

**PSCI 360**  
**Right-Wing Populism**

**Spring 2022**

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Griffin 5  
TR 11:20am-12:35pm

Office Hours: Tuesdays 2.00-3.00, Fridays 9.30-11.00, and by appointment

**Course Description**

After the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, the political scientist Francis Fukuyama famously declared “the end of history”. From now on only liberal democracy, free market capitalism, and global integration had a future. Everything else – including political ideology, nationalism, conservative religion, and sovereignty – was consigned to the ash heap. Thirty years later the future looks seriously derailed. A right-wing populism marked by Brexit, Trump, Le Pen, and a host of ‘far-right’ political movements in the very heartland of democratic globalizing capitalism has shaken liberal certainties.

This course is an investigation into contemporary right-wing populism in Europe and North America in its social, economic, and political context. We will discuss theories of right-wing populism’s appeal from both left and right perspectives. We will also investigate national cases of right-wing populism including France’s National Rally and Eric Zemmour, Italy’s Lega, Sweden’s Sweden Democrats, Hungary’s Fidesz, Poland’s Law and Justice Party, and America’s Trumpism and QAnon. We will also reflect on three important electoral tests of right-wing populism occurring this semester: Hungary’s parliamentary elections (April 3); France’s presidential elections (April 10 & 24); and Slovenia’s parliamentary elections (April 24).

**Readings**

All the required readings in this course are contained in four books and a course reader divided into several parts. The books are:

- Jan-Werner Müller, What is Populism? University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016.
- Roger Eatwell and Matthew Goodwin, National Populism: The Revolt Against Liberal Democracy. Penguin Books, 2018.
- Ivan Krastev and Stephen Holmes, The Light that Failed: Why the West is Losing the Fight for Democracy. Pegasus Books, 2020.
- Frank Furedi, Populism and the European Culture Wars. Routledge, 2017.

All but Eatwell & Goodwin are available for purchase at The Williams Bookstore on Spring Street; all four are available in new and used format from your favorite online retailer. You may pick up the first course reader now at Whitmans Dining Hall through Feb. 8. Beginning Feb. 10 the packets will be available in the packet room in the Class of ’37 House (51 Park St.). Subsequent reading packets will be available later in the semester.

We are reading approximately 75 pages per class this semester. While this amount is a somewhat heavy reading load, it is certainly nothing beyond your capabilities. All students are expected to faithfully keep up with the readings throughout the entire semester. This course is a seminar and depends upon your preparation for its success. Please come to each class prepared to listen, learn, and discuss.

### Course requirements

- **Two (2) short reflection papers** – short critical engagements with a discrete collection of course readings, 1200-1600 words (double-spaced, 11-pt. font minimum).

1. a critical engagement with the ‘left explains’ literature from the syllabus, due Tuesday, March 1, 5pm.
2. a critical engagement with the ‘right explains’ literature from the syllabus, due Tuesday, March 15 5pm.

I will hand out prompts for the short reflection papers one week before they are due.

- **One (1) research paper proposal** – As this class is a research course for the Political Science Department, one of its objectives is to develop your skills for independent research. This will culminate in a formal research paper proposal that you will write in parts over the second half of the semester on a topic of your choice related to contemporary right-wing populism. Detailed expectations for each aspect of the process will be forthcoming.

1. research question, 50-100 words, due April 8, 5pm.
2. annotated bibliography, min. 10 academic sources, min. 20 total sources, due April 22, 5pm.
3. preliminary proposal, 300-500 words, due April 29, 5pm.
4. first draft, min. 3000 words, due May 9, 5pm.
5. peer edits of first draft, due May 13, 5pm.
6. final draft, min. 4500 words, due May 21, 5pm.

