

# HIST-099-21: Historical Focus: Far Right Politics in Global Perspective from the Dreyfus Affair to the Present



**Georgetown 2023 Summer Session II**  
**Instructor: Brent McDonnell**  
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**Room: TBD**  
**Class Sessions: TBD**  
**Office Hours: TBD**

## **Course Description**

From South America to the Indian subcontinent, Europe to East Asia, movements on the right have upended global politics in recent years. This course places current right-wing political developments in historical context. Rather than studying conservative movements, this course focuses on political movements on the more radical end of the political right. Beginning with the 1890s Dreyfus Affair in France and covering such topics as the global rise of fascism in the 1920s and 1930s, military governments in Cold War Latin America, and Apartheid South Africa, among others, course materials explore such groups as both movements and as governing powers, right-wing racial and gender politics, and transnational entanglements of activists on the right. During the course, students will be encouraged to consider the following questions: What

do we mean when we talk about the "far right" and how do we differentiate that from conservatism? What drew people to right-wing politics in particular places at particular moments? Why did such movements fail to become significant forces in other contexts? Where did right-wing movements find grounds to collaborate across national borders, and where did conflict arise in transnational exchanges? To what extent were these movements "reactionary" and to what extent did they envision a radical transformation of society?

### **Course Goals**

The goal of the History Department's 099 courses is not simply to teach students the history of a particular region or subject, but also to introduce them to the methods and practice of history as a discipline. Through close readings of primary and secondary sources, engaged in-class discussions, and individual writing assignments where they can explore their own interests, students will develop an understanding of right-wing politics informed by historical research as well as critical reading and thinking skills.

### **Course Policies**

This course will meet five times a week during the second summer session. Four of these classes will consist of a lecture followed by a discussion of that day's assigned readings. The last class of each week will be the "Lab Day" of the 099 course, in which students will critically engage with primary sources selected by the instructor. These sessions will consist of small break-out groups where students discuss these materials amongst themselves, followed by a whole-class discussion.

While attendance is highly encouraged for every session, students are allowed two penalty-free unexcused absences in this course. Any further absences shall negatively impact the student's participation grade, and frequent absence may result in failure in the course. If a student anticipates missing significant course time, please come speak to me as soon as possible.

I will hold office hours three times a week. The times and location of my office hours are listed on the first page of the syllabus. In the event that a student cannot meet during my regular office hours, we can schedule an appointment, usually over Zoom. I encourage everyone to stop by if they would like to discuss anything about the course.

Due to the quick schedule of the summer courses, extensions for assignments can only be granted in very extenuating circumstances.

Students who need specific academic accommodations should contact the Academic Resources Center (ARC) before the start of the summer session to allow that office time to review the documentation and to make recommendations for appropriate actions. If accommodations are recommended, you will be given notification from ARC to share with your professors/instructors. I am more than happy to provide for any accommodation recommended by the ARC.

While laptop use is allowed for note-taking and consulting readings, please do not use a computer for any other purpose during class. Please also refrain from using your cell phone.

Barring emergencies, I kindly request that students refrain from using the restroom during class time. We will take a short break during each session where you can leave the classroom.

### **Ethos Statement**

Throughout this course, we will be discussing people who believed in destructive causes and committed terrible deeds. I believe it is important to neither sanitize nor sensationalize this history, and the assigned readings reflect this belief. For all of us, I want to emphasize the following lines from Georgetown University's Ethos Statement (<https://studentconduct.georgetown.edu/code-of-student-conduct>):

Students are expected to honor the following commitments in all their actions:

- A commitment to the highest standards of honesty and personal integrity
- A commitment to treat others in a respectful manner, regardless of differences such as race, religion, nationality, ethnicity, gender, or sexual orientation.
- A commitment to open discourse and the free exchange of ideas.
- A commitment to exercise mutual care and responsibility in all relationships

### **Instructional Continuity**

It is expected that every session will be in-person. Should any unforeseen circumstance change that expectation, this course will follow the appropriate University policies for instructional continuity. In the event that a student cannot make a class in-person but does not wish to be marked absent, advanced (more than one hour) notice may be provided, and I will use the course's Zoom functionality to stream the session live, but it will not be recorded. Students will also need to submit a short (double-spaced, 1-2 page) paper responding to that day's assigned reading in order to receive credit for attendance.

