

UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA

NUMBER: INTL 4335
TITLE: The Far Right in Western Democracies

INSTRUCTOR: Dr. Cas Mudde (mudde@uga.edu)
OFFICE: Candler 324
OFFICE HOURS: Wednesdays 10:00-12.00, or by appointment

TERM: Fall 2019
DATE & TIME: Tuesdays & Thursdays, 9:30-10:45
ROOM: Baldwin 301
TWITTER: #INTL4335 (@casmudde)

Introduction:

Since the end of World War II, and the defeat of the Nazi Third Reich, few political phenomena have commanded so much attention in western democracies as far right politics. This has been particularly the case since the 1980s, when the so-called ‘third wave’ of radical right parties hit the shores of (Western) Europe. Though far right politics differ in many ways between countries, in and outside of Europe, there are few western countries where the far right is not regularly debated.

This highly topical course aims to introduce students to far right groups and politics in contemporary western democracies. We will discuss the (i) ideology and issues; (ii) parties, organizations and subcultures; (iii) leaders, members and voters; (iv) causes; and (v) consequences and responses. The last part of the course we will focus in more detail on far right politics in the United States, which until recently was considered as mainly historical and marginal.

Most of the readings for the first two-thirds of the course focus exclusively on the situation in (Western) Europe, while the last third will focus almost exclusively on the United States. Students are encouraged to apply the insights to the current situation in Eastern Europe and North America too, by staying up-to-date on current affairs in general, and national elections in particular.

Readings:

The readings come primarily from two recent books. You are strongly advised to purchase both.

**Cas Mudde, The Populist Radical Right: A Reader.
London: Routledge, 2017. (Reader)**

**George Hawley, Making Sense of the Alt-Right. New York: Columbia
University Press, 2017. (Hawley)**

Electronic versions of all other compulsory readings will be made available on the New Elc course page well before the relevant class.

Course objectives:

- To provide students with a conceptual and theoretical foundation to understanding far right politics in western democracies.
- To introduce the students to case studies of far right politics in various western countries.
- To discover and explain the differences and similarities that exist among far right politics in individual western countries.
- To offer students a deeper understanding of the relevance of far right politics in western democracies.

Teaching Methodology:

- Lectures
- Class discussions
- Video presentations
- Film presentations

Classroom Attendance and Activity

This class meets twice a week and attendance is **mandatory**. You can miss a maximum of **three** classes (no excuses or notes are necessary, although a heads-up will be appreciated). All further documented absences will lead to a lower class participation grade (**5 points** per missed class).

You are expected to have **read and reflected upon** *at least* the compulsory readings before the relevant class, *to follow key events in far right politics* in the media, and to **participate actively** in the discussions in class *and* on the ELC-discussion board.

Course Evaluation:

- Participation (15%)

- ☑ Group video (15%)
- ☑ Midterm exam (25%)
- ☑ Short paper (20%)
- ☑ Final exam (25%)

Participation (15%): you are expected to prepare, i.e. read and reflect upon, *at least* the required readings for each class, and participate in class in an active, civilized, and well-informed manner. You can also participate in the discussions on the New-Elc course page.

Group video (15%): you will make one video (in a group of 3-4 students) on a specific far right individual or organization (schedule and topics to be announced in the third or fourth week of the course). The video analyzes the history, ideology, and political relevance of the specific individual or organization, putting it into the broader context of the course, and linking it to the compulsory reading of the class. The video should not be longer than **15 minutes**, be well-produced and well-researched – that means editing to ensure clear sound and going well beyond the compulsory reading that all students have to do.

Midterm Exam (25%): you will have an in-class midterm exam that will assess your knowledge of all the material discussed up to that point. The exam will consist of 10 multiple choice, 3 short-answer questions, and 1 essay question. Date: **September, 24.**

Short paper (20%): you have to write a short research paper on the role of skinheads in far right groups in the United States, based on academic literature. You have to reference at least **three additional academic sources** as well as **critically engage** with the movie *American History X*. The word limit is 1,500 words and the short paper is due in class on **October, 22.** NOTE: this is NOT a movie review!

