

# UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA

**NUMBER:** INTL 4335  
**TITLE:** Far Right Politics in Western Democracies

**INSTRUCTOR:** Dr. Cas Mudde ([mudde@uga.edu](mailto:mudde@uga.edu))  
**OFFICE:** Candler 324  
**OFFICE HOURS:** Wednesdays 1:00-3.00, sign up on Elc

**TERM:** Spring 2021  
**DATE & TIME:** Tuesdays & Thursdays, 9:35-10:50  
**ROOM:** MLC 268 (but the course will be fully online)  
**TWITTER:** #INTL4335 ([@casmudde](https://twitter.com/casmudde))

## Introduction:

Since the end of the Second World War, 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 is even more the case since the start of the “fourth wave” of the “fourth wave” of the far right, which started roughly at the turn of the century, and has taken the far right to new countries and positions. As this course starts, three of the five largest democracies have a far-right leader (Brazil, India, and the US), which means that, globally, almost 2 billion people.

In this course the focus is on the fourth wave, i.e. the contemporary far right of the early 21<sup>st</sup> century. While the geographical scope is global, particularly in terms of theoretical issues, much of the examples will be from (Western) Europe, which remains the stronghold of far-right party politics. We will discuss the history, ideology, organization, people, activities, causes, consequences of the far right as well as the responses to it. Moreover, we will pay specific attention to the gender aspects of the far right, which are essential yet often overlooked.

We will devote the last part of the course to the far right in the US, which has long been ignored by academia and media alike but has taken the spotlight in recent years because of the rise of Donald Trump. We look at the recent history of far-right politics in the US (e.g. militias), current far-right subcultures (e.g. the “alt-right”) and assess the role and legacy of Trump in terms of US far-right politics.

## Readings:

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

**Cas Mudde (ed.), The Far Right Today.  
Cambridge: Polity, 2019. (Mudde)**

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

I will also use a few episodes of my podcast [RADIKAAL](#), which focuses on the radical aspects of music, politics, and sports, and is available on all podcast platforms.

If you have a really serious interest in far-right politics, and think you will want to read and write about it beyond this course, you may also consider purchasing this *Handbook*.

**Jens Rydgren (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of the Radical Right.  
Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018.**

## 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

## Course Evaluation:

- ✪ Participation (20%)
- ✪ Newspaper analysis (15%)

- ✪ Group video (20%)
- ✪ Op-Ed (25%)
- ✪ Social media analysis (20%)

**Participation (20%):** includes both the *preparation*, i.e. reading and reflecting upon the compulsory readings for each class, and *participation* in discussion in class – primarily *online on the ELC course page*. You are expected to regularly participate (i.e. at least biweekly) in the course Discussion Board discussions in an active, civilized, and well-informed manner.

**Newspaper analysis (15%):** you have to choose one magazine/newspaper article on some aspect of far-right politics from a reputable source (can be non-English) and critique it in light of the compulsory readings. The critical analysis should be max. 1,000 words and well-referenced and -written. The deadline is **February 18** at midnight.

**Group video (20%):** 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 should analyze the *history, ideology, leadership, and political relevance* of the specific individual/organization. The video should not be longer than **20 minutes** and must be well-produced and well-researched – that means, edited to ensure clear sound and consistent volume, include relevant visual clips, and be based on research that goes well beyond the compulsory readings.

**Op-Ed (25%):** you will write a 900 to 1200-word opinion piece on some issue related to far-right politics that will be shared on Tremr, an interactive web platform (students may post anonymously). The goal of the assignment is to make an argument regarding far-right politics using academic research that will be easily accessible to a general audience of college students. Deadline for emailing me the *outline* is **March 2**; for uploading the op-Ed to Tremr is **March 23**; and for responding to 2 other op-Eds is **April 6** (all midnight). For more detailed information about this assignment, see the document under “O. Course Information” on the Elc course page.

