

UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA

NUMBER: INTL 4335
TITLE: Far Right Politics in Western Democracies
INSTRUCTOR: Dr. Cas Mudde (mudde@uga.edu)
OFFICE: IA Building 324
OFFICE HOURS: Wednesdays 9:30-11.30, online only, sign up on Elc
TERM: Spring 2022
DATE & TIME: Tuesdays & Thursdays, 9:35-10:50
ROOM: MLC 268
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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 far right, which started roughly at the turn of the century, and has taken the far right to new countries and positions.

In this course the focus is on the fourth wave, i.e. the contemporary far right of the early 21st century. While the geographical scope is global, particularly in terms of theoretical issues, much of the literature will draw upon examples 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.

The last part of the course will be devoted 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 with 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.

While this course focuses on the far right, it tries to understand it within its broader political and societal context. We aim to better understand the *political significance* of the far right, in part through its (changing) relationship with the political mainstream.

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
- ✧ Group videos
- ✧ Film presentations

Course Evaluation:

- ★ Participation (20%)
- ★ Midterm (20%)
- ★ Group Video (20%)
- ★ Op-Ed (20%)
- ★ Social Media Analysis (20%)

Participation (20%)

This includes both the *preparation*, i.e. reading and reflecting upon the compulsory readings for each class, and the regular participation in discussion in class and online on the Discussion Board of the ELC course page. Contributions should be civil and well-informed.

Midterm (20%)

You 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: **February 22**.

Group video (20%)

You will make one group video (in a group of 3-4 students) on a specific far right individual or organization (schedule and topics to be announced in the second 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 specific class. The video should not be longer than **15 minutes**, be well-produced and well-researched – that means going well beyond the compulsory reading that all students have to do.

The **full script** of the video should be emailed to me at least three weeks *before* the deadline of the video. It should lay out, in detail, who says what, include links to the specific clips that will feature in the video, and list the academic and non-academic sources used for the video. The **pre-final video** is due for review (by me) one week before the deadline. Given the size of the file, it is best to upload the video (anonymously if you want) to a website and then email me the link!

Op-Ed (20%)

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 that will be easily accessible to a general audience of college students. Deadline for emailing me the *outline* is **March 15**; for uploading the op-Ed to Tremr is **April 7**; and for responding to 2 other op-Eds is **April 14** (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 politician on social media (Facebook, Instagram, Parler, Twitter) between January 1 and April 30, 2022, and write an analysis of its content. The analysis

should be max. 1,000 words and explicitly reference various academic sources, including at least three academic articles from the compulsory literature! The deadline is **May 5** at midnight.

Classroom Attendance and Activity

Under normal conditions, attendance of all my classes is always mandatory. Students learn so much more when they come to class and for some students mandatory attendance is the only way they will regularly attend, and therefore participate in, most classes. However, as the University of Georgia has issued neither a vaccination mandate nor a mask mandate, I cannot in good conscience require anyone to enter the classroom. Consequently, attendance this semester is **voluntary**. I really hope you will attend regularly, and to do so **properly masked**, as masks are the best protection we have. Remember, KN-95 masks are much better than cloth masks and cloth masks are much better than no masks at all!

Irrespective whether you attend in person or not, 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 media, and to **participate actively** in the class and/or online discussions.

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

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 5 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, 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

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, 17	No Class
February, 22	Midterm Exam
March, 7-11	Spring Break (No Class)
March, 15	Deadline Op-Ed Outline
April, 7	Deadline Op-Ed on Tremr
April, 14	Deadline Responses to Two Other Op-Eds
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

01/11 – Introduction (1)

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.

01/13 – Historical Context I: The Post-Fascist Era (2)

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:

Prowe, Diethelm, “‘Classical’ Fascism and the New Radical Right in Western Europe: Comparisons and Contrasts”, *Contemporary European History*, 3:3 (1994), 289-313.

01/18 – Historical Context II: European Integration (3)

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.

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

Compulsory Reading and Viewing:

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

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

01/20 – *The Far Right Today: History & Ideology* (4)

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.

01/25 – *The Far Right Today: Organization & Activities* (5)

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, which are involved in many different activities. In this class we look at these different forms and the relationships between organizations and activities.

Compulsory Readings:

Mudde, chapter 3 & 5.

Optional Listening:

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

01/27 – *The Far Right Today: People* (6)

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.

Guest Lecture: Shannon Foley Martinez

Compulsory Listening and Reading:

Mudde, chapter 4.

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

02/01 – *The Far Right Today: Causes* (7)

Obviously, with the far right so heterogeneous, the causes for its rise (and fall) 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.

Compulsory Readings:

Mudde, chapter 6.

Eatwell, Roger. “Ten Theories of the Extreme Right”, in Peter H. Merkl and Leonard Weinberg (eds.), *Right-Wing Extremism in the Twenty-First Century*. London: Frank Cass, 2003, 47-73.

