

Instructor : Eliyahu Stern  
Course numbers : HIST S268J; RLST S324; PLSC S466; JDST S351;  
Time : Session II, Tuesdays, Thursdays 1:00-4:15  
Office Hours : By appointment

### Course Overview

This seminar explores the history of right-wing political thought from the late eighteenth century to the present, with an emphasis on the core ideas and beliefs that animate contemporary right-wing political movements. This course seeks to answer the questions: what constitutes the Right? What are the central principles and values of those groups associated with this designation? And what are the defining features of what is commonly referred to as the "Global Right?" It will do so by examining primary tracts written by theologians, political philosophers, and social theorists as well as secondary literature written by scholars interrogating various movements and ideologies associated with the Right in America, Europe, the Middle East, and Asia. Though touching on specific national political parties, institutions, and think tanks, its focus will be on mapping the intellectual similarities and differences between various right-wing ideologies.

The "Right" emerged alongside its counterpoint, the "Left," as early as 1692 to describe the congregation patterns surrounding the French Monarch, but it was not until the Revolution of 1789 when it gained its current political meaning. As the French Chamber of Deputies debated the rights of man and royal veto powers it was suggested that opponents to these measures sit du côté droit, while supporters place themselves du côté gauche. The division, many complained, was too absolute and left no room for nuance or political idiosyncrasies. Yet the arrangement held, the terms stuck, and by mid-century the right had begun to be a catchall for a host of political groups, including conservatives, traditionalists, authoritarians, royalists, nationalists and papists. By the twentieth century the term would be stretched to include movements ranging from Fascism to Populism and would be used to describe the political position of political parties in the Middle East and Asia. Though primarily associated with European and parliamentary politics, increasingly the designation of the right has been applied to Evangelical and Judeo-Christian groups in the United States.

## Class Readings

### Week One

First Class: Introduction and Definition of Left/Right

Marcel Gauchet, "Right and Left," in Pierre Nora (Ed.) *Realms of Memory: Conflicts and Division, Vol. I* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994)

Norberto Bobbio, *Left and Right: The Significance of a Political Distinction* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 1-80

<https://mronline.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/Bobbio-Norberto-Left-and-Right-Significance-Political-Distinction.pdf>Links to an external site.

Second Class: Global Contexts

Andrew L. Whitehead, Samuel L. Perry, *Taking America Back for God: Christian Nationalism in the United States* (New York: Oxford UP, 2022), Introduction

Eviene Leidig, "Hindutva as a Variant of Right-Wing Extremism," *Patterns of Prejudice*, 54:3, (2020): 215-237

<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/0031322X.2020.1759861>Links to an external site.

Tamir Bar-On, "The Radical Right and Nationalism," <https://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780190274559.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780190274559-e-2>Links to an external site.

### Week Two

First Class: Time

Joseph De Maistre, "Two Extracts from the Study of Sovereignty," *The French Right: from De Maistre to Maurras*, ed. J.S. McClelland (London: 1970), 39-47

<https://archive.org/details/frenchrightfromd0000mccl/page/38/mode/2up>Links to an external site.

Julius Evola, *Revolt Against the Modern World*, Forward, 1-167, 338-366

<http://www.cakravartin.com/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2006/08/Julius-Evola-Revolt-Against-the-Modern-World.pdf>Links to an external site.

Second Class: Space

Alexander Dugin, *The Foundations of Geopolitics*. Translated by Grant S.

Fellows “The Foundations of Aleksandr Dugin’s Geopolitics: Montage Fascism and Eurasianism as Blowback” (Diss. 2018), 136-199

<https://digitalcommons.du.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=2516&context=etd>Links to an external site.

Woodruff Smith, “Friedrich Ratzel and the Origins of Lebensraum,” *German Studies Review* 3,1 (Feb. 1980), 51-68

[https://www.jstor.org/stable/1429483?refreqid=excelsior%3Ab1ae3af07939b9f7fc25e8b0cffb404c&seq=1#metadata\\_info\\_tab\\_contents](https://www.jstor.org/stable/1429483?refreqid=excelsior%3Ab1ae3af07939b9f7fc25e8b0cffb404c&seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents)Links to an external site.

Timothy Snyder, *Black Earth: The Holocaust as History and Warning* (New York: Penguin Books 2015), 11-29

### **Week Three**

#### **HAND OUT MID-TERM ASSIGNMENT**

Class One: Race

Arthur de Gobineau, Selections from “Essay on the Inequality of the Human Races”

<http://media.bloomsbury.com/rep/files/primary-source-131-gobineau-the-inequality-of-the-human-races.pdf>Links to an external site.

John C. Calhoun, “Speech on the Reception of Abolition Petitions,” March 9, 1836 p.197

<https://archive.org/details/speechesofjohncc00incalh/page/226/mode/2up>Links to an external site.

