

University of Wisconsin-Madison
Department of History
Spring 2021

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History 600: European Populism since 1945 (online)

This seminar focuses on the history of populism, especially right wing populism, in Europe from the end of the Second World War to the present. The revival of a powerful radical right has been a crucial turning point in late twentieth century European politics. Over the course of the semester, we will place the movement in historical perspective and analyze its revival. What are the social and political roots of the contemporary extreme right and why has it met with success in some of the European Union's most prosperous and stable countries? How did the extreme right reconstruct itself in the wake of fascism's defeat in 1945? Is it best characterized as a type of neofascism or as a new form of populism? Our readings, which will introduce you to a range of interpretations, focus on France (the *Front National*); Belgium (the *Vlaams Blok/Vlaams Belang*); Austria and Germany (the *FPÖ* and the *AfD*); and Italy (the *Lega Nord* and the *Five Star Movement*). For their research papers, students are welcome to focus on other countries and can also work on the development of left wing forms of populism over the past two decades (the five star movement in Italy, for example).

During the second half of the semester students will research and write a 20-25 page research paper based on primary and secondary sources.

Format: Reading and discussion. We will meet to discuss common readings for the first half of the semester. Students are expected to come prepared to seminar. By 9 p.m. on the day preceding seminar, students are required to post **two** discussion questions about the readings on Canvas along with a one paragraph response to the readings.

Objectives. In this class, you will learn to:

- Craft an original research topic
- Conduct in-depth historical research
- Select and interpret primary sources
- Write a lengthy research paper that demonstrates your ability to evaluate sources critically and provide a convincing historical interpretation your chosen topic

Requirements: A one-page paper and a three-page paper due early in the semester, a 1-2 page research statement of purpose, a detailed bibliography, and a paper outline. The central requirement of the course is a 20-page research paper on the history of European populism. You should begin thinking about a possible research project as soon as

possible -- it will take time for you to refine your ideas. Pick a topic you are interested in (if you are bored with it, you will write a poor paper), and one on which there are sufficient sources in the UW Libraries (online or in hard copies). You will also be required to discuss and critique each other's first drafts and to make a formal oral presentation to the seminar during the last week of classes.

Attendance is required. Please warn me in advance if you will be unable to attend a particular class session. Class participation will be a component of your final grade.

Grading: Class participation 30%, short papers 20%, final paper 50%.

Credits: This is a 3-credit class. The credit standard for this course is met by an expectation of a total of 135 hours of student engagement with the course's learning activities (at least 45 hours per credit or 9 hours per week), which include regularly scheduled meeting times (group seminar meetings of 115 minutes per week), dedicated online time, reading, writing, field trips, individual consultations with the instructor, and other student work as described in the syllabus.

The History Lab: The History Lab is a resource center staffed by History PhD students who can provide you with one on one consultations during the writing process. During the Spring 2021 all History Lab consultations will take place via Microsoft Teams. For instructions on how to make an appointment and a short explanatory video, see [The History Lab – Department of History – UW–Madison](#)

Online policies: This is an online lecture class accessible via Canvas. We meet once a week for a 2 hour seminar on Wednesday. Please do not read the news or Facebook while you are participating in the online discussions. I know it's tempting, but all the research suggests that multitasking is not conducive to learning and retention. Take notes **by hand**. Here as well the research supports that notetaking by hand leads to better retention and understanding of the material.

Office Hours: I will hold office hours on Zoom, Mondays from 3 to 5 pm. If that time does not work send me an email and we can arrange to talk at another time.

Course Evaluations: Students will be provided with an opportunity to evaluate this course and your learning experience. Student participation is an integral component of this course, and your feedback is important to me. I strongly encourage you to participate in the course evaluation.

Quarantine or isolation due to COVID-19: Students should continually monitor themselves for COVID-19 [symptoms](#) and get [tested](#) for the virus if they have symptoms or have been in close contact with someone with COVID-19. Students should reach out to instructors as soon as possible if they become ill or need to isolate or quarantine, in order to make alternate plans for how to proceed with the course. Students are strongly encouraged to communicate with their instructor concerning their illness and the anticipated extent of their absence from the course (either in-person or remote). The

instructor will work with the student to provide alternative ways to complete the course work.