In the event that I am unable to attend a session in-person for any reason, I will record my lecture and upload it to the course's Canvas site. I will also post my discussion questions on the Canvas site for students to submit answers online.

**Assignments and Grading** – All written assignments are to be submitted on Canvas. Students are responsible for the following assignments:

Attendance and Participation – Consistent attendance and informed participation are not only requirements in their own right, they are also essential to success in the course's other assignments. Students should pay close attention to the lectures and take notes. Regular, informed participation in the discussion of assigned readings will also enhance your grade. Students are expected to have completed the assigned readings for each class in preparation for these discussions. The same principle applies for the Lab Days.

Lab Report – In Weeks 1 through 4 of the course, one student from each "Lab" group\* will submit a double-spaced, 750-word report. This report will reflect on a series of questions concerning the specific content of the primary source(s) analyzed during that Lab Day and more general questions concerning the nature of the source(s). These reports will be due at noon on

Sunday following the specified Lab Day. **By the end of Week 4, every student should have submitted a Lab Report. While the Lab Days are collaborative efforts and discussion-intensive, the grade that each student receives for their report is an individual one.**

\*In the event that a lab group does not have exactly four students, that group may skip submitting a lab report for a given week, but each student is still expected to attend and fully participate on that Lab Day.

Secondary Source Analysis Paper – Each student will submit a five-page, double-spaced paper analyzing one book from a list I have compiled. These books will be available through the library, either online or in a physical copy. This paper should outline the book’s author, the key arguments, and evidence. Students shall also consult academic reviews of these works in order to assess the book’s reputation. This assignment will be due by Friday, July 28<sup>th</sup> at midnight.

Final Exam – The final exam will be take-home, and students will be expected to answer two analytical questions in essays of 4-5 pages (double-spaced). These essays will cover major themes and ideas covered in the course, and students will be expected to draw on materials from throughout the course in answering these questions. The deadline for submitting the final exam is to be determined.

The percentage breakdown of each assignment towards the final grade is as follows:

Attendance and Participation: 30%  
Lab Report: 15%  
Secondary Source Analysis Paper: 25%  
Final Exam: 30%

## **Readings**

All readings are available on the course’s Canvas page. Students are not required to purchase any books for this course.

## **Academic Integrity**

As signatories to the Georgetown Honor Pledge, students are required to adhere to the standards of academic integrity outlined therein. Plagiarism, or the attempt to present the work or thoughts of another as one’s own, is a serious violation of the principle of academic integrity, and will be dealt with by the instructor and the Honor Council.

## **Course Schedule**

### Week 1 – The Turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century and World War I

1. Monday, July 10 – Introduction, Syllabus Review, and the Dreyfus Affair
  - David C. Jones, “‘A Beastly Affair’: Visual Representations of Animality and the Politics of the Dreyfus Affair,” *Canadian Journal of History* 46, 1 (2011): 35-62.
2. Tuesday, July 11 – Race and Empire at the Turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century
  - Lucian Ashworth, “Warriors, Pacifists, and Empire: Race and Racism in International Thought before 1914,” *International Affairs* 98, 1 (2022): 281-301.