Final Exam (25%): you have an in-class exam in which you have to answer **one essay** question, which draws upon knowledge of the whole course, in maximum three pages. The exam is “open book” in the sense that you can use **your own notes** (but not the articles and books). Exam is on **December 10, 8:00 – 11:00 AM.**

Academic Integrity:

As a University of Georgia student, you have agreed to abide by the University’s academic honesty policy, “A Culture of Honesty,” and the Student Honor Code. All academic work must meet the standards described in “A Culture of Honesty” found at:

<http://www.uga.edu/honesty>. Lack of knowledge of the academic honesty policy is not a reasonable explanation for a violation. Questions related to course assignments and the academic honesty policy should be directed to the instructor.

Grading:

Letter Grade	Points
A	93 – 100 points
A-	90 – 92 points
B+	87 – 89 points
B	83 – 86 points
B-	80 – 82 points
C+	77 – 79 points
C	73 – 76 points
C-	70 – 72 points
D+	67 – 69 points
D	63 – 66 points
D-	60 – 62 points
F	59 and below

Some Ground Rules:

1. **It is not my practice to give incompletes.** However, if there is suitable reason – subject to my approval and supported with appropriate written documentation – an exception to the “no incompletes” rule may be possible. With respect to these first ground rules, *if you have problems in completing assigned work, please let me know about it.*
2. **Laptops, tablets, phones, etc. are not allowed!** Be ready with pen and paper to make notes during the class. If you use any of these banned devices in class, you will be punished with a deduction of **10 points** of your *final grade!*
3. **You will be expected to attend class regularly, on time, and for the entirety of each class period.** I distribute class attendance papers in the first minutes of the class. If you arrive after the paper has been filled out, you count as absent! Do not sign up for this class if you have social or

other engagements (sports classes, meets, etc) that interfere with the time length of this course.

4. I do not expect that your views and perceptions of these controversial themes are identical with those of your classmates or me, either now or at the completion of the course. This course is a place for the free (and perhaps even heated) exchange of ideas. Thus I expect you to **challenge viewpoints** that differ from your own, but I also expect you to **substantiate your arguments** on the basis of the readings, lectures and discussions.
5. If you need to use outside **reference works**, please consult Joel Krieger, et. al., *Oxford Companion to Politics of the World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) as a place to start for political terms or concepts – do **not** use Webster or other dictionaries for political science definitions. For outside research sources, please use Galileo. Please do **not** use the notoriously unreliable Wikipedia until or unless this source emphasizes accuracy as much as it does volume and speed.
6. If you believe that you should have received a better grade, please provide **an explanation** to me *in writing* and *within a week* of receiving the grade. I will then grade your *whole* exam/paper again and I will issue a “new” grade, which will be either the same, a higher, or a lower grade.

Important Dates:

September, 24	Midterm Exam
October, 10	American History X (7:00 – 9:30 PM)
October, 12	No Class
October, 22	Deadline Short Paper
November, 27	Thanksgiving Break
December, 10	Final Exam (8:00 – 11:00 AM)

Finally:

THE COURSE SYLLABUS IS A GENERAL PLAN FOR THE COURSE; DEVIATIONS ANNOUNCED TO THE CLASS BY THE INSTRUCTOR MAY (AND MOST PROBABLY WILL) BE NECESSARY!

THEMATIC OUTLINE

08/15 – Introduction

In this introductory class we will discuss the intentions and outline of the course as well as the mutual expectations. We will also assess your backgrounds in the politics of western democracies in general, and of far right politics in particular.

Compulsory Reading:

Mudde, “Introduction to the Populist Radical Right” (Reader)

08/20 – The Far Right in the ‘Post-Fascist’ Era

The First World War was supposed to be the “War to End All Wars” but instead gave rise to fascism and the Second World War, the most destructive war in human history. After WW2, Europe was divided by the Cold War into a communist and dictatorial East and a capitalist and democratic West. In Western Europe individual states started a still ongoing process of integration, which was grounded in the idea of “never again.” So how did the far right, which has always been linked to fascism, adapt to this ‘post-fascist’ era?