Accommodations: The University of Wisconsin-Madison supports the right of all enrolled students to a full and equal educational opportunity. The Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA), Wisconsin State Statute (36.12), and UW-Madison policy (Faculty Document 1071) require that students with disabilities be reasonably accommodated in instruction and campus life. Reasonable accommodations for students with disabilities is a shared faculty and student responsibility. Students are expected to inform me of their need for instructional accommodations by the end of the third week of the semester, or as soon as possible after a disability has been incurred or recognized. I will work either directly with the student or in coordination with the McBurney Center to identify and provide reasonable instructional accommodations. Disability information, including instructional accommodations as part of a student's educational record, is confidential and protected under FERPA.

University Statement on Diversity: “Diversity is a source of strength, creativity, and innovation for UW-Madison. We value the contributions of each person and respect the profound ways their identity, culture, background, experience, status, abilities, and opinion enrich the university community. We commit ourselves to the pursuit of excellence in teaching, research, outreach, and diversity as inextricably linked goals.

The University of Wisconsin-Madison fulfills its public mission by creating a welcoming and inclusive community for people from every background – people who as students, faculty, and staff serve Wisconsin and the world.” <https://diversity.wisc.edu/>

Books and articles: The books listed below are required. All other articles and chapters will be posted on the Canvas site, or are available electronically through the library.

The following books are required:

Françoise Gaspard, *A Small City in France: A Socialist Mayor Confronts Neofascism* (Harvard University Press, 1995)

Jean-Yves Camus and Nicolas Lebourg, *Far Right Politics in Europe* (Harvard University Press, 2017)

Cas Mudde and Cristóbal Kaltwasser, *Populism: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford University Press, 2017)

Week 1 (Jan 27) Introduction

Week 2 (Feb 3). Historical and Social Origins

Françoise Gaspard, *A Small City in France*, 1-99.

Jean-Yves Camus and Nicolas Lebourg, Far Right Politics in Europe, 1-52

Week 3 (Feb 10). The Rise of the Radical Right in France

Françoise Gaspard, A Small City in France, 101-77

Michel Eltchaninoff, Inside the Mind of Marine Le Pen, translated by James Ferguson. London: Hurst & Co, 2017. 1-23, 35-59, 109-134, 135-48 [introduction, chapters 1, 3, 7, 8] [**available through the UW Library website as a ProQuest Ebook**]

Chris Millington, A History of Fascism in France: From the First World War to the National Front (London: Bloomsbury, 2020), 127-43.

Arthur Goldhammer, “Explaining the Rise of the Front National. Political Rhetoric or Cultural Insecurity?,” French Politics, Culture & Society 33, No. 2 (2015), 134-42.

*****One page paper due Feb 10*****

Week 4 (Feb 17). Interpreting and Explaining the Populist Radical Right

Jean-Yves Camus and Nicolas Lebourg, Far Right Politics in Europe, 52-119, 152-209.

Cas Mudde and Cristóbal Kaltwasser, Populism: A Very Short Introduction, entire book

Pierre Rosanvallon, “A Reflection on Populism,” Books & Ideas, 2011 (PDF)

Week 5 (Feb 24). Austria, Germany, and Brexit

Walter Manoschek, “FPÖ, ÖVP, and Austria’s Nazi Past;” Andrei S. Markovits, “Austrian Exceptionalism: Haider, the European Union, the Austrian Past and Present;” Richard Mitten, “Austria all Black and Blue: Jörg Haider, the European Sanctions, and the Political Crisis in Austria;” in Ruth Wodak and Anton Pelinka eds., The Haider Phenomenon in Austria (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers, 2002): 3-15, 95-119, 179-208.

Jan-Werner Müller, “Austria: the Lessons of the Far Right” New York Review of Books, 25 July 2016.

