PSCI 360
Right-Wing Populism

Spring 2018

Professor Darel E. Paul
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597-2327
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Office Hours:   Mondays 9:30am-11:00am, Wednesdays 2:00pm-3:00pm, & 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 globalizing democratic 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 several cases of right-wing populism including France’s National Front, Sweden’s Swedish Democrats, Hungary’s Fidesz and Jobbik, Poland’s Law and Justice Party, as well as Donald Trump and the American alt-right. Finally we will entertain right-wing populism as both a cause and a symptom of a crisis in liberal democracy.

Readings

All the required readings in this course are contained in 5 books and a course reader divided into several parts. The books are:


The books are available for purchase at The Williams Bookstore on Spring Street or from your favorite online retailer. The first course reader covers the theory section of the course and is available now; subsequent parts will be available later in the semester. The first course reader may be picked up in the packet room in the Class of ‘37 House (51 Park St.) during normal business hours.

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. The first paper will be a critical engagement with the ‘Left explains’ literature from the syllabus and is due Tuesday, February 27 at 5:00pm.
  2. The second paper will be a critical engagement with the ‘Right explains’ literature from the syllabus and is due Tuesday, March 13 at 5:00pm.

I will hand out the paper prompts one week before they are due.

- **One (1) major research paper** – as this is both a writing intensive course for the College and a research course for the Political Science Department, you will write a major research paper in parts over the second half of the semester on a topic of your choice related to contemporary right-wing populism, 6000-8000 words including notes and bibliography (double-spaced, 11-pt. font minimum).

  1. research question, max. 100 words, due April 5 in class.
  2. annotated bibliography, min. 10 academic sources, min. 20 total sources, due April 13, 5:00pm.
  3. thesis paragraph, 100-200 words, due April 16 in class.
  4. detailed paper outline, due April 20, 5:00pm.
  5. first draft, min. 5000 words, due May 4, 5:00pm.
  6. peer edits of first draft, due May 10 in class.
  7. final draft, 6000-8000 words, due May 19, 5:00pm.

- **Discussion questions** – Prior to each class, you will submit two questions for discussion based on the assigned readings for that day. 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. I will use these questions to guide class discussion each day. Please use the online Glow system to submit your questions. Questions are due by 9:00am the day of class. 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.

| Please note: Due dates for papers and the components of the research paper are firm. Meeting the due dates are particularly important for your progress toward a completed research paper. 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. |
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: 12.5% each
- Research paper steps: 5% total
- Final research paper: 50%
- Discussion questions: 10%
- 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

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Day</th>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Readings</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Wednesday Jan. 31</strong></td>
<td>What is right-wing populism?</td>
<td>no readings</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Monday Feb. 5</strong></td>
<td>Is there a right-wing populist ‘wave’?</td>
<td>Francis Fukuyama, “The end of history?” National Interest 16 (Summer 1989), 3-16.</td>
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<td>Four articles from “The power of populism” [special section], Foreign Affairs, November-December 2016.</td>
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<td><strong>THE LEFT EXPLAINS RIGHT-WING POPULISM (RWP)</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Thursday Feb. 8</strong></td>
<td>RWP as the <em>cri de coeur</em> of the losers from globalization</td>
<td>Edward Luce, The Retreat of Western Liberalism (2017), chs. 1-2, 4.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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Thursday Feb. 15  
**RWP as xenophobia**
- Suketa Mehta, “This land is their land,” *Foreign Policy*, September-October 2017.

Monday Feb. 19  
**RWP as authoritarianism**

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### THE RIGHT EXPLAINS RIGHT-WING POPULISM (RWP)

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Thursday Feb. 22  
**RWP as class struggle**
- Alexandre Afonso, “The social base of Marine Le Pen and Emmanuel Macron,” Alexandre Afonso [blog], 30 April 2017.

Monday Feb. 26  
**RWP as revolt against cosmopolitanism**
Thursday  
March 1  
**RWP as defense of the nation**


Monday  
March 5  
**RWP as defense of democracy**


### THE CORDON SANITAIRE AROUND RIGHT-WING POPULISM

Thursday  
March 8  
**Sweden**

- Anna-Sophie Heinze, “Strategies of mainstream parties towards their right-wing populist challengers: Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Finland in comparison,” *West European Politics* 41 (2018), 287-292, 298-300 only.
- Richard Orange, “First we take Hassleholm ... Swedish far right rises,” *Politico*, 12 February 2017.

Monday  
March 12  
**Germany**

Thursday March 15

France


Spring break

Monday April 2

Does the cordon sanitaire work?

- Tjitske Akkerman and Matthijs Rooduijn, “Pariahs or partners? Inclusion and exclusion of radical right parties and the effects on their policy positions,” *Political Studies* 63 (2015), 1140-1157.

Thursday April 5

Hungary

- “Prime Minister Viktor Orbán’s speech at the 25th Bálványos Summer Free University and Student Camp,” Website of the Hungarian Government, 30 July 2014.
### Monday
#### April 9

**Poland**

- Bartosz Napieralski, *Political Catholicism and Euroscepticism: The Deviant Case of Poland in Comparative Perspective* (2017), excerpts.

### Thursday
#### April 12

**Right-wing populism v. the EU I**

- Michael Brendan Dougherty, “Poland refuses to read from the eurocrat’s script,” *National Review*, 2 January 2018.
- Nick Cohen, “In the face of strongmen, conservatives are letting their principles vanish,” *The Spectator*, 3 February 2018.

### Monday
#### April 16

**Right-wing populism v. the EU II**

- “National Consultation on the ‘Soros Plan’,” *The Orange Files* [online], 27 October 2017.
# RIGHT-WING POPULISM IN AMERICA

**Thursday April 19**

### The alt-right from the outside
- Oliver Traldi, “‘Kill All Normies’ online culture wars and the rise of the alt-right – Review,” *Quillette*, 19 July 2017.

**Monday April 23**

### The alt-right from the inside
- John Derbyshire, “Cecil the Lion and the Goodwhite-Badwhite cold civil war,” *VDARE.com*, 1 August 2015.

**Thursday April 26**

### Is Trump and his administration right-wing populist?
- Eric Levitz, “We’re about to find out if Bannonism is a thing,” *New York Magazine*, 4 January 2018.
- “Jim Acosta vs Stephen Miller – Immigration – White House press briefing 8/2/17,” *YouTube* [see link on Glow].

### RWP AND THE FUTURE OF LIBERAL DEMOCRACY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Themes</th>
<th>Authors/Works</th>
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| Monday, May 7 | The end of endism                          | Various authors, “The end of the end of history?” [special section], *The Hedgehog Review* 19 (3) (Fall 2017).  
Extra

**Does the cordon sanitaire work?**

- William M. Downs, “How effective is the cordon sanitaire?
- Joost van Spanje, “Parties beyond the pale: Why some political parties are ostracized by their competitors while others are not,” *Comparative European Politics* 8 (2010), 354-383.
- Tjitske Akkerman and Matthijs Rooduijn, “Pariahs or partners? Inclusion and exclusion of radical right parties and the effects on their policy positions,” *Political Studies* 63 (2015), 1140-1157.
- Joost van Spanje, “Contagious parties …”
- “Being intolerant of the intolerant: …”