Movie: [The Big Picture: The Making and Breaking of Europe \(Part 2\)](#)

Compulsory Reading and Viewing:

[The Big Picture: The Making and Breaking of Europe \(Part 1\)](#)

Von Beyme (Reader, 7)

Optional Reading:

Levy, Carl. “Fascism, National Socialism and Conservatives in Europe, 1914-1945: Issues for Comparativists”, *Contemporary European History*, 8:1 (1999), 97-126.

THEME I – IDEOLOGY & ISSUES

08/22 – The Far Right Ideologies

The ‘post-fascist’ era creates problems for the successful mobilization of far right groups, but it doesn’t exclude it. While openly anti-democratic and racist ideas are no longer deemed acceptable, other far right tenets are. This class discusses the specific “nostalgic ideology” of the radical right and identifies its increasingly successful program.

Compulsory Readings:

Griffin and Betz & Johnson (Reader, 1 and 3)

Optional Reading:

De Lange (Reader, 14)

08/28 – France

The Rassemblement National (National Rally, RN; previously Front National, National Front, FN) in France is broadly considered to be the prototype of the modern populist radical right party. It was founded more than 45 years ago and its leaders, Jean-Marie and Marine Le Pen, have become household names around the world, including in the US.

Compulsory Reading:

Mayer, Nonna, “The Radical Right in France”, in Jens Rydgren (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook on the Radical Right*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018, 433-451.

08/30 – Germany, Austria and Switzerland

For obvious historical reasons, we are particularly interested in far right politics in Germany and the German-speaking world. The three main German-speaking countries have very different trajectories of postwar far right politics, however, with Germany itself being a late bloomer.

Compulsory Reading:

Backes, Uwe, “The Radical Right in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland”, in Jens Rydgren (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook on the Radical Right*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018, 452-477.

09/03 – From the Margins to the Mainstream

Although far right groups and parties have existed throughout the postwar era, they remained largely marginal during the 20th century. Even in the last two decades far right parties had modest electoral success and political power. But things have changed in the 21st century.

Compulsory Reading:

Akkerman, Tjitske, Sarah L. de Lange and Matthijs Rooduijn, “Into the Mainstream? A Comparative Analysis of the Programmatic Profiles of Radical Right-Wing Populist Parties in Western Europe Over Time”, in Tjitske Akkerman, Sarah L. de Lange and Matthijs Rooduijn (eds.), *Radical Right-Wing Populist Parties in Western Europe: Into the Mainstream?* London: Routledge, 2016, 31-52.

Optional Reading:

Van Spanje (Reader, 25)

09/05 – Belgium and the Netherlands

Two other similar countries, Belgium and the Netherlands, also have very different far right trajectories. While the Netherlands has become well-known for its far right politics in the 21st century, Belgium was one of the few countries with a strong far right party in the late 20th century, then saw a slump in the early 21st century, only to have the VB resurrected in 2019.

Video 1: Vlaams Belang (VB)

Compulsory Reading:

Van Holsteyn, Joop J. M., “The Radical Right in Belgium and the Netherlands”, in Jens Rydgren (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook on the Radical Right*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018, 478-504.

09/10 – Islamophobia

At least since the terrorist attacks of 9/11 “Islam” has become a major target of the far right and so-called “Islamophobia” has become a key part of their program. But what is Islamophobia and how does it play out in far right propaganda? And how does Islamophobia connect the far right to the mainstream?

Movie: [Submission Pt.1](#) (2004), The Netherlands, 11 min.

Compulsory Reading:

Zúquete (Reader, 5)

Optional Reading:

Kallis, Aristotle, “The Radical Right and Islamophobia”, in Jens Rydgren (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook on the Radical Right*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018, 42-60.

Mudde, Cas. *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007, chapter 3.

09/12 – Euroscepticism (UK)

The European far right mobilizes within a specific political context, dominated by the most ambitious supranational project in human history: the European Union (EU). Far right parties are among the most important Eurosceptic parties in Europe, although their level of skepticism differs. And that opposition to the EU can lead to a powerful alliance between the far and mainstream right has most recently been shown in the United Kingdom.

