine," March 26, 2022

#### Discussion Questions:

- 1) In DeMuth's view, what can other nations learn from the national self-determination of Ukraine?
- 2) What defines a nation, according to President Trump?

- 3) How might nationalism come into conflict with neoliberalism?
- 4) Compare and contrast President Trump's defense of Polish nationalism with President Biden's defense of Ukrainian democracy? Could the same arguments be made on behalf of both nations?

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**Thursday, July 21, 2022**

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**9:30 AM to 12:30 PM ET**

**Session IV: Socialism**

**Readings:**

- John B. Judis, *The Politics of Our Time*, pp. 297–360, 383–94
- Don McIntosh, "Talking Socialism: Interviewing *Jacobin's* Bhaskar Sunkara," *DSOA*, June 18, 2021
- Tara Golshan, "Read: Bernie Sanders defines his vision for democratic socialism in the United States," *Vox*, June 12, 2019
- Yoram Hazony, "The Challenge of Marxism," *Quillette*, August 16, 2020
- Christopher Caldwell, "The Biden Popular Front Is Doomed to Unravel," *The New Republic*, November 23, 2020

**Discussion Questions:**

- 1) What does Sanders mean by socialism? Is his definition like Sunkara's?
- 2) What does Judis mean by "shadow socialism"?
- 3) Do income levels determine class affiliation? How might class identity and national (or sub-national) identity relate to one another?
- 4) What made Caldwell argue that Biden's popular front (composed of progressives, moderate Democrats, and even some anti-Trump Republicans) was doomed to fail?

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**Friday, July 22, 2022**

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**9:30 AM to 12:30 PM ET**

**Session V: Post-Liberalism & Beyond**

**Readings:**

- Patrick J. Deneen, "Unsustainable Liberalism," *First Things* (August 2012)
- Samuel Moyn, "Neoliberalism, Not Liberalism, Has Failed," *Commonweal*, December 3, 2018
- Nathan Schlueter, "Sustainable Liberalism," *Public Discourse*, December 7, 2012
- Cathy Young, "Reports of Liberalism's Death—A Reply to Hazony," *Quillette*, September 16, 2020
- Perry Anderson, "Why the System Will Still Win." *Le Monde* (March 2017)
- Various, "Away from the Abyss," *Compact* (March 2022)
- Stephen Kotkin, "The Cold War Never Ended," *Foreign Affairs* (May/June 2022)
- David Brooks, "Globalization Is Over," *The New York Times*, April 8, 2022

**Discussion Questions:**

- 1) How does Deneen define liberalism? Is his liberalism the same as neoliberalism? What are the similarities and differences between liberalism, neoliberalism, and progressivism?
- 2) What, according to Schlueter, is the “healthy and proper form of liberalism,” and why should social conservatives embrace it?
- 3) How does the war in Ukraine relate to the problems of neoliberalism?
- 4) What is behind the collapse of globalization—i.e., of neoliberalism?
- 5) Will the future be liberal, neoliberal, national populist, democratic socialist, or postliberal?