**Social media analysis (20%):** you have to follow one far-right social media account (Facebook, Instagram, Parler, Twitter) between January 1 and April 30, and write an analysis of its content. The analysis should be max. 1,000 words and explicitly reference at least three academic articles from the compulsory literature – obviously, additional academic sources are also very much appreciated! The deadline is **May 5** at midnight.

### **Classroom Attendance and Activity**

This course will be *online* (only) and *synchronous*, which means we meet twice a week on Zoom at the set times of the course (Tuesdays and Thursday, 9.35 to 10.50). You are very strongly encouraged to attend all classes and to keep your camera on whenever there is no particular reason to have it off.

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

**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. I do not expect that your views on 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 free (and perhaps even heated) exchange of ideas. I therefore expect you to *challenge viewpoints* that differ from your own, but also to *substantiate your arguments* on the basis of the readings, lectures and discussions, and to *respect* other people’s opinions.

2. If you need to use outside *reference works*, for instance for definitions, 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!**

3. 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.

### **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.

### **Disability Statement:**

UGA is committed to the success of all learners, and we strive to create an inclusive and accessible online environment. In collaboration with the [Disability Resource Center](#), we work with students who have documented disabilities to access reasonable accommodations and academic supports. For more information or to speak with a Disability coordinator, please call the Disability Resource Center at (706) 542-8719, TTY only phone (706) 542-8778.

### **Coronavirus Information for Students**

#### Face Coverings:

Effective July 15, 2020, the University of Georgia—along with all University System of Georgia (USG) institutions—requires all faculty, staff, students and visitors to wear an appropriate face covering while inside campus facilities/buildings where six feet social distancing may not always be possible. Face covering use is in addition to and is not a substitute for social distancing. Anyone not using a face covering when required will be asked to wear one or must leave the area. Reasonable accommodations may be made for those who are unable to wear a face covering for documented health reasons. Students seeking an accommodation related to face coverings should contact Disability Services at <https://drc.uga.edu/>.

#### DawgCheck:

Please perform a quick symptom check each weekday on DawgCheck—on the UGA app or website—whether you feel sick or not. It will help health providers monitor the health situation on campus: <https://dawgcheck.uga.edu/>

What do I do if I have symptoms?

Students showing symptoms should self-isolate and schedule an appointment with the University Health Center by calling 706-542-1162 (Monday-Friday, 8 a.m.-5 p.m.). Please DO NOT walk-in. For emergencies and after-hours care, see <https://www.uhs.uga.edu/info/emergencies>.

What do I do if I am notified that I have been exposed?

Students who learn they have been directly exposed to COVID-19 but are not showing symptoms should self-quarantine for 14 days consistent with Department of Public Health (DPH) and Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) guidelines. Please correspond with your instructor via email, with a cc: to Student Care & Outreach at [sco@uga.edu](mailto:sco@uga.edu), to coordinate continuing your coursework while self-quarantined. If you develop symptoms, you should contact the University Health Center to make an appointment to be tested. You should continue to monitor your symptoms daily on DawgCheck.

How do I get a test?

Students who are demonstrating symptoms of COVID-19 should call the University Health Center. UHC is offering testing by appointment for students; appointments may be booked by calling 706-542-1162.

UGA will also be recruiting asymptomatic students to participate in surveillance tests. Students living in residence halls, Greek housing and off-campus apartment complexes are encouraged to participate.

What do I do if I test positive?

Any student with a positive COVID-19 test is **required** to report the test in DawgCheck and should self-isolate immediately. Students should not attend classes in-person until the isolation period is completed. Once you report the positive test through DawgCheck, UGA Student Care and Outreach will follow up with you.

**Other Important Resources for Students**

UGA has a vast array of resources to support students facing a variety of challenges. Please don't hesitate to come speak with me or contact these resources directly:

Office of Student Care & Outreach (coordinate assistance for students experiencing hardship/unforeseen circumstances): T: 706-542-7774 or by email [sco@uga.edu](mailto:sco@uga.edu)

Counseling and Psychiatric Services (CAPS): T: 706-542-2273 (during regular business hours) *After Hour Mental Health Crisis:* 706-542-2200 (UGA Police—ask to speak to the CAPS on-call clinician).

