

# NATIONALISM, POPULISM, AND THE FAR-RIGHT IN EUROPE

EURO-UA 983

Fall 2022

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<b>Instructor:</b> Emma Rosenberg	<b>Time:</b> Wednesdays: 10:15am-12:15pm
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**Office Hours:** Tuesdays 10:00-11:30 in-person (KJCC 232) or remotely by appointment:

<https://calendly.com/emma-rosenberg/30min>.

**Course Description:** This course unpacks the interactions between nationalism, populism, and far-right ideologies. We explore how these political ideologies become vehicles for identity, ethnicity, race, and religion. We will examine the nature and origins of nationalism, populism, and far-right ideologies in Europe through a series of historic and contemporary case studies including Germany, Hungary, France, Italy, Croatia, and Poland. The course will draw on literature from multiple fields including political science, sociology, journalism, and history.

Second, this class is designed to teach you how to formulate a research question, design a research paper, and write it convincingly. First, you will identify a research question of interest to you, such as “Why is the far-right different in France and England?” or “Is the historical legacy of Nazism the same in Austria and Germany?” We will then talk in class about how to narrow such broad questions down to *testable* questions and you will choose two cases, one outside of the countries studies in this course, to explore your question. Through a series of small assignments we will learn how to build a comparative research paper together and acquire a skillset that will serve you in a variety of environments.

**Learning Objectives:** By the end of this course, students will be able to:

- differentiate between nationalism, far-right, and populist ideologies;
- chart the development of these ideologies in their historic contexts;
- articulate the dangers posed to democratic nation-states by each of these ideologies;
- learn how to formulate a comparative research question, gather evidence, and make a compelling argument about leading questions concerning nationalism, the far-right, and populism.

**Grading Policy:** Learning requires focus. It is hard to focus if students are worrying about what grade they will get. I promise that my grades will never be punitive. The grades students get will reflect their efforts to engage the class content and their growth as critical

- Class discussion=20%
- 3 Response Papers=21%
- Annotated Bibliography=9%
- Paper Outline=25%
- Final Research Paper=25%

**Important Dates:**

Research Question/Case Selection .....	September 28, 2022
Response Paper 1 (Nationalism) .....	October 3, 2021
Response Paper 2 (the Far-Right) .....	October 24, 2022
Response Paper 3 (Right-Wing Populism) .....	November 28, 2022
Annotated Bibliography .....	October 12, 2021
Paper Outline .....	October 28th, 2021
Final Paper .....	December 21st, 2021

**Description of Assignments:** This class has several assignments to allow students a variety of ways and opportunities to excel and to take the pressure off of any single assignment.

- **Class Participation:**

Strong class participation is integral to the success of the course. Active and respectful listening, and asking thoughtful questions, as well as articulating points, are incredibly important. Laptops and other devices can get in the way of this, so this course will be laptop free unless you need one for accessibility reasons or to accommodate a disability. Class readings will all be available via course reserve.

- **Response Papers:** For each unit, Nationalism, the Far-Right, and Populism you will be required to write 200-300 word informal response paper that discusses current events in the context of our readings and discussions. Each response is due Monday by 11:59pm before the end of each unit. **You should not spend more than 1 hour writing each of these.**

- **Annotated Bibliography:** After you have identified your research question(s) or countries, put together a bibliography of 15-20 sources from outside of the syllabus that contribute the sort of *evidence* with which you intend to make a case. **At least 10 of these sources need be academic.** Academic sources mean books or journal articles. Newspaper articles, documentaries, encyclopedias can provide important insights, but are not academic sources. We will discuss this thoroughly in class. This assignment should take approximately 3-4 hours. Put the research question at the top and itemize each entry. Each entry should be followed by 1-2 sentences explaining how the article will contribute to the paper/your understanding of the topic. **Example: "Article X provides me with background on the Belgian far-right."**

- **Outline:** State your research question at the top of your outline. Then create a detailed outline of your future paper including: what motivates this question? Why are the places you chose to study the right ones? What sort of *evidence* are you relying upon? What are your findings/What do you anticipate your findings to be? What are the larger implications?

- **Final Paper:** For your final paper, choose one country not covered in the course and develop a research question that addresses an aspect of whether unchecked nationalism, populism, and the far-right threaten the democratic survival of each nation-state. Why or why not? The final paper should include an introduction that explores the motivations behind the question, an evidence section, 3-5 substantive paragraphs of your descriptive findings, and a conclusion addressing the broader implications of your findings. The paper should be 7-9 pages double-spaced, not including the bibliography, size 12 font, one-inch margins. Proper academic citation is required and at least 20 sources should be used, at least 10 of which should come from outside readings.

**Class Policy:** The educational concept behind the seminar structure assumes a level of maturity and commitment on the part of all participants. Unlike a lecture class, everyone is responsible for the learning that takes place. Therefore, all students are expected to attend every class meeting and to come prepared.

That said, if you need to miss class, please notify me in advance. Unexplained absences will negatively affect my assessment of your work in the course. The same applies to late assignments. The themes of this class are weighty and triggering due to the subject matter. Both the reading and discussions will naturally touch upon upsetting topics; this is unavoidable and not always predictable. If you feel that there are certain readings or discussions which would be detrimental to your health, please let me know in advance.

**Diversity and Inclusion:** The class will be an open learning environment that embraces a diversity of thoughts, perspectives and experiences, and honors your identities (including race, gender, class, sexuality, religion, ability, etc.). If you have a name and/or set of pronouns that differ from those that appear in your official records, please let me know. If you feel like your participation in the class is being impacted by your experiences outside of class, please don't hesitate to come and talk with me. If something was said in class, by anyone, that made you feel uncomfortable, please talk to me about it.

