## 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 2:00 - 4.00 PM, online; sign up on Elc

TERM: Fall 2024

**DATE & TIME:** Tuesdays & Thursdays, 11:10-12:25

**ROOM:** Journalism 501

#### **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 farright 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" (or better: "fourth phase") of the far right, which started at the turn of the century and has taken the far right into the mainstream.

In this course the focus is on the fourth phase, 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 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, Tea Party) and 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 in (mostly) western democracies.

#### **Readings:**

We will use one book in full, which you are strongly encouraged to buy.

# Cas Mudde (ed.), <u>The Far Right Today</u>. Cambridge: Polity, 2019. (Mudde)

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

I will also use a few episodes of my podcast <u>RADIKAAL</u>, which focuses on the radical aspects of music, politics, and sports, and is available for free on all podcast platforms.

If you have a serious academic 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 book.

# Jens Rydgren (ed.), <u>The Oxford Handbook of the Radical Right</u>. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018.

## **Course objectives:**

- To provide students with a conceptual and theoretical foundation to understanding farright 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:**

- Class
- Short documentaries
- **♦** Group videos

#### **Course Evaluation:**

- Class participation (15%)
- **♦** Midterm (25%)
- **O**p-Ed (20%)
- **⇔** Group video (20%)
- ♦ Final exam (20%)

Class participation (15%): includes the *preparation*, i.e. the reading of and the reflecting on the compulsory readings for each class, *and participation* in discussion in the classroom – and, sometimes, online on the ELC course page. You are expected to regularly participate in the class discussions in an active, civilized, and well-informed manner.

**Midterm (25%)**: 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 multiple choice and short-answer questions. Date: **September 24**.

**Op-Ed (20%)**: you will write a 900 to 1,200-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 **October 1**; for uploading the op-Ed to Tremr is **October 31** (both 11:59 PM EST). For more detailed information about this assignment, see the relevant document under "O. Course Information" on the Elc course page.

Group video (20%): you will make one group video (in a group of 3-4 students) on a specific far right organization – schedule and topics to be announced in the third week of the course. The video introduces the ideology and history of the specific organization, assesses and explains its far-right status and political relevance, and puts it into the broader context of the course, 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 must do. Note that this is one of your big assignments and I expect you to take it as serious as your midterm and final exams. Part of your group video grade will come from a peer evaluation.

On October 17, we will have no class, and you are to meet with your group members to finalize the detailed outline of the video, which is due the next day, on October 18. It should lay out, in some detail, the key points of the video, 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) by November 8 and the final version should be uploaded by November 19 at the latest – by which time you should also email me a list of the academic and non-academic sources you have used (all deadlines are 11:59 PM EST). On November 21, we will not have class, and you are expected to watch all group videos and to provide informed comments on the videos of at least two other groups on Elc. For more detailed information about this assignment, see the relevant document under "O. Course Information" on the Elc course page.

Final exam (20%): you have an in-class exam in which you answer one essay question, in maximum 2.5 pages, which draws upon knowledge of the whole course. The exam is "open book" in the sense that you can use your own notes (but <u>not</u> the articles and books). Date: December 10, 12:00 - 3:00 PM.

## **Grading:**

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

#### **Classroom Attendance and Activity**

Classroom attendance is <u>not</u> mandatory. **However**, there are various reasons why (regular) attendance is highly recommended. First, and foremost, students learn so much more when they come to class and participate in the class discussions. Second, participation is a significant part of your final grade and will be based *primarily* on your in-class performance (i.e. the quality and regularity of your contributions to the class discussion). Third, it is always easier to learn together rather than alone.