*Critical Race Theory: The Key Writings that Formed the Movement*, ed. Kimberle Crenshaw et. al. (New York: 1995)

<https://blogs.law.columbia.edu/revolution1313/files/2022/01/Crenshaw-Thomas-et-al.-Introduction.pdf>Links to an external site.

FOR CLASS VIDEO

Christopher Rufo "What Has Critical Race Theory Wrought"

<https://www.city-journal.org/article/what-critical-race-theory-has-wrought>  
Links to an external site.

Class Two:

Shulamit Volkov, "Antisemitism as a Cultural Code: Reflections on the History and Historiography of Antisemitism in Imperial Germany," *The Leo Baeck Institute Year Book*, Volume 23, Issue 1, January 1978, Pages 25–46

<https://academic.oup.com/leobaeck/article-abstract/23/1/25/944572?redirectedFrom=fulltext>  
Links to an external site.

David Engel, "Away from a Definition of Anti-Semitism," eds. J. Cohen, M. Rosman, *Rethinking European Jewish History* (London, 2014), 30-54 (See electronic copy in Orbis)

Eliyahu Stern "Anti-Semitism and the European Union," *Nowhere Left to Go* (Forthcoming)

## **Week Four**

MID TERM DUE

Class One: Aesthetics and Violence

Susan Sontag "Fascinating Fascism," *New York Review of Books*, Feb. 6, 1975

<https://www.nybooks.com/articles/1975/02/06/fascinating-fascism/>  
Links to an external site.

Ernst Jünger, *Storm of Steel*, trans. Michael Hoffman (2003) (OPTIONAL)

<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015059971468&view=1up&seq=10&skin=2021>  
Links to an external site.

FOR CLASS VIDEO

Leni Riefenstahl, "Olympia: Festival of Nations" (1936)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=H3LOPhRq3Es>Links to an external site.



## Class Two: Political Economy

### Final Paper

Jennifer Burns, *Milton Friedman: The Last Conservative* (2024) (Pages TBD)

Irving Kristol, *Two Cheers for Capitalism* (New York: Basic Books, 1978) 3-55, 153-250

YALE LIB.

Ziya Öniş and Mustafa Kutlay, "The Global Political Economy of Right-wing Populism: Deconstructing the Paradox," *The International Spectator*, 55(2), pp. 108-126.

## Week Five

### Class One: Gender

Phyllis Schlafly, *The Power of Positive Women* (New Rochelle, NY: Arlington House, 1977), 1-25.

<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uva.x000093390&view=1up&seq=16&skin=2021>  
Links to an external site.

Andrea Dworkin, *Right Wing Women* (New York: Perigee Books, 1978), 1-37, 107-147

<https://www.feministes-radicales.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/11/Andrea-DWORKIN-Right-Wing-Women-The-Politics-of-Domesticated-Females-19831.pdf>Links to an external site.

Masha Gessen, "Family Values: Mapping the Antigay Ideology," *Harper's Magazine*,

March 2017 <https://harpers.org/archive/2017/03/family-values-3/>Links to an external site.

### FOR CLASS VIDEO

Phyllis Schlafly and Betty Friedan Debate the Equal Rights Amendment

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WncN6PWEMGo>Links to an external site.



[Links to an external site.](#)

## **Second Class**

### **November 1. Ethno-Pluralism**

Alain de Benoist and Charles Champetier, *Manifesto for a European Renaissance*  
(London: Arktos, 2012)

Stéphane François, "The Nouvelle Droite and 'Tradition,' " *Journal for the Study of Radicalism*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (Spring 2014), pp. 87-106

<https://www-jstor-org.yale.idm.oclc.org/stable/pdf/10.14321/jstudradi.8.1.0087.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3A330b1bee2681bc05e08d83fd379fb27f>Links to an external site.

## Course Format

The primary form of instruction will be seminar discussions. Students should be prepared to come to class having finished all readings assigned for that week listed on the syllabus. Some readings may be included on the syllabus during the semester to address outstanding questions that arise in the context of classroom conversations. All registered students will lead classroom conversation and provide an overview of the syllabus readings at least one time during the semester. Every student must meet with the instructor during the semester to review course readings and prepare for their role as seminar leader.

All syllabus readings will be provided online either through Yale Lib. services or through the Canvas Website

*[Academic integrity](#)Links to an external site. is a core university value that ensures respect for the academic reputation of the University, its students, faculty and staff, and the degrees it confers. The University expects that students will conduct themselves in an honest and ethical manner and respect the intellectual work of others. Please ask about my expectations regarding permissible or encouraged forms of student collaboration if they are unclear.*

*Any work that you submit at any stage of the writing process—thesis, outline, draft, bibliography, final submission, presentations, blog posts, and more—must be your own[; you also may not use material generated by ChatGPT or any other AI writing software. ]In addition, any words, ideas, or data that you borrow from other people and include in your work must be properly documented. Failure to do either of these things is plagiarism.*

Grading:

Mid Term 30%

Class Participation 30% (Includes One In-Class Pop Quiz)

Final Paper 40%