Video 2: United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP)

Compulsory Readings:

Goodwin, Matthew J. and James Denison, “The Radical Right in the United Kingdom”, in Jens Rydgren (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook on the Radical Right*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018, 521-544.

Vasilopoulou (Reader, 6)

Optional Reading:

Mudde, Cas. *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007, chapter 7.

PART II – LEADERS, MEMBERS AND VOTERS

09/17 – Leaders

Far right politics has always been closely linked to strong leaders, going back to the so-called Führerprinzip (leadership principle) of fascism. Far right groups are said to be led by “charismatic leaders”, but what is “charisma” and what makes a leader “charismatic”? And can “charisma” be inherited?

Video 3: Jean-Marie versus Marie Le Pen

Compulsory Reading:

Eatwell, Roger, “Charisma and the Radical Right”, in Jens Rydgren (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook on the Radical Right*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018, 251-268.

Optional Reading:

Eatwell (Reader, 12)

Mudde, Cas. *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007, chapter 4.

09/19 – Members & Voters

If we are to believe the media, the average far right supporter is a young man, low educated and working class, possibly unemployed, full of tattoos and with a shaved head. However, if the far right only drew its support from this tiny subset of the population, it would be an irrelevant political movement. So, who supports far right groups and parties? Is there a difference between the extreme right and the radical right? Between members and voters? Between men and women?

Compulsory Readings:

Arzheimer and Klandermans and Blee (Reader, 13, 14 and 15)

Optional Readings:

Arzheimer, Kai, “Explaining Electoral Support for the Radical Right”, in Jens Rydgren (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook on the Radical Right*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018, 143-165.

Mudde, Cas. *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007, chapter 4.

09/24 – Midterm

You will have an in-class midterm exam of 10 multiple choice, 3 short-answer questions, and one (1-page) essay question. You are not allowed to use books or notes!

09/26 – Far Right Women in the Media

The media have a strongly masculine frame for discussing the far right. Stories are always illustrated with pictures of (young) males, most often aggressive, heavily tattooed skinheads. Women are almost invisible from far right stories. So, how do the media cover far right women? Is it different from far right men? Is it different from non-far right women?

Movie: [*The Female Face of Populism*](#) (2013), France, 54 min.

Compulsory Readings:

Beaumont, Peter. “Marine Le Pen: Her Heart Still Belongs to Daddy”, *The Observer*, 8 January 2011, available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/theobserver/2011/jan/09/observer-profile-marine-le-pen>.

Snipes, Alexandra and Cas Mudde (forthcoming). “‘France's (Kinder, Gentler) Extremist’: Marine Le Pen, Intersectionality, and Media Framing of Female Populist Radical Right Leaders”, *Politics and Gender*.

Optional Reading:

Ellinas, Antonis A., “The Media and the Radical Right”, in Jens Rydgren (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook on the Radical Right*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018, 269-284.

Wasburn, Philo C. and Mara H. Wasburn. “Media Coverage of Women in Politics: The Curious Case of Sarah Palin”, *Media, Culture & Society*, 33:7 (2011), 1027-1041.

10/01 – Youth and the Far Right

Most people develop their main political attitudes and loyalties during their adolescence, even though we tend to mainly study them during their adulthood. While youths might not be that important for party politics, they are key to subcultural politics. The far right is no exception to this general rule even if youth activism is woefully understudied.

Compulsory Readings:

Miller-Idriss, Cynthia, “Youth and the Radical Right”, in Jens Rydgren (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook on the Radical Right*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018, 348-365.

Optional Readings:

Mudde, Cas (ed.), *Youth and the Extreme Right*. New York: International Debate Education Association, 2014.

10/03 – Neo-Nazis, Skinheads and White Power Music

Though skinheads emerged in Britain in the 1960s as a multicultural musical subculture, they have become identified with extreme right politics by the broad public. Extreme right skinheads, sometimes referred to as “boneheads,” are among the most visible faces of the far right and are connected to the multimillion dollar industry of white power music.

