POLS 30308-01
Global Politics in an Age of Populism and Nationalism
Department of Political Science
University of Notre Dame
Spring 2024

Harrison Greenleaf

Course Information
Lectures:
Location:

Contact Information
Office:
Telephone:
Email:
Office Hours: M and W (11am-1pm) or by appointment (Zoom or in person)

Course Description
Throughout the past century, nationalism and populism have stood as two of the most powerful forces in global politics. The recent successful political campaigns of those such as Donald Trump, Viktor Orban, and Jair Bolsonaro have displayed the enduring need for both scholars and students of politics to understand and examine these two political dynamics. This course will first explore the conceptual foundations of nationalism and populism and the debates surrounding their sources. Next, students will examine the consequences for both domestic and foreign policy, including such issues as trade, democracy, international institutions, and war. Finally, the course will investigate both historical and contemporary cases of nationalist and populist leaders across the globe.

Course Objectives:
At the end of this course, students will:

- Understand the key concepts concerning populism, nationalism, and where they overlap and diverge.
- Apply a nuanced understanding of populism and nationalism to contemporary and classic cases.
- Decipher how the forces of populism and nationalism impact key topics of international politics.
- Develop strong written and verbal communication skills.

Course Policies:

- **Attendance and participation:** Attendance is mandatory and factors into students' participation grades. Unexcused absences result in a participation grade of 0 for that day.

Excused absences are excluded when calculating final participation grades. Only absences permitted by university policy and verified per section 3.1 of the honor code will be excused.

- **Honor code:** All students must abide by Undergraduate Academic Code of Honor. Most importantly, students are expected to uphold the high standards of academic integrity set by the University of Notre Dame. These standards of conduct include refraining from plagiarism, using proper citation methods, and completing one's own work.

- **Diversity and inclusion:** The University of Notre Dame promotes diversity and inclusion as part of its academic mission. This course contributes to those goals by providing students with a learning environment that is based on openness, communication, mutual respect, and non-discrimination. Discrimination on the basis of race, ethnicity, sex, gender, age, economic class, disability, veteran status, religion, sexual orientation, color, or national origin will not be tolerated in this course.

- **Disability services:** Students with a registered disability should speak with me as soon as possible regarding accommodations. Students with a disability that is not registered with the university should contact the Center for Student Support and Care.

- **Mental health:** Poor mental health can interfere with students' academic performance and lead to lower overall well-being. If you are struggling with your mental health in this course, I strongly encourage you to take advantage of the free, confidential mental health services offered by the University Counseling Center. Getting help is the best thing you can do for yourself and those around you.

- **Technology:** Students may electronic devices during class with the exception to access course readings and to take notes. I highly encourage you to bring hard copies of the readings and use classic methods of note-taking (e.g., pens and notebook). Using electronic devices increases the risk of distraction and encourages multitasking, which negatively impact learning outcomes in higher education settings.

Course Requirements

Students are required to attend all lectures—attendance is mandatory—complete all assigned readings and online discussion posts, participate actively in class, take two examinations, and write a midterm and final paper.

A. Required Reading

There are no required textbooks for this course. Instead, students will be asked to read a variety of academic book chapters and journal articles listed in the course schedule. All required and recommended readings for this course will either be posted on Canvas, available through the Hesburgh Library, or available through web sources. If you have any questions or issues finding the readings, let me know.

For many of the class sessions, I tried to diversify the content to include one academic piece and one public facing piece, such as a newspaper article or a special report. I did this to (1) give everyone a break from what is often the dry content of academic research and (2) try to connect each part of the course to contemporary events.

B. Grading
Grades for this course are based on two in-class examinations (20% each), two short papers (15% each), attendance (15%), and weekly discussion posts (15%). The exams are not cumulative and only include content from their respective portions of the course. The two short papers will direct students to answer one of two questions using relevant content from the course readings. For discussion posts, responses should fall within the 250-500 word range. This is to say that they should be long enough to provide extended thoughts on the content. Students are allowed two "free weeks" from discussion posts at their discretion.

Please familiarize yourself with and abide by the ND Academic Code of Honor, which can be accessed **here.**

Course Schedule

January 17th (W) Class 1: Introduction

Part I: Core Definitions and Concepts

January 22nd (M) Class 2: Definitions and Typologies—The Nation and Nationalism

- Gellner, Ernest. *Nations and Nationalism*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983. **(Chapter 1)**
- Anderson, Benedict R. O'G. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Rev. ed.. London; New York: Verso, 2006. **(Chapter 1)**
- Smith, Anthony. "12. Civic and Ethnic Nationalism" In *Nations and Nationalism: A Reader*, **175-183**. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005. https://doi-org.proxy.library.nd.edu/10.1515/9781474472777-017
- Muller, Jerry Z. "Us and Them: The Enduring Power of Ethnic Nationalism." *Foreign Affairs* (New York, N.Y.). Vol. 87. New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 2008. **(pp. 18-35)**

January 24th (W) Class 3: Origins and Theories of Nationalism

- Harris, Erika. "Theories of Nations and Nationalism." In *Nationalism: Theories and Cases*, **46–72**. Edinburgh University Press, 2009. http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.3366/j.ctvxcrmpj.6
- Posen, Barry R. "Nationalism, the Mass Army, and Military Power." International Security 18, no. 2 (1993): **80–124**. https://doi.org/10.2307/2539098.