## **Some Specific Course Ground Rules**

- **1.** It is not my practice to give incompletes. However, if there is suitable reason subject to my approval and supported by appropriate written documentation an exception may be possible. If you are struggling with completing assigned work, please let me know as soon as you can, so that we can work out a solution.
- **2.** Laptops, tablets, phones, etc. are not allowed in the classroom! 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. I do not expect that your views on and perceptions of the often controversial themes discussed in class 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.
- 4. 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. If you do use dictionaries or Wikipedia, you don't only indicate to me that you didn't read the syllabus, but you will also lose points on your assignment.
- 5. If you believe that you should have received a better grade, please provide **an explanation** to me *in writing* and *within two weeks* of receiving the grade. I will then grade your *whole* exam/paper again and issue a "new" grade, which will be either the same, a higher, or a lower grade.
- 6. Please use proper etiquette when emailing me (see ELC course page). **Emails with questions that can be answered by reading the syllabus will not be answered.** Remember, I am a human being, and only work **Monday to Friday, 9-5** (excluding holidays). Hence, I will respond to your emails (only) during this period, irrespective when *you* send your email!

#### **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: <a href="http://www.uga.edu/honesty">http://www.uga.edu/honesty</a>. 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.

#### ChatGPT

Unauthorized use of artificial intelligence software or word mixing software to write your paper or disguise plagiarized work is considered unauthorized assistance in this course

#### Visual or Audio Recording

In the absence of written authorization from the UGA Disability, students may <u>not</u> make a visual or audio recording of any aspect of this course. Students who have a recording accommodation agree in writing that they:

- Will use the records only for personal academic use during the specific course.
- Understand that faculty members have copyright interest in their class lectures and that they agree not to infringe on this right in any way.

- Understand that the faculty member and students in the class have privacy rights and agree not to violate those rights by using recordings for any reason other than their own personal study.
- Will not release, digitally upload, broadcast, transcribe, or otherwise share all or any part of the recordings. They also agree that they will not profit financially and will not allow others to benefit personally or financially from lecture recordings or other course materials.
- Will erase/delete all recordings at the end of the semester.
- Understand that violation of these terms may subject them to discipline under the Student Code of Conduct or subject them to liability under copyright laws.

## **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 <u>Disability Resource Center</u>, 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.

## Well-being, Mental Health, and Student Support

If you or someone you know needs assistance, you are encouraged to contact Student Care & Outreach in the Division of Student Affairs at 706-542-7774 or visit <a href="https://sco.uga.edu/">https://sco.uga.edu/</a>. They will help you navigate any difficult circumstances you may be facing by connecting you with the appropriate resources or services.

UGA has several resources to support your well-being and mental health: <a href="https://well-being.uga.edu/">https://well-being.uga.edu/</a>

Counseling and Psychiatric Services (CAPS) is your go-to, on-campus resource for emotional, social and behavioral-health support: <a href="https://caps.uga.edu/">https://caps.uga.edu/</a>, TAO Online Support (<a href="https://caps.uga.edu/tao/">https://caps.uga.edu/tao/</a>), 24/7 support at 706-542-2273. For crisis support: <a href="https://healthcenter.uga.edu/emergencies/">https://healthcenter.uga.edu/emergencies/</a>.

The University Health Center offers FREE workshops, classes, mentoring and health coaching led by licensed clinicians or health educators: <a href="https://healthcenter.uga.edu/bewelluga/">https://healthcenter.uga.edu/bewelluga/</a>

#### 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) – 706-542-7774 or by email <a href="mailto:sco@uga.edu">sco@uga.edu</a>

**Counseling and Psychiatric Services** (CAPS) - 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** – 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:**

September, 24 Midterm Exam

October, 1 Op-Ed Outline

October, 17 No Class (Meet with Video Group)

October, 18 Draft Script Group Video

October, 24 No Class (Watch Movie)

October, 31 Deadline Op-Ed on Tremr

November, 8 Pre-Final Group Video

November, 19 Upload Group Video

November, 21 No Class (Watch Group Videos)

December, 10 Final Exam (12:00 – 3:00 PM)

# 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 (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.

#### 08/20 – Historical Context I: The Post-Fascist Era (2)

The First World War was supposed to be "The War to End All Wars." Instead, it 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. Although both parts were "anti-fascist", the far right survived, albeit it in the political margins.

Class discussion: What are the main differences and similarities between "classical" fascism and the "new" radical right?

#### Reading:

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

#### Watching:

The Big Picture: The Making and Breaking of Europe (Parts 1)

## 08/22 – Historical Context II: European Integration (3)

As a response to the two world wars, which were essentially European wars, six West European countries started a process of "European integration" that would give way to the current European Union (EU), a unique form of transnational collaboration.