Compulsory Readings:

Langebach, Martin and Jan Raabe, “Inside the Extreme Right: The ‘White Power’ Music Scene”, in Andrea Mammone, Emmanuel Godin and Brian Jenkins (eds.), *Varieties of Right-Wing Extremism in Europe*. London: Routledge, 2013, 249-264.

Virchow, Fabian, “Creating a European (Neo-Nazi) Movement by Joint Political Action?”, in Andrea Mammone, Emmanuel Godin and Brian Jenkins (eds.), *Varieties of Right-Wing Extremism in Europe*. London: Routledge, 2013, 197-213.

Optional Readings:

Brown, Timothy S. “Subcultures, Pop Music and Politics: Skinheads and ‘Nazi Rock’ in England and Germany”, *Journal of Social History*, 38:1 (2004), 157-178.

Hamm, Mark S. *American Skinheads: The Criminology and Control of Hate Crime*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1993.

Löw, Heléne. “White-Power Music (AKA White Noise Music)”, in Jeffrey Kaplan (ed.), *Encyclopedia of White Power: A Sourcebook on the Radical Racist Right*. Walnut Creek: Altamira, 2000, 339-346.

10/08 – AMERICAN HISTORY X (EVENING!!!)

We will watch the movie American History X in the evening, from 7:00 to 9:30 PM in MLC 268. A short paper related to the topic of the movie, based on academic literature and with illustrations from the movie, is due the next week, on October, 22.

American History X by Tony Kaye (1998), 119 minutes.

10/10 – NO CLASS !!!

PART III – CAUSES

10/15 – The Nordic Countries

The Nordic Countries, often referred to as Scandinavia, are mostly associated with strong center-left parties and welfare states. But over the past decades they also have become a hotbed for far right politics, albeit with many national differences.

Video 4: Sweden Democrats (SD)

Compulsory Reading:

Widfeldt, Anders, “The Radical Right in the Nordic Countries”, in Jens Rydgren (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook on the Radical Right*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018, 545-564.

10/17 – Ten Theories of the Extreme Right

There are many other theories that claim to explain the success of far right parties, some focusing on the demand-side, others on the supply-side, some at the macro level, others on the

micro level. In this class we will critically assess ten of the most popular theories and see whether they still hold today.

Compulsory Reading:

Eatwell (Reader, 21)

Optional Readings:

Kitschelt and De Lange (Reader, 19 and 14)

Mudde, Cas. *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007, chapter 9-11.

PART IV – CONSEQUENCES & RESPONSES

10/22 – The Radical Right in Office

Until the beginning of the 21st century far right parties had barely been represented in parliament, let alone in government. Only one far right party had been a member of a coalition government before 2000: the Lega Nord in Italy. How do far right parties in government operate and what is their impact? Do Minkenberg's insights still hold today?

Video 5: Lega (Nord)

Compulsory Reading:

Minkenberg (Reader, 23)

10/24 – Liberal Democracy

The key question that underlies all interest in, and research on, the far right is: what is its effect on liberal democracy? Surprisingly, we know quite little about this, in part because far right parties have rarely dominated governments in liberal democracies.

Video 6: Fidesz – Magyar Polgári Szövetség (Fidesz)

Compulsory Readings:

Albertazzi & Mueller (Reader, 27)

Mudde, Cas. *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007, chapter 6.

10/29 – Brazil

Although Latin American politics has long been associated with both populism and right-wing authoritarianism, classic far right politics has mostly operated at the margins in the past decades. More recently, the focus was on left populism (e.g. Chávez in Venezuela), but this has changed with the surprise election victory of Jair Bolsonaro in Brazil. How does he relate to far right politics in Europe or the US?

Video 7: Jair Bolsonaro

Compulsory Readings:

Power, Timothy and Wendy Hunter. *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007, chapter 6.

10/31 – Political Violence and the Far Right

The far right is not only related to political parties and electoral success, but also to political violence. What is the violent potential of the far right? And what is the role of far right parties in the political violence?