Relationship and Sexual Violence Prevention: T: 706-542-SAFE (Please note, faculty and staff are obligated to report any knowledge of sexual assault/relationship violence to UGA's Equal Opportunity Office. The advocates at RSVP can provide student confidentially).

**Third-Party Software and FERPA:**

During this course you might have the opportunity to use public online services and/or software applications sometimes called third-party software such as a blog or wiki. While some of these are required assignments, you need **not** make any personally identifying information on a public site. Do not post or provide any private information about yourself or your classmates. Where appropriate you may use a pseudonym or nickname. Some written assignments posted publicly may require personal reflection/comments, but the assignments will not require you to disclose any personally identifiable/sensitive information. If you have any concerns about this, please contact your instructor.

**Important Dates:**

February, 18	Deadline Newspaper Analysis
March, 2	Deadline Op-Ed Outline
March, 9-11	Cas Mudde's Unofficial Spring Break (No Class)
March, 23	Deadline Op-Ed on Tremr
April, 6	Deadline Responses to 2 Op-Eds
April, 8	Instruction Day (No Class)
May, 5	Deadline Social Media Analysis

**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

### **01/14 – 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.*

### **01/19 – Historical Perspective I: Historical Fascism**

*The discussion and study of the contemporary far right is always, explicitly or implicitly, linked to that of historical fascism. In the first half of the 20th century several European countries saw the rise of fascist movements and parties. Only a few came to power, most notably Italian Fascism and German National Socialism, but they were instrumental in starting the Second World War, the most destructive war in history.*

#### Compulsory Readings:

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

#### Optional Reading:

Eatwell, Roger. “Towards a New Model of Generic Fascism”, *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, 4:2 (1992), 161-194.

### **01/21 – Historical Perspective II: 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 authoritarian 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?*

#### Compulsory Reading:

Griffin, Roger. “Interregnum or Endgame? The Radical Right in the ‘Post-Fascist’ Era”, *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 5:2 (2000), 163-178.

### **01/26 – European Integration and the Rise of the Far Right**

*As a response to two world wars within half a century, both essentially global extensions of European wars, a process of European integration was started that would give way to the current European Union (EU), a unique form of transnational collaboration. But as Europe integrated, opposition to loss of national sovereignty grew, and far-right parties profited.*

Compulsory Viewing:

[The Big Picture: The Making and Breaking of Europe \(Parts 1 & 2\)](#)

**01/28 – The Far Right in the ‘Post-Fascist’ Era**

*This class will focus on the major party developments within the far right in the period 1945-80. It will focus on the effects of the defeat of fascism on neo-fascist mobilization in postwar Europe and track the most important transformations and new developments within far-right party politics in western democracies until the early 1980s.*

Compulsory Reading

Von Beyme, Klaus. “Right-Wing Extremism in Post-War Europe”, *West European Politics*, 11:2 (1988), 1-18.

**02/02 – The Far Right Today: History & Ideology**

*In this first class on The Far Right Today, we discuss terminology, the postwar history of the global far right, and its main ideological features. The emphasis is on general patterns, but we will also highlight some important national and regional variations. It is important to establish a shared conceptual framework, so that we don’t talk past each other in future discussions.*

Compulsory Readings:

Mudde, Introduction and chapters 1 & 2.

**02/04 – The Far Right Today: Organization**

*The far right comes in many different shapes, from well-organized political parties with millions of members to tiny groups that can meet in a basement. In this class we focus on political parties, social movement organizations, and subcultures. In some cases, however, the boundaries between these organizational forms are not so clear or one group spans different organizational types.*

Compulsory Readings:

Mudde, chapter 3.