**Extensions/Attendance/Mental Health:** We are living in unprecedented times and I understand that. However, I cannot read anyone's mind. Extensions must be requested *before* due dates. Similarly, absences must be excused. Mental and physical health trump everything and should be prioritized. We can always find workarounds as long as you communicate with me.

## Course Outline:

### Week 1: Introduction

*Wednesday, September 7*

- Lecture on the rise of the European nation-state and course overview.

### Week 2: Nations and Nationalism, Part I

*Wednesday, September 14*

- Gellner, Ernest. *Nations and Nationalism*. Cornell University Press (2006). Chapters 1 and 9 (18 pages).
- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities*. Verso (2006). Chapters 1, 3, 6 (30 pages).

### Week 3: Nations and Nationalism, Part II

*Wednesday, September 21*

- Connelly, John. *From Peoples into Nations: A History of Eastern Europe*. Princeton University Press, 2020. Introduction and Chapter 13 (60 pages).
- **SKIM** Marx, Karl. *The Communist Manifesto*. International Publishers (2016). (44 pages)

### Week 4: Nationalism and Great Powers

*Wednesday, September 28*

- Brubaker, Rogers. *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany*. Harvard University Press (1994). Introduction (21 pages).
- Ziblatt, Daniel. *Structuring the State: The Puzzle of Italy and Germany and the Puzzle of Federalism*. Princeton University Press (2006). Chapter 6 (31 pages).

### Week 5: Nationalism and Underdogs

*Wednesday, October 5*

- Ziblatt, Daniel. *Structuring the State: The Puzzle of Italy and Germany and the Puzzle of Federalism*. Princeton University Press (2006). Chapter 5 (29 pages).
- Zubrzycki, Geneviève. *In The Crosses of Auschwitz*. University of Chicago Press, 2009. Chapter 1 (38 pages).

**Week 6: The Far-Right**

Wednesday, October 12

- Payne, Stanley. *A History of Fascism, 1914-1945* University of Wisconsin Press (1995). Introduction and Chapter 7 (51 pages).
- SKIM Excerpts from *Mein Kampf* (provide, 39 pages assigned, additional 30 optional)

**Week 7: The Far-Right and Great Powers**

Wednesday, October 19

- **SKIM** Hasselbach, Ingo and Tom Reiss. *Führer-Ex.* Chatto & Windus (1996). Chapters 6 and 8 (49 pages).
- Hanebrink, Paul. *In Defense of Christian Hungary: Religion, Nationalism, and Anti-Semitism, 1890-1944.* Cornell University Press (2006). Chapters 5 and 7 (29 pages).

**Week 8: The Far-Right and Underdogs**

Wednesday, October 26

- Zuquète, José Pedro. *Missionary Politics in Contemporary Europe.* Syracuse University Press (2007). Chapter 3 (74 pages).
- Tanner, Marcus. *Croatia: A History from the Middle Ages to the Present Day.* Yale University Press (2010). Chapter 11 (26 pages).
- **Circulate paper outlines and bibliographies to class by Friday, October 28th**

**Week 9: Paper Workshop!**

Wednesday, November 2

- Classmates' outlines and bibliographies

**Week 10: Right-Wing Populism**

Wednesday, November 9

- Mudde, Cas and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser. *Populism: A Very Short Introduction.* Oxford University Press (2017). (118 pages, but the book is a pamphlet!).
- Norris, Pippa and Ron Inglehart. *Trump, Brexit, and the Rise of Populism: Economic Have-Nots and Cultural Backlash.* Cambridge University Press (2019). Chapter 1 (31 pages).

**Week 11: Right-wing Populism and the Great Powers**

Wednesday, November 16

- Fitzergald, Jennifer. *Close to Home: Local Ties and Voting Radical Right in Europe.* Cambridge University Press (2018). Chapter 6 (32 pages).
- Krekó, Péter, and Zsolt Enyedi. "Explaining Eastern Europe: Orbán's Laboratory of Illiberalism." *Journal of Democracy* 29, no. 3 (2018): 39-51.
- Cremer, Tobias. "The Rise of the Post-Religious Right: Christianity and Secularism in French Rassemblement National." *Party Politics* (2021) 1-11.

**Week 12: Thanksgiving Break**

Wednesday, November 23

- NO CLASS

**Week 13: Right-Wing Populism and the Underdogs**

*Wednesday, November 30*

- Jaskulowski, Krzysztof, and Piotr Majewski. "Populist in Form, Nationalist in Content? Law and Justice, Nationalism and Memory Politics." *European Politics and Society* (2022): 1-16.
- Przybylski, Wojciech. "Explaining Eastern Europe: Can Poland's Backsliding Be Stopped?." *Journal of Democracy* 29, no. 3 (2018): 52-64.
- D'Alimonte, Roberto. "How the Populists Won in Italy." *Journal of Democracy* 30, no. 1 (2019): 114-127.
- Öner, Selcen. "'Europe' of Populist Radical Right and the Case of Lega of Salvini: Pioneer of a 'Parochial Europe'?" *European Politics and Society* 23, no. 1 (2022): 62-77.

**Week 14: Can the Nation-State Survive as a Democracy?**

*Wednesday, December 7*

- Art, David. "The Myth of Global Populism." *Perspectives on Politics* (2020): 1-13.
- Wodak, Ruth. *The Politics of Fear: The Shameless Normalization of Far-Right Discourse*. Sage Publishing (2020). Chapters 1 and 8 (50 pages, but lots of pictures).

**Week 15: Wrap-Up Discussion**

*Wednesday, December 14*

- TBD