Video 8: National Socialist Underground (NSU)

Compulsory Reading:

Ravndal, Jacob Aasland, “[Right-Wing Terrorism and Violence in Western Europe: Introducing the RTV Dataset](#)”, *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 10:3 (2016).

11/05 – Liberal Democratic Responses to the Far Right

Given the tensions between the far right and liberal democracy, how have liberal democracies responded to the far right challenge? Which responses have been more effective? And how should liberal democracies respond?

Compulsory Readings:

Van Donselaar and Art (Reader, 29 and 31)

11/07 – Gender and the Far Right

As all political phenomena, the far right is gendered in complex ways. Men dominate the far right and masculinity plays an important role in many facets of far right politics. At the same time, women play an increasingly important role within the far right too, and several male leaders do not live up to the machismo stereotype of the far right.

Compulsory Reading:

Cas Mudde, *The Far Right Today*. Cambridge: Polity, 2019, chapter 9.

Optional Reading:

Givens (Reader, 16)

Mudde, Cas. *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007, chapter 4.

PART V – THE UNITED STATES

11/12 – The Far Right in the US

Tom Wolfe once wrote: “The dark night of fascism is always descending in the United States and yet lands only in Europe.” He was reflecting a consensus, shared by public and scholars alike, that far right politics is a European phenomenon, at odds with “American values.” But far right politics has a long history in the US, even though it comes in somewhat different forms than in Europe.

Video 9: Pat Buchanan

Compulsory Readings:

Parker, Christopher, “The Radical Right in the United States of America”, in Jens Rydgren (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook on the Radical Right*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018, 630-649.

Mudde, Cas, *The Far Right in America*. London: Routledge, 2018, chapter 2.

Optional Reading:

Blee & Creasap (Reader, 11)

11/14 – The Militia Movement

Americans have always had a much more skeptical, if not outright hostile, position towards the state than Europeans. A certain “Frontier mentality” towards both guns and politics has survived within large parts of the US population. In the 1990s these merged with far right politics in the so-called militia movement.

Video 10: The Three Percenters

Compulsory Reading:

Pitcavage, Mark, “Camouflage and Conspiracy: The Militia Movement From Ruby Ridge to Y2K”, *American Behavioral Scientist*, 44:6 (2001): 957-981.

11/19 – The Tea Party

Between 2009 and 2012, the Tea Party was the hottest topic in US politics. A loose collection of grassroots groups, new and old, backed by well-funded conservative organizations and boosted by conservative talk radio and Fox News, the Tea Party took the Republican Party, and by extension the US, by storm. What is (was) the Tea Party? Was it AstroTurf or grassroots?

Video 11: Tea Party Patriots

Compulsory Reading:

Williamson, Vanessa, Theda Skocpol and John Coggin, “The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism”, *Perspectives on Politics*, 9:1 (2011): 25-43.

11/21 – The Alt-Right

The buzzword of the past year has been the “alt-right.” Coined by far right activist Richard Spencer, as a catchy phrase for “alternative right,” the dubious and vague term “alt-right” has become use for almost everything to the right of the Republican Party, if not for the GOP itself. But what, if anything, is the alt-right?

Video 12: The Proud Boys

Compulsory Readings:

Hawley, chapters 1-4.

11/25 – The Rise of Trump

Until 2016 the term “far right” was mainly linked in the US to some marginal Klansmen and neo-Nazis. Far right politics was something European, fundamentally un-American. But with the rise of Donald Trump the term became central to US politics. IS Trump a far right politician. Is “Trumpism” something global or typically American?

Compulsory Readings:

Hawley, chapters 5-6.

Mudde, Cas, *The Far Right in America*. London: Routledge, 2018, chapters 19, 24, 32.

11/27 – THANKSGIVING BREAK

12/02 – Assessing the Far Right Today

How strong is the far right today? Is it in power in the United States? Is it dominating the European Union? In what ways has it affected western democracies? And how have western democracies affected the far right?

Compulsory Reading:

Cas Mudde, *The Far Right Today*. Cambridge: Polity, 2019, chapter 10.