January 29th (M) Class 4: Classic Cases of Nationalism in Europe

- BRUBAKER, Rogers. *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany*. Harvard University Press, 2009. **(Chapters 2-3)**
- CONNELLY, JOHN. "Introduction." In *From Peoples into Nations: A History of Eastern Europe*, **1–28**. Princeton University Press, 2020.

January 31st (W) Class 5: Definitions and Origins of Populism

- Mudde, Cas. "Populism: An Ideational Approach." In The Oxford Handbook of Populism. Oxford University Press, 2017. **(pp. 27-47)**
- Mudde, Cas, and Rovira Kaltwasser, Cristóbal. "6. Causes and Responses" In *Populism : a Very Short Introduction.* New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2017. **(pp. 97-119)**
- Friedman, Uri. "What Is a Populist?" *The Atlantic* (blog), February 27, 2017. https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2017/02/what-is-populist-trump/516525/.

February 5th (M) Class 6: Classic Cases of Populism in Latin America

- Cannon, Barry. *Hugo Chávez and the Bolivarian Revolution: Populism and Democracy in a Globalised Age*. Manchester University Press, 2009. http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt155jdtm. **(Chapter 4)**
- O'Neil, Shannon K. "Latin America's Populist Hangover: What to Do When the People's Party Ends." *Foreign Affairs* (New York, N.Y.). Vol. 95. Council on Foreign Relations, Inc, 2016.

February 7th (W) Class 7: Populism and Nationalism

- Bonikowski, Bart, Daphne Halikiopoulou, Eric Kaufmann, and Matthijs Rooduijn. "Populism and Nationalism in a Comparative Perspective: A Scholarly Exchange." *Nations and Nationalism* 25, no. 1 (January 2019): **58–81**.
- Byrne, Andrew, and Neil Buckley. "Viktor Orban: The Rise of Europe's Troublemaker." *Financial Times*, January 25, 2018, sec. FT Magazine. https://www.ft.com/content/dda50a3e-0095-11e8-9650-9c0ad2d7c5b5.

February 12th (M) Class 8: Part I Review (No Readings)

February 14th (W) Class 9: In-Class Exam (No Readings)

Part II: Populism, Nationalism, and Global Politics

February 19th (M) Class 10: Populism and Nationalism, Threats to Democracy? (Part 1)

- Nodia, G. O. "Nationalism and Democracy." *Journal of Democracy* 3, no. 4 (1992): **3–22**.
- Tudor, Maya, and Dan Slater. "Nationalism, Authoritarianism, and Democracy: Historical Lessons from South and Southeast Asia." *Perspectives on Politics* 19, no. 3 (2021): **706–22**.

February 21st (W) Class 11: Populism and Nationalism, Threats to Democracy? (Part 2)

- Bartels, Larry M.. *Democracy Erodes from the Top: Leaders, Citizens, and the Challenge of Populism in Europe*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2023. **(Chapter 1 and Chapter 7)**
- Galston, Wiliam. "The Populist Challenge to Liberal Democracy." Brookings. Accessed October 22, 2023. https://www.brookings.edu/articles/the-populist-challenge-to-liberal-democracy/.

February 26th (M) Class 12: Civil Conflict-*Midterm Paper Posted*

- Posen, Barry R. "The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict." Survival (London) 35, no. 1 (1993): **27–47**.
- Piazza, James A. "Populism and Support for Political Violence in the United States: Assessing the Role of Grievances, Distrust of Political Institutions, Social Change Threat, and Political Illiberalism." *Political Research Quarterly*, 2023.

February 28th (W) Class 13: Nationalism and Foreign Policy

- Mylonas, Harris, and Kendrick Kuo. "Nationalism and Foreign Policy." *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics.* 26 Sep. 2017; Accessed 9 Dec. 2023. https://oxfordre.com/politics/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.001.0001/acrefore-9780190228637-e-452.
- Ettinger, Aaron. "Trump's National Security Strategy: 'America First' Meets the Establishment." *International Journal* 73, no. 3 (2018): 474–83.

March 4th (M) Class 14: Populism and Foreign Policy

- Destradi, Sandra, David Cadier, and Johannes Plagemann. "Populism and Foreign Policy: a Research Agenda (Introduction)." *Comparative European Politics (Houndmills, Basingstoke, England)* 19, no. 6 (2021): 663–82. https://doi.org/10.1057/s41295-021-00255-4.
- Is There a Populist Foreign Policy? By Angelos Chryssogelos
  Research Paper can be found through a link here:
  https://www.chathamhouse.org/2021/03/there-populist-foreign-policy

March 6th (W) Class 15: In-Class Movie (No Readings)-*Midterm Paper Due*
Munk Debate-The Rise of Populism: Steve Bannon and David Frum

Spring Break

March 18th (M) Class 16: War (Part 1)

- Evera, Stephen van. "Hypotheses on Nationalism and War." *International Security* 18, no. 4 (1994): 5–39. https://doi.org/10.2307/2539176.