- **Every class discussion questions** – Prior to each class, you will submit 1-2 discussion questions relevant to the day’s readings. These questions should be thoughtful engagements with the main ideas from the text(s) and thus go beyond a simple one-sentence query. Possible questions might explore unclear passages in the readings, point out notable gaps in an author’s discussion, or offer critiques of an author’s argument. The best questions will be framed by a brief (< 300 words) discussion. I will use these questions to guide class discussion each day, including calling on you in class based on your remarks. Use our course Glow page to submit them. Questions are due by 9am the day of class. Glow will lock automatically at that time and will not accept any submissions after

**Please note:** Due dates for papers and the components of the research paper proposal are firm. Meeting the due dates are particularly important for your progress toward a completed proposal. Except in truly extraordinary circumstances, please do not ask for extensions.

Early papers are always welcome. Papers received on the due date but after the time deadline are beggars seeking undeserved mercy and will be dealt with at my discretion.

Papers received after midnight on the due date are irredeemably late and will be penalized one partial letter grade (e.g. A to A-, B+ to B) per 24 hours after the original deadline. If you can only write a poor paper by the deadline, consider taking the grade penalty and the extra time to write an excellent one.

the deadline. If you miss a day's questions, don't bother writing them later. Take a 'pass' and resolve to do better in the future.

- **Class participation** – Regular attendance and constructive participation is necessary for this course to be successful and is therefore expected. Unexcused absences and a failure to engage the material in class will be noted. More than one unexcused absence will result in a grade penalty.

### Speech policy

Right-wing populism is a topic that stirs many emotions. While I want to cultivate a respectful and welcoming classroom environment, I also want to cultivate an open and dynamic one. With the aim of advancing and deepening everyone's understanding of the issues addressed in this course, I urge students to speak their minds, explore ideas and arguments, play devil's advocate, and engage in robust discussion. I expect students to do business in the proper currency of intellectual discourse—a currency consisting of reason, evidence, and argument—but no ideas or positions are out of bounds. I will engage in no thought- or language-policing beyond the minimum required for respectful dialog. If you have any concerns about classroom climate, please come to me to share them.

### Honor Code

While you may consult with friends, fellow classmates, professors, and printed sources on the ideas discussed in this class, all written work must ultimately be yours and yours alone. In particular, be scrupulous in avoiding plagiarism. Be sure to use quote marks when quoting directly and cite appropriately. The Honor Code applies in this course!

### Grades

Your overall grade in this course will be determined according to the following formula:

Short reflection papers	15% ea.
Research paper steps (combined)	10%
Final research paper proposal	35%
Discussion questions	15%
Class participation	10%

I am always happy to talk over course topics, discuss a class assignment, or chat about current events – especially over coffee. Drop by during office hours or set up an appointment

## Course Calendar

### INTRODUCTION

Wednesday Feb. 2 **What is right-wing populism (RWP)?**

- no readings

Tuesday Feb. 8 **An introduction to explaining RWP**

*Creeping fascism*

- Jason Stanley, "America is now in fascism's legal phase," [The Guardian](#), 22 December 2021.
- Thomas Homer-Dixon, "States of emergency," [The Globe and Mail](#), 2 January 2022.
- "Remarks by President Biden to mark one year since the January 6th deadly assault on the U.S. Capitol," The White House, 6 January 2022.

*Liberal oligarchy*

- Richard Hanania, "Why is everything liberal?" [Hanania Newsletter](#), 21 April 2021.
- Richard Hanania, "2016: The turning point," [Hanania Newsletter](#), 28 April 2021.
- Scott Alexander, "Contra Hanania on partisanship," [Astral Codex Ten](#), 12 August 2021.
- Darryl Cooper, "Author of the mega-viral thread on MAGA voters, Darryl Cooper, explains his thinking," [Glenn Greenwald](#), 12 July 2021.
- Pedro L. Gonzalez, "The myth of January 6," [Newsweek](#), 6 January 2022.

### THE LEFT EXPLAINS RIGHT-WING POPULISM

Thursday Feb. 10 **RWP as psychological defect**

- Richard Hofstadter, "The paranoid style in American politics," in [The Paranoid Style in American Politics](#) (1965), 3-40.
- Adrienne LaFrance, "Nothing can stop what is coming," [The Atlantic](#), June 2020, 27-38.
- Gideon Rachman, "Europe is not immune from US-style unrest," [Financial Times](#), 12 January 2021.
- Joseph E. Uscinski et al., "American politics in two dimensions: Partisan and ideological identities versus anti-establishment orientations," [American Journal of Political Science](#) 65 (2021), 877-895.