Class discussion: How did the far right adapt to the 'post-fascist' and 'post-national(ist)' era?

#### Reading:

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

#### Watching:

*The Big Picture: The Making and Breaking of Europe* (Parts 2)

08/27 – 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.

Class discussion: What do you think is the most important ideological feature of the far right in the U.S.?

#### Readings:

*Mudde*, Introduction and chapters 1 & 2.

## 08/29 – The Far Right Today: Organization & Activities (5)

The far right comes in many different shapes, from well-organized political parties with tens of thousands of members to tiny groups that can meet in a basement, and are involved in many different activities. We look at these different forms and at the relationships between organizations and activities.

Class discussion: How does the U.S. fit in these global patterns and trends?

#### Readings:

Mudde, chapter 3 & 5.

#### Optional Listening:

Caterina Froio (RADIKAAL #2).

## 09/03 – The Far Right Today: People (6)

Most people have a specific (stereo)type of person in mind when they think about a farright 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.

Class discussion: What are the socio-demographic characteristics of the U.S. far right?

#### Reading:

Mudde, chapter 4.

## Listening:

Christian Picciolini (RADIKAAL #3)

# 09/05 - 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 play a role for almost all far-right groups around the world, while others are only crucial within certain regions.

# Class discussion: Which of Eatwell's ten theories do you find most convincing?

#### 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.

## 09/10 - 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?

Class discussion: How should liberal democracies respond to the far right?

#### Readings:

Mudde, chapter 7 & 8.

## 09/12 – The Far Right Today: Gender (9)

There are few political phenomena as gendered as the far right. Although the stereotypical image of the far-right supporter is a man, and that of the far-right leader is a (charismatic) man too, the reality, again, is much more complex and changing.

Class discussion: How is the far right "gendered" in the U.S.?

#### Reading:

Mudde, chapter 9.

#### 09/17 – 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 the program of many farright groups. Moreover, Islamophobia helped the far right connect to the mainstream?

Class discussion: What is Islamophobia and how does it play out in far-right propaganda?

#### Readings:

Mudde, Cas, *Populist Radical Right Parties in Eur*ope. 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.

## 09/19 – The Fight Against "Gender Ideology" (11)

In the last decade, a new right-wing enemy has emerged: "gender ideology". In some ways, this is simply 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 "gender ideology" and how does it fit within the far-right political agenda?

Class discussion: What, if anything, is specific to the far right in the right-wing fight against "gender ideology"?

## Readings:

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

Magni, Gabriele and Andrew Reynolds, "Why Europe's Right Embraces Gay Rights", *Journal of Democracy*, 34:1 (2023), 50-64.

## 09/24 - MIDTERM EXAM (12)

#### 09/26 – The Radical Right in Office (13)

Until the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century far-right parties were barely represented in parliaments, let alone in governments. Only one West European 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?

Class discussion: Do Minkenberg's insights still hold today?

#### Reading:

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

#### **10/01 – The Far Right and COVID-19 (14)**

The COVID-19 pandemic was not the first crisis of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, but it was undoubtedly the most personal one, affecting people around the globe directly. It also shifted politics away from the far right's favorite issues (immigration, crime, corruption) and forced them to respond.

Class discussion: Has the COVID-19 pandemic harmed or helped the far right?

## Reading:

Wondreys, Jakub and Cas Mudde, "Victims of the Pandemic? European Far-Right Parties and COVID-19", *Nationalities Papers*, 50:1 (2022), 86-103.

#### 10/03 – Political Violence and Terrorism (15)

The far right is not only related to political parties and electoral success, but also to political violence. What makes political violence terrorism and what makes it far right?

Class discussion: What is the violent potential of the far right in the U.S.?

## Reading:

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.

## Listening:

Kacper Rekawek (RADIKAAL #13)

## 10/08 – The Far Right and the Media (16)

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

Class discussion: Are the media and the far right still "frenemies" in the U.S.?

#### 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.

# <u>Listening:</u>

Léonie de Jonge (RADIKAAL #40).

#### 10/10 – The Far Right and Social Media (17)

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 how does this all work?