- Schrock-Jacobson, Gretchen. "The Violent Consequences of the Nation: Nationalism and the Initiation of Interstate War." *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 56, no. 5 (2012): 825–52. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022002712438354.

March 20th (W) Class 17: War (Part 2)

- Ko, Jiyoung. "Not So Dangerous? Nationalism and Foreign Policy Preference." *International Studies Quarterly* 66, no. 3 (September 1, 2022): sqac053. https://doi.org/10.1093/isq/sqac053.
- Landau, Dana M., and Lior Lehrs, "Populist peacemaking: Trump's peace initiatives in the Middle East and the Balkan." *International Affairs*, Volume 98, Issue 6, November 2022, Pages 2001–2019, https://doi.org/10.1093/ia/iiac228

March 25th (M) Class 18: Trade (Part 1)

- Edward D Mansfield, Jon C W Pevehouse, "Nationalism, Populism, and Trade Agreement." *International Studies Review*, Volume 24, Issue 2, June 2022, viac016, https://doi.org/10.1093/isr/viac016
- Inglehart, Ronald, and Pippa Norris. "Trump, Brexit, and the Rise of Populism: Economic Have-Nots and Cultural Backlash." HKS Faculty Research Working Paper Series RWP16-026, August 2016. Link to article can be found here: https://www.hks.harvard.edu/publications/trump-brexit-and-rise-populism-economic-have-nots-and-cultural-backlash#citation

March 27th (W) Class 19: Trade (Part 2)

- Thompson, Derek. "How Globalization Saved the World and Damned the West" *The Atlantic* (blog), February 7, 2019 https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2019/02/new-american-populism-needed-save-west/582202/
- Rodrik, Dani. "Globalization's Wrong Turn." *Foreign Affairs (New York, N.Y.)*. Vol. 98. NEW YORK: Council on Foreign Relations, 2019.

April 1st (M): Easter Break

April 3rd (W) Class 20: International Institutions (Part 1)

- Mearsheimer, John J. *Great Delusion*. 1st ed. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018. **(Chapter 5)**
- Copelovitch, Mark, and Jon C. W. Pevehouse. "International Organizations in a New Era of Populist Nationalism." *Review of International Organizations* 14, no. 2 (2019): 169–86. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11558-019-09353-1.

April 8th (M) Class 21: International Institutions (Part 2)

- Voeten, Erik. "Populism and Backlashes Against International Courts." *Perspectives on Politics* 18, no. 2 (2020): 407–22. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592719000975.
- Choi, Seung-Whan. "Nationalism and Withdrawals from Intergovernmental Organizations: Connecting Theory and Data." *Review of International Organizations* 17, no. 1 (2022): 205–15. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11558-021-09417-1.

Part III: Case Studies of Populism and Nationalism

April 10th (W) Class 22: Nationalism and Populism in Asia

- Hellmann, Olli, 'Populism in East Asia', in Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, and others (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Populism*, Oxford Handbooks (2017; online edn, Oxford Academic, 6 Nov. 2017), https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780198803560.013.10, accessed 9 Dec. 2023.
- Weiss, Jessica. "China's Self-Defeating Nationalism." *Foreign Affairs* (Blog) (New York, N.Y.). Council on Foreign Relations, Inc, 2020.

April 15th (M) Class 23: Nationalism and Populism in Latin America

- de la Torre, Carlos, 'Populism in Latin America', in Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, and others (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Populism*, Oxford Handbooks (2017; online edn, Oxford Academic, 6 Nov. 2017), https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780198803560.013.8, accessed 9 Dec. 2023.
- Biller, David, and Natalia Scarabotto. "Brazil's Right-Wing Movement Persists without Bolsonaro." AP News, January 21, 2023. https://apnews.com/article/jair-bolsonaro-politics-brazil-government-florida-state-south-america-8d7e202b93b6cba7196c4baba32b6452.

April 17th (W) Class 24: Nationalism and Populism in Europe – Final Paper Posted

- A Taggart, Paul, 'Populism in Western Europe', in Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, and others (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Populism*, Oxford Handbooks (2017; online edn, Oxford Academic, 6 Nov. 2017), https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780198803560.013.12, accessed 9 Dec. 2023.
- Zerofsky, Elisabeth. "Viktor Orbán's Far-Right Vision for Europe." *The New Yorker*, January 7, 2019. https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2019/01/14/viktor-orbans-far-right-vision-for-europe.

April 22nd (M) Class 25: Nationalism and Populism in Africa

- Resnick, Danielle. "Populism in Africa." In *The Oxford Handbook of Populism*, edited by Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, Paul Taggart, Paulina Ochoa Espejo, and Pierre Ostiguy, 0. Oxford University Press, 2017. https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780198803560.013.4.
- Gumede, William. "Mandela's African Nationalism Was Far More Inclusive than Populism of Today's ANC." *News24*, August 31, 2018.

https://www.news24.com/news24/mandelas-african-nationalism-was-far-more-inclusive-than-populism-of-todays-anc-