02/03 – *The Far Right Today: Consequences & Responses* (8)

As the far right has become more successful, its consequences become clearer, from democratic erosion to growing political violence. This increased far right challenge has

been met in different ways by liberal democrats. But do these responses work? And is the cure sometimes worse than the disease?

Compulsory Readings:

Mudde, chapter 7 & 8.

02/08 – The Far Right Today: Gender (9)

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 Reading:

Mudde, chapter 9.

02/10 – The Enemies of the Far Right (10)

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 Readings:

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

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.

02/15 – Library Visit (11)

You will visit SPIA librarian Elizabeth White in the Main Library Instruction Lab, who will help you make the most of the library resources at UGA in preparation of your written assignments. Make sure you attend!

02/17 – NO CLASS (12)

02/22 – MIDTERM EXAM (13)

02/24 – From the Margins to the Mainstream (14)

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 of the past century far right parties had at best modest electoral success and political power. But things have changed in the 21st century.

Guest Lecture: Matthijs Rooduijn (University of Amsterdam, NL)

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.

03/01 – The Radical Right in Office (15)

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?

Compulsory Reading:

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

03/03 – The Fight Against “Gender Ideology” (16)

In the last decade, a new enemy has emerged: “gender ideology”. In some ways, this enemy is the newest iteration of an old foe, feminism, but it has a somewhat different content, is far more prominent within the propaganda of the far right, and has become a significant target of far-right governments. What is this “gender ideology” and how does it fit within the far-right’s political struggle?

Compulsory Readings:

Grzebalska, Weronika, and Andrea Pētö, “The Gendered Modus Operandi of the Illiberal Transformation in Hungary and Poland”, *Women’s Studies International Forum*, 85 (2018), 164-172.

Mudde, Cas, “Why the Far Right Is Obsessed with ‘Gender Ideology’”, [*The New Statesman*](#), 20 September 2019.

SPRING BREAK – MARCH 7-11

03/15 – The Far Right and COVID-19 (17)

As we all know, the last years have been dominated by the COVID-19 pandemic. This has shifted politics away from the far right's favorite issues (immigration, crime, corruption) and has forced them to respond. How has the far right responded to COVID-19 and the pandemic? And how has this changed over time?

Video 1: The Far Right and COVID-19 in 2022

Compulsory Reading:

Wondreys, Jakub and Cas Mudde, "Victims of the Pandemic? European Far-Right Parties and COVID-19", *Nationalities Papers*, forthcoming.

03/17 – The Far Right and the Media (18)

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.

Video 2: National Review Online

Compulsory Listening and 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.

RADIKAAL Podcast, [episode 40](#): Léonie de Jonge on the Far Right in the Benelux and the Role of the Media.

03/22 – The Far Right and Social Media (19)

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 Reading:

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 Reading:

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

03/24 – Far Right Women in the Media (20)

The media use a strongly masculine frame in their coverage of the far right. Stories are illustrated with pictures of (young) men, 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 and 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.

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.

03/29 – Youth and the Far Right (21)

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.

Video 3: The Identitarian Movement

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.

03/31 – The Far Right and Culture (22)

Many of our views of the more institutionalized far right are dated, but the same is true, perhaps even more so, for far-right subcultures. While iconography of the neo-Nazis and skinheads of the 1970s and 1980s still dominate the popular image, the far-right

subculture has moved far beyond that, both breaching out, commercializing, and mainstreaming its interests and style.

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

Compulsory Readings:

Miller-Idriss, Cynthia, *Hate in the Homeland: The New Global Far Right*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, chapter 3.

04/05 –White Power Music (23)

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.

Video 4: Varieties of White Power Music

Compulsory Reading:

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.

04/07 – Political Violence and Terrorism (24)

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 5: The National Socialist Union (NSU)

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).

THE FAR RIGHT IN THE U.S.

04/12 – The Far Right in the US (25)

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 6: Pat Buchanan

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.

04/14 – The Militia Movement (26)

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. The militia subculture, in particular, caters towards this part of the population, but it has undergone important changes in recent years.

Guest Speaker: Amy Cooter (Vanderbilt University, US)

Viewing: “[Why Armed Militia Groups Are Surging in America?](#)” (PBS, 2017, 10 min)

Compulsory Readings:

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

Cooter, Amy, “Citizen Militias in the U.S. Are Moving toward More Violent Extremism”, [*Scientific American*](#), 326:1 (2022): 34-41.

Optional 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.

04/19 – The Tea Party (27)

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?

Video 7: 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.

04/21 – The Alt-Right (28)

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? And how relevant is it still in 2022?

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

Compulsory Reading:

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

04/26 – The Rise and Fall (and Rise?) of Trump (29)

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 Trump and his presidency?

Compulsory Readings:

Mudde, Cas, "The Far-Right Threat in the United States: A European Perspective, *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 2022, forthcoming.

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.

04/28 – Assessing the Far Right Today (30)

How strong is the far right today? Is it set to return to power in the US? Is it dominating European politics? How has it been affected by COVID-19? Is it the politics of the future or has it peaked?

Compulsory Reading:

Mudde, chapter 10.