- Victoria Khiterer, “The October 1905 Pogroms and the Russian Authorities,” *Nationalities Papers* 43, 5 (2015): 788-803.
3. Wednesday, July 12 – World War I
    - Taner Akçam, *The Young Turks’ Crime against Humanity: The Armenian Genocide and Ethnic Cleansing in the Ottoman Empire* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012) – Chapter 7, “Interior Ministry Documents and the Intent to Annihilate”
  4. Thursday, July 13 – To End All Wars?
    - Victoria De Grazia, *The Perfect Fascist: A Story of Love, Power, and Morality in Mussolini’s Italy* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2020): 27-40, 50-61.
  5. Friday, July 14 – Lab Day 1
    - Selection of sources related to the Dreyfus Affair

## Week 2 – The Interwar Years

1. Monday, July 17 – Italian Fascism
  - Christopher Duggan, *Fascist Voices: An Intimate History of Mussolini’s Italy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013) – Chapter 3, “Return to Order, 1922-24”
  - Beatrice Falucci, “The Issue of the Mediterranean and the Colonies Has Now Moved to the Forefront of Cultural Life’: Curating Museums and Curating the Nation in Fascist Italy’s Colonies,” *Modern Italy* 25, 4 (2020): 421-437.
2. Tuesday, July 18 – Japan
  - Kenneth Ruoff, *Imperial Japan at Its Zenith: The Wartime Celebration of the Empire’s 2,600<sup>th</sup> Anniversary* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2014) – Chapter 2, “Mass Participation and Mass Consumption”
  - Louise Young, “When Fascism Met Empire in Japanese-Occupied Manchuria,” *Journal of Global History* 12, 2 (2017): 274-296.
3. Wednesday, July 19- Weimar Germany and Nazism as a Movement
  - Eric D. Weitz, *Weimar Germany: Promise and Tragedy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013) – Chapter 9, “Revolution and Counterrevolution from the Right”
4. Thursday, July 20 – Nazism in Power
  - Richard J. Evans, *The Third Reich in Power* (New York: Penguin, 2006): 484-497.
  - Peter Fritzsche, *Life and Death in the Third Reich* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2008): 76-82; 91-96.
  - Adam Tooze, *The Wages of Destruction: The Making and Breaking of the Nazi Economy* (New York: Penguin, 2008): 203-213.
5. Friday, July 21 – Lab Day 2
  - Selection of film clips

### Week 3 – The Spanish Civil War and World War II

1. Monday, July 24 – The Spanish Civil War
  - Paul Preston, *The Spanish Civil War: Reaction, Revolution, and Revenge*, revised edition (New York: Norton, 2007) – Chapter 6, “Politics behind the Lines: Reaction and Terror in the City of God”
2. Tuesday, July 25 – State and Society in the Axis Powers
  - Michael Lucken, *The Japanese and the War: From Expectation to Memory*, translated by Karen Grimwade (New York: Columbia University Press, 2017) – Chapter 1, “The Nation out to Conquer”
  - Nicholas Stargardt, *The German War: A Nation under Arms, 1939-1945 – Citizens and Soldiers* (New York: Basic, 2015) – Chapter 2, “Closing Ranks” and Chapter 3, “Extreme Measures”
3. Wednesday, July 26 – Collaboration in Occupied Countries
  - Mark Mazower, *Hitler’s Empire: How the Nazis Ruled Europe* (London: Penguin, 2008) – Chapter 13, “Collaboration”
  - Jeremy A. Yellen, *The Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere: When Total Empire Met Total War* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2019) – Chapter 4, “The Patriotic Collaborators”
4. Thursday, July 27 – Crimes against Humanity
  - Ian Kerhsaw, “‘Working towards the Führer’: Reflections on the Nature of the Hitler Dictatorship,” *Contemporary European History* 2, 2 (1993): 103-118.
5. Friday, July 28 – Lab Day 3
  - Selections from Haruko Taya Cook and Theodore F. Cook, *Japan at War: An Oral History* (New York: The New Press, 1992) and Eric A. Johnson and Karl-Heinz Reuband, *What We Knew: Terror, Mass Murder, and Everyday Life in Nazi Germany – An Oral History* (New York: Basic, 2005).