Tuesday  
Feb. 15

### **RWP as cultural backlash**

- Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart, Cultural Backlash: Trump, Brexit, and Authoritarian Populism (2019), chs. 4-6.

Thursday  
Feb. 17

### **RWP as dictatorship**

- Jan-Werner Müller, What Is Populism? (2016).
- Jan-Werner Müller, "Capitalism in one family," London Review of Books 38 (23) (1 December 2016), 10-14.

Tuesday  
Feb. 22

### **RWP as sociocultural conflict**

- Amory Gethin et al., "Brahmin left versus merchant right: Changing political cleavages in 21 Western democracies, 1948-2020," The Quarterly Journal of Economics 137 (2022), 1-48.
- Milada Anna Vachudova, "Populism, democracy, and party system change in Europe," Annual Review of Political Science 24 (2021), 471-498.

## **THE RIGHT EXPLAINS RIGHT-WING POPULISM**

Thursday  
Feb. 24

### **RWP as class struggle**

- Christopher Lasch, The True and Only Heaven (1991), ch. 11.
- Roger Eatwell and Matthew Goodwin, National Populism: The Revolt Against Liberal Democracy (2018), chs. 3 & 5.

Tuesday  
March 1

### **RWP as nationalism**

- Roger Eatwell and Matthew Goodwin, National Populism: The Revolt Against Liberal Democracy (2018), ch. 4.
- Eric Kaufmann, Whiteshift: Populism, Immigration, and the Future of White Majorities (2019), ch. 8.

Thursday  
March 3

### **RWP as a democracy movement**

- Pierre Manent, "Populist demagoguery and the fanaticism of the center," American Affairs 1 (2) (Summer 2017), 9-18.
- Christopher Caldwell, "What is populism?" Claremont Review of Books, Fall 2018.
- Roger Eatwell and Matthew Goodwin, National Populism: The Revolt Against Liberal Democracy (2018), ch. 2.
- Margaret Canovan, "Trust the people! Populism and the two faces of democracy," Political Studies 47 (1999), 2-16.

Tuesday  
March 8

### **RWP as dealignment**

- Catherine E. De Vries and Sara B. Hobolt, Political Entrepreneurs: The Rise of Challenger Parties in Europe (2020), ch. 4.
- Roger Eatwell and Matthew Goodwin, National Populism: The Revolt Against Liberal Democracy (2018), ch. 6.
- Noam Gidron and Daniel Ziblatt, "Center-right political parties in advanced democracies," Annual Review of Political Science 22 (2019), 17-35.

## **RIGHT-WING POPULISM IN WESTERN EUROPE**

Thursday  
March 10

### **France**

- William Downs, Political Extremism in Democracies (2012), 25-44.
- Nonna Mayer, "The radical right in France," The Oxford Handbook of the Radical Right (2018), 433-451.
- Gilles Ivaldi, "A new course for the French radical right?" in Tjitske Akkerman et al., eds., Radical Right-Wing Populist Parties in Western Europe: Into the Mainstream? (2016), 225-246.
- Yves Surel, "How to stay populist? The Front National and the changing French party system," West European Politics 42 (2019), 1230-1257.
- Jon Allsop, "Marine Le Pen's 'perfect soldier'," New York Review of Books, 4 September 2021.
- Christopher Caldwell, "France on the verge of civil war," Claremont Review of Books, Fall 2021.
- "I am a candidate for the presidential election," YouTube, uploaded by Éric Zemmour, 30 November 2021. [*see Glow*]

Tuesday  
March 15

### **Italy**

- Daniele Caramani, "Will v. reason: The populist and technocratic forms of political representation and their critique of party government," American Political Science Review 111 (2017), 54-67.
- Marco Tarchi, "Italy: The promised land of populism?" Contemporary Italian Politics 7 (2015), 273-285.
- Roberto D'Alimonte, "How the populists won in Italy," Journal of Democracy 30 (2019), 114-127.
- Thomas Fazi, "The eternal return of 'technical government' in Italy," American Affairs 5 (2) (Summer 2021), 116-138.
- Diego Garzia and Johannes Karremans, "Super Mario 2: Comparing the technocrat-led Monti and Draghi governments in Italy," Contemporary Italian Politics 13 (2021), 105-115.