Optional Listening:

RADIKAAL Podcast, [episode 2](#): Caterina Froio on Casa Pound.

**02/09 – The Far Right Today: People & Activities**

*Most people have a fairly specific (stereo)type of person in mind when they think about a far-right supporter. Within the western media, stories about far-right politics are often accompanied with images of young, aggressive, tattooed, bold-shaved men. But the*

*reality is much more complex. Similarly, the far right is not just involved in street protests, but also in elections and political violence.*

**Guest Speaker: Shannon Foley Martinez (former neo-Nazi)**

Compulsory Listening and Readings:

*Mudde*, chapter 4 and 5.

RADIKAAL Podcast, [episode 3](#): Christian Picciolini on the US far right.

### **02/11 – *The Far Right Today: Causes & Consequences***

*Obviously, with the far right so heterogeneous, its causes and consequences are quite diverse. Still, some factors lay a role for almost all far-right groups around the world, while others are crucial within certain regions. And as the far right becomes more successful, its consequences become clearer, from policy shifts to mass killings.*

Compulsory Readings:

*Mudde*, chapter 6 and 7.

### **02/16 – *The Far Right Today: Responses***

*Given that the far right challenges the fundamental institutions and values of liberal democracy in many different ways, liberal democracies and liberal democrats have come up with a variety of responses. But do they work? And is the cure sometimes worse than the disease?*

Compulsory Readings:

*Mudde*, chapter 8.

### **02/18 – *The Far Right Today: Gender***

*There are few political phenomena as gendered as the far right. As discussed, the stereotypical image of the far-right supporter is male, while the stereotypical far-right leader is a (charismatic) man too. But, again, the reality is much more complex and, moreover, changing.*

Compulsory Readings:

*Mudde*, chapter 9.

### **02/23 – *The Radical Right in Office***

*Until the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> 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?*

Compulsory Reading:

Minkenberg, Michael, “The Radical Right in Public Office: Agenda-Setting and Policy Effects”, *West European Politics*, 24:4 (2001), 1-21.

**02/25 – From the Margins to the Mainstream**

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

**03/02 – 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, José Pedro, “The European Extreme Right and Islam: New Directions?”, *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 13:3 (2008), 321-344.

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.

**03/04 – Euroscepticism**

*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.*

Compulsory Readings:

Vasilopoulou, Sofia, “European Integration and the Radical Right: Three Patterns of Opposition”, *Government and Opposition*, 48:2 (2011), 223-244.

Optional Reading:

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.

**MUDE’S UNOFFICIAL SPRING BREAK**

**03/09 – NO CLASS, EXTRA OFFICE HOURS**

**03/11 – NO CLASS, EXTRA OFFICE HOURS**

**03/16 – The Far Right and Social Media**

*Many far-right groups have been early adopters of social media and remain disproportionately active and prominent on Facebook and Twitter. Social media is said to have fundamentally transformed politics, with many people pointing to Donald Trump and Twitter as a prime example, but what role does social media really play in far right politics and how does it work?*

**Guest Speaker: Caterina Froio (SciencesPo, France)**

Compulsory Readings:

Froio, Caterina and Bharath Ganesh, “The Transnationalization of Far Right Discourse on Twitter: Issues and Actors That Cross Borders in Western European Democracies”, *European Societies*, 21:4 (2019), 513-539.

Optional Readings:

Klein, Ofra and Jasper Muis, “Online Discontent: Comparing Western European Far-Right Groups on Facebook”, *European Societies*, 21:4 (2019), 540-562.

**03/18 – The Far Right and the Media**

*The far right and the media have a complex but, overall, mutually beneficial relationship. The traditional media is both friend and foe of the far right, showering it with disproportionate coverage and often propagating its issues and frames, even if they denounce the far-right actors themselves.*

Compulsory Readings:

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.

### **03/23 – 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?*

#### Compulsory Readings & Viewing:

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

Beaumont, Peter. “[Marine Le Pen: Her Heart Still Belongs to Daddy](#)”, *The Observer*, 8 January 2011.