David Art, “The AfD and the End of Containment in Germany,” German Politics and Society 127 Vol. 36, No. 2 (Summer 2018): 76–86

Jennifer Yoder, “ ‘Revenge of the East’? The AfD’s Appeal in Eastern Germany and Mainstream Parties’ Responses,” German Politics and Society 134 Vol. 38, No. 2 (Summer 2020): 35–58

John Agnew and Michael Sinn, “Should we Stay or Should We Go? European Immigration, Globalization, and Brexit,” in Agnew and Sinn, Mapping Populism: Taking Politics to the People, 47-66. Lanham, Md: Rowman and Littlefield, 2020.

Week 6 (March 3). Italian Populism of the Left and Right

Piero Ignazi, “Italy: The Faded Beacon and the Populist Surge,” in Extreme Right Parties in Western Europe (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003): 35-61.

John Agnew and Michael Sinn, “When in Rome... Populism and the Five Star Movement in Italy,” in Agnew and Sinn, Mapping Populism: Taking Politics to the People, 113-136. Lanham, Md: Rowman and Littlefield, 2020.

Jan-Werner Müller, “Italy: the Bright Side of Populism?” New York Review of Books, 8 June 2018

Marco Brunazzo and Mark Gilbert, “Insurgents against Brussels: Euroscepticism and the right-wing populist turn of the Lega Nord since 2013,” Journal of Modern Italian Studies 22, no. 5 (2017): 624-41.

George Newth, “The roots of the Lega Nord’s Populist Regionalism,” Patterns of Prejudice 53, no. 4 (2019): 384-406

Marco Di Maggio and Manuela Perrone, “The Political Culture of the Movimento Cinque Stelle, from Foundation to the Reins of Government,” Journal of Modern Italian Studies 24, no 3 (2019): 468-82.

*****3 page paper due Friday March 5 by 5pm*****

Week 7 (March 10). The Vlaams Blok and the Belgian Nation State

Patrick Hossay, “Why Flanders?” in Martin Schain et al., Shadows over Europe: The Development and Impact of the Extreme Right in Western Europe,” (New York: Palgrave, 2002): 159-184.

Claus Mudde, “One against All, All against One: A Portrait of the Vlaams Blok,” Patterns of Prejudice 29 (1995): 5-28.

Ian Buruma, "Le Divorce," The New Yorker, January 2011

David Art, "The Organizational Origins of the Contemporary Radical Right: The Case of Belgium," Comparative Politics 40 (2008): 421-440.

Léonie de Jonge, "The Curious Case of Belgium: Why is There no Right-Wing Populism in Wallonia?," Government and Opposition (2020): 1-17.

Josep Kesic and Jan Willem Duyvendak, "The Nation under Threat: Secularist, Racial and Populist Nativism in the Netherlands," Patterns of Prejudice 52, no. 5 (2019): 441-63.

Week 8 (March 17). The Research Process

1-2 page research proposal due Monday March 15, 9 am.

Discussion of sample research papers.

Richard Marius and Melvin Page, A Short Guide to Writing about History 8th ed. (New York: Pearson, 2012), 1-53, 124-130.

Week 9 (March 24). No class. Work on your research project

1-2 page bibliography due March 22

Individual meetings on Zoom

Week 10 (March 31). Short Class presentations

Give a short (5 minute) presentation on your research project

Paper outline due. Monday March 29.

Week 11 (April 7). No class. Work on your research project

Individual meetings on Zoom

Week 12 (April 14). No class. Work on your research projects.

Rough draft due Wednesday April 14, 4 pm. Rough drafts should be as complete as possible (including footnotes, a bibliography, an introduction and a conclusion). The more you present, the more you will profit from the comments of your fellow students. **Send an electronic version to the other members of your peer review group.**

Week 13 (April 21). Oral presentations

Discussion of rough drafts in groups of 3 or 4.

Week 14 (April 28). Oral presentations

Final paper due Tuesday May 4 at noon