Class discussion: What role does social media really play in far-right politics and success?

#### 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.

## 10/15 – Youth and the Far Right (18)

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.

Class discussion: What role does the youth play in the U.S. far right?

#### Reading:

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.

#### 10/17 - NO CLASS (19)

During this time, you will work on drafting the scenario of your group project with the other members of the group. You can use the classroom for this, if you want, but you can also meet somewhere else.

## 10/22 – The Far Right and Culture (20)

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.

Class discussion: how does the U.S. far right "look"?

#### Compulsory Readings:

Miller-Idriss, Cynthia, *Hate in the Homeland: The New Global Far Right*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2020, chapter 3.

## 10/24 – Far Right Women in the Media (21) – HOME ASSIGNMENT

We won't have class, but you are expected to watch the documentary <u>The Female Face of Populism</u> at home and write a short reflection on the documentary and the reading on the Elc course discussion board.

#### Readings:

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.

## 10/29 – White Power Music (22)

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. But things are changing.

Class discussion: How has the White Power Music scene changed in recent decades?

#### 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.

## <u>Listening:</u>

Kirsten Dyck (RADIKAAL #59)

#### THE FAR RIGHT IN THE U.S.

## 10/31 – The Far Right in the US (23)

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 U.S., even though it comes in somewhat different forms than in Europe.

Class discussion: Does the far right have a specific cultural or regional base in the U.S.?

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

#### 11/05 – The Militia Movement (24)

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.

Class discussion: How has the militia movement changed in the last decade?

## 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 Listenings:

Kathleen Belew (RADIKAAL #55) & Sam Jackson (RADIKAAL #36)

#### 11/07 – The Tea Party (25)

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?

Class discussion: Was the Tea Party AstroTurf or grassroots?

#### 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.

## 11/12 – The Rise and Fall (and Rise?) of Trump (26)

Until 2016, the term "far right" was mainly linked in the U.S. to some marginal Klansmen and neo-Nazis. But with the rise of Donald Trump, in 2015, the term has become central to U.S. politics. Is Trump a far-right politician.

Class discussion: Does "Trumpism" exist, and will it survive Trump?

#### 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*, 699:1 (2022), 101-115.

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.

## 11/14 – The Insurrection – (27)

On January 6, 2021, exactly two weeks before the inauguration of President Joe Biden, thousands of Trump supporters stormed the Capitol building in Washington, DC, in what would become known as the "American Insurrection." How could this happen?

Class discussion: How has the "Insurrection" changed the U.S. far right?

#### Reading:

Bond, Bayleigh Elaine and Ryan Neville-Shepard, "The Rise of Presidential Eschatology: Conspiracy Theories, Religion, and the January 6<sup>th</sup> Insurrection", *American Behavioral Scientist*, 67:5 (2023): 681-696.

Watching: American Insurrection (US, 2010), 1h 24m

#### Optional Listening:

Phil Gorski (RADIKAAL #68)

Richard Steigmann-Gal (RADIKAAL #75)

#### 11/19 – The Far Right in the Global South (28)

This course has primarily focused on the far right in the so-called "Global North", i.e. the more advanced capitalist democracies of (Western) Europe and North America. But the far right is not limited to this region and has been present, and growing, in parts of the so-called "Global South" too, from India to Brazil.

Class discussion: What, if anything, connects the far right in the North and South?

#### Readings:

Pinheiro-Machado, Rosana and Tatiana Vargas-Maia (2023a) "Why We Need a New Framework to Study the Far Right in the Global South", *Global Dialogue*, 9 March.

Kestler, Thomas, "Radical, Nativist, Authoritarian – Or All of These? Assessing Recent Cases of Right-Wing Populism in Latin America", *Journal of Politics in Latin America*, 14:3 (2022): 289-310.

#### 11/21 - NO CLASS (29)

You will watch all the group videos and provide informed comments on (at least) two videos of groups that you were not part of yourself.

#### 11/26 – Assessing the Far Right Today (30)

How strong is the global far right today? How did the election affect the U.S. far right? And is the far right the politics of the future or has it peaked?

## Compulsory Reading:

Mudde, chapter 10.