Snipes, Alexandra and Cas Mudde, “‘France’s (Kinder, Gentler) Extremist’: Marine Le Pen, Intersectionality, and Media Framing of Female Populist Radical Right Leaders”, *Politics and Gender*, 16:2 (2020), 438-470.

#### Optional Reading:

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.

### **03/25 – Youth and the Far Right**

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

**Guest Speaker: Cynthia Miller-Idriss (American University, US)**

#### 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.

### **03/30 – Neo-Nazis, Skinheads and White Power Music**

*Skinheads emerged in Britain in the 1960s as a multicultural musical subculture, but (through the media) 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:

Lööw, Helène. “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.

**04/01 – 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?*

Compulsory Listening and Reading:

RADIKAAL Podcast, [episode 13](#): Kacper Rekawek on Far-Right Foreign Fighters in Ukraine.

Ravndal, Jacob Aasland, “Explaining Right-Wing Terrorism and Violence in Western Europe: Grievances, Opportunities and Polarisation”, *European Journal of Political Research*, 57:4 (2018), 845-866.

Optional Reading:

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

**04/06 – 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.*

Compulsory Readings:

Berlet, Chip and Spencer Sunshine, “Rural Rage: The Roots of Right-Wing Populism in the United States”, *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, 46:3 (2019), 480-513.

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.

## **04/08 – INSTITUTIONAL BREAK, NO CLASS**

### **04/13 – 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. In recent years new militias have emerged, which were pro-Trump. What can we expect of them in the post-Trump era?*

**Guest Speaker: Sam Jackson (University of Albany, US)**

#### Compulsory Reading:

Jackson, Sam, “‘Nullification through Armed Civil Disobedience’: A Case Study of Strategic Framing in the Patriot/Militia Movement”, *Dynamics of Asymmetric Conflict*, 12:1 (2019): 90-109.

#### Optional Reading:

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

### **04/15 – The Sovereign Citizens Movement**

*Most Americans have never heard of the so-called “sovereign citizens movement,” even though US law enforcement have long considered the movement the biggest domestic terrorist threat. Sovereign citizens are an extremely loosely organized “movement,” perhaps even better referred to as a “subculture,” which many different groups and views. Still, sovereign citizens are anti-government and often heavily armed, which has led to many deadly shoot-outs with police and federal officers.*

#### Compulsory Readings:

Valeri, Robin Maria, “The Sovereign Citizens Movement”, in Robin Maria Valeri and Kevin Borgeson (eds.), *Terrorism in America*. London: Routledge, 2018.

#### Optional Readings:

Berger, J.M., *Without Prejudice: What Sovereign Citizens Believe*. Washington, DC: The Program on Extremism at George Washington University.

### **04/20 – 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 was the Tea Party? Was it AstroTurf or grassroots?*

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.

**04/22 – 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 used for almost everything to the right of the Republican Party, if not for the GOP itself. But what, if anything, is the alt-right?*

**Guest Speaker: George Hawley (University of Alabama, US)**

Compulsory Readings:

Hawley, George, *The Alt-Right: What Everyone Needs to Know*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019, chapter 1.

**04/27 – The Rise and Fall 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 has become central to US politics. Is Trump a far-right politician. Does "Trumpism" exist and will it survive the Trump presidency?*

Compulsory Readings:

Hawley, George, *The Alt-Right: What Everyone Needs to Know*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019, chapter 8.

Sides, John, Michael Tesler and Lynn Vavreck, "The 2016 U.S. Election: How Trump Lost and Won", *Journal of Democracy*, 28:2 (2017), 34-44.

**04/29 – Assessing the Far Right Today**

*How strong is the far right today? Is it in power in the US? Is it dominating the EU? Is it the politics of the future or has it peaked?*

Compulsory Reading:

*Mudde*, chapter 10.