### Week 4 – The Cold War

1. Monday, July 31 – The Cold War Order and the Far Right
  - D.J. Mulloy, *The World of the John Birch Society: Conspiracy, Conservatism, and the Cold War* (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 2014) – Chapter 6, “Conspiracy”
2. Tuesday, August 1 – Military Dictatorships in Latin America
  - James P. Brennan, *Argentina’s Missing Bones: Revisiting the History of the Dirty War* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2018) – Chapter 5, “Transnational Dynamics: The Cold War and the War against Subversion”
  - Brandi Townsend, “The Body and State Violence, from the Harrowing to the Mundane: Chilean Women’s Oral Histories of the Augusto Pinochet Dictatorship,” *Journal of Women’s History* 31, 2 (Summer 2019): 33-56.
3. Wednesday, August 2 – Rhodesia and South Africa
  - Michael Evans, “The Wretched of the Empire: Politics, Ideology, and Counterinsurgency in Rhodesia, 1965-1980,” *Small Wars & Insurgencies* 18, 2 (2007): 175-195.

- Susanne M. Klausen, “‘Reclaiming the White Daughter’s Purity’: Afrikaner Nationalism, Racialized Sexuality, and the 1975 Abortion and Sterilization Act in Apartheid South Africa,” *Journal of Women’s History* 22, 3 (2010): 39-63.
4. Thursday, August 3 – The Far Right in Western Europe
    - Barbara Manthe, “On the Pathway to Violence: West German Right-Wing Terrorism in the 1970s,” *Terrorism and Political Violence* 33, 1 (2021): 49-70.
    - Tobias Hof, “From Extremism to Terrorism: The Radicalisation of the Far Right in Italy and West Germany,” *Contemporary European History* 27, 3 (2018): 412-431.
  5. Friday, August 4 – Lab Day 4
    - Yukio Mishima, “Patriotism”

#### Week 5 – The Far Right since 1989

1. Monday, August 7 – The American Far Right in the 1990s
  - Kathleen Belew, *Bring the War Home: The White Power Movement and Paramilitary America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018) – Chapter 8, “Ruby Ridge, Waco, and Militarized Policing”
  - Michelle Lynn Kahn, “The American Influence on German Neo-Nazism: An Entangled History of Hate, 1970s-1990s,” *The Journal of Holocaust Research* 35, 2 (2021): 91-105.
2. Tuesday, August 8 – Religious Fundamentalism in the Middle East
  - Ami Pedashur and Arie Perlinger, *Jewish Terrorism in Israel* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009) – Chapter 4, “Meir Kahane and the Kach Movement: Jews against Israelis”
  - John Turner, “From Cottage Industry to International Organization: The Evolution of Salafi-Jihadism and the Emergence of the Al Qaeda Ideology,” *Terrorism and Political Violence* 22, 4 (2010): 541-558.
3. Wednesday, August 9 – Contemporary Far-Right Politics around the Globe
  - Peter Beinart, “Israel’s Ascendant Far Right Can’t Be Understood by Analogy” (*Jewish Currents*, November 7, 2022)
  - Ruth Ben-Ghiat, “Jair Bolsonaro Is Not the New Trump. He’s Worse.” (*The New Republic*, January 8, 2019)
  - Ramachandra Guha, “The Cult of Modi,” *Foreign Policy* (247): 28-35
  - Adrian Daub, “A Whiff of Weimar: Is Germany in Danger of Repeating Its Nazi Past?” (*The New Republic*, March 2, 2020)
  - Marzia Maccaferri and Andrea Mammone, “On Italy’s Populism(s),” *Modern Italy* 27, 1 (2022): 1-3.
  - Justin McCurry, “How Shinzo Abe’s Murder and His Ties to Moonies Blindsided Japanese Politics” (*The Guardian*, January 10, 2023)
  - Sergey Radchenko, “Putin’s Histories,” *Contemporary European History* 32, 1 (2023): 57-60.
4. Thursday, August 10 – Lab Day 5
  - Selection of internet sources
5. Friday, August 11 – Course Review