- James Dennison and Andrew Geddes, “The centre no longer holds: The Lega, Matteo Salvini and the remaking of Italian immigration politics,” Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies (2021).
- Christopher Caldwell, “Little Italy,” Claremont Review of Books, Summer 2021.

Thursday  
March 17

*No class – enjoy an early spring break!*

*Spring break*

Tuesday  
April 5

**Sweden**

- Anders Backlund, “Isolation and policy co-optation: The path dependency of the Swedish cordon sanitaire,” Paper presented at Swedish Political Science Association annual conference, October 2016.
- Chapter TBA from Henrik Enroth and Magnus Hagevi, eds., Cartelisation, Convergence or Increasing Similarities?: Lessons from Parties in Parliament (2018).
- Simon Oja and Brigitte Mral, “The Sweden Democrats came in from the cold,” in Ruth Wodak et al., eds., Right-Wing Populism in Europe (2013), 277-292.
- Nicholas Aylott and Niklas Bolin, “A party system in flux: The Swedish parliamentary election of September 2018,” West European Politics 42 (2019), 1504-1515.
- John H. S. Åberg, “Is there a state crisis in Sweden?” Society 56 (2019), 23-30.
- James Savage, “Sweden’s crumbling center,” New Statesman, 2 July 2021, 13-14.
- Malcom Kyeyune, “Sweden’s cultural revolution,” Unherd, 22 September 2021.

Thursday  
April 7

**Does the *cordon sanitaire* work?**

- Jakob Schwörer and Belén Fernández-García, “Demonisation of political discourses? How mainstream parties talk about the populist radical right,” West European Politics 44 (2021), 1401-1424.
- Ian Down and Kyung Joon Han, “Marginalisation or legitimisation? Mainstream party positioning on immigration and support for radical right parties,” West European Politics 43 (2020), 1388-1414.
- Tarik Abou-Chadi and Werner Krause, “The causal effect of radical right success on mainstream parties’ policy positions: A regression discontinuity approach,” British Journal of Political Science 50 (2020), 829-847.
- Roger Eatwell and Matthew Goodwin, National Populism: The Revolt Against Liberal Democracy (2018), Conclusion.

Tuesday  
April 12

**SIDEBAR: Reflections on the 2022 Hungarian and French elections**

- TBA

## RIGHT-WING POPULISM IN CENTRAL EUROPE

Thursday  
April 14

### Social conservatism

- “Viktor Orbán's speech at the 14th Kötöcsé civil picnic,” 5 September 2015.
- Katalin Novák, “Family-centered governance to counter the demographic crisis,” Hungarian Conservative 1 (4) (2021).
- Christopher Caldwell, “Hungary and the future of Europe,” Claremont Review of Books, Spring 2019.
- Elizabeth Zerofsky, “Victor Orban’s far-right vision for Europe,” The New Yorker, 7 January 2019.
- Claudia Ciobanu et al., “V4 ‘Family Declaration’ seen as vehicle for social conservative drive in EU,” Reporting Democracy, 2 June 2021.
- Mitchell A. Orenstein and Bojan Bugarić, “Work, family, Fatherland: The political economy of populism in Central and Eastern Europe,” Journal of European Public Policy (2020).
- Guglielmo Meardi and Igor Guardiancich, “Back to the familialist future: The rise of social policy for ruling populist radical right parties in Italy and Poland,” West European Politics 25 (2022), 129-153.

Tuesday  
April 19

### Illiberal constitutionalism

- “Prime Minister Viktor Orbán’s Speech at the 25th Bálványos Summer Free University and Student Camp,” 26 July 2014.
- Paul Blokker, “Populism as a constitutional project,” International Journal of Constitutional Law 17 (2019), 535–553.
- Tímea Drinóczi and Agnieszka Bień-Kacała, “Illiberal constitutionalism: The case of Hungary and Poland,” German Law Journal 20 (2019), 1140-1166.
- Eszter Petronella Soós, “Comparing Orbánism and Gaullism: The Gaullist physiognomy of Orbán’s post-2010 Hungary,” Studia Politica: Romanian Political Science Review 15 (2015), 91-108.

Thursday  
April 21

### RWP versus the EU I

- Ivan Krastev and Stephen Holmes, The Light that Failed: Why the West is Losing the Fight for Democracy (2020).

Tuesday  
April 26

### RWP versus the EU II

- Frank Furedi, Populism and the European Culture Wars (2017).



## RIGHT-WING POPULISM IN THE UNITED STATES

Thursday  
April 28

### Trump and democracy

- Steven Levitsky and Daniel Ziblatt, How Democracies Die (2018), Introduction, chs. 5-6 & 8.
- Michael Anton, "Will the real authoritarian please stand up?" Claremont Review of Books, Summer 2018.
- Casey Burgat and Matt Glassman, "Politics after Trump," National Affairs, Winter 2021.

Tuesday  
May 3

### Trump and race

- Ta-Nehisi Coates, "The first white president," The Atlantic, October 2017.
- Marc Hooghe and Ruth Dassonneville, "Explaining the Trump vote: The effect of racist resentment and anti-immigration sentiments," PS: Political Science & Politics 51 (2018), 528-534.
- Rogers M. Smith and Desmond King, "White protectionism in America," Perspectives on Politics 19 (2021), 460-478.
- Eric Kaufmann, "White identity and ethno-traditional nationalism in Trump's America," The Forum 17 (2019), 385-402.
- Eric Kaufmann, "The social construction of racism in the United States," Manhattan Institute, April 2021.
- Yair Ghitza and Jonathan Robinson, "What happened in 2020," Catalist (2022), excerpt.

Thursday  
May 5

### The left backlash against Trump

- Alex Maresca and David S. Meyer, "Tracking the Resistance," Sociology Compass 14 (11) (2020), 1-13.
- Evan Osnos, "How Trump could get fired," The New Yorker, 1 May 2017.
- Miles Taylor, "I am part of the Resistance inside the Trump administration," New York Times, 5 September 2018.
- Osita Nwanevu, "End the GOP," The New Republic, 13 February 2020.
- Glenn Greenwald, "Beyond BuzzFeed: The 10 worst, most embarrassing US media failures on the Trump-Russia story," The Intercept, 20 January 2019.
- Matt Taibbi, "Master list of official Russia claims that proved to be bogus," TK News by Matt Taibbi, 18 March 2021.
- Michael Lind, The New Class War (2020), ch. 6.
- Thomas Frank, "US liberals hysteria outlives Trump," Le Monde diplomatique, August 2021.

Tuesday  
May 10

### **QAnon and the Capitol riot**

- Melissa Gira Grant, "QAnon and the cultification of the American right," The New Republic, 1 February 2021.
- Siddharth Venkataramakrishnan, "QAnon, a year after Q," Financial Times, 8 December 2021.
- Bayleigh Elaine Bond and Ryan Neville-Shepard, "The rise of presidential eschatology: Conspiracy theories, religion, and the January 6th insurrection," American Behavioral Scientist (2021).
- Charles R. Kesler, "After January 6th," Claremont Review of Books, Winter 2020/2021.
- Alex Morris, "It's not Q. It's you," Rolling Stone, 15 October 2021.

## **CONCLUSION**

Thursday  
May 12

### **The future of populism**

- Cas Mudde, "The populist radical right: A pathological normalcy," West European Politics 33 (2010), 1167-86.
- Chris Bickerton, "The rise of the technopopulists," New Statesman, 23 October 2020.
- Wolfgang Streeck, "In the superstate," London Review of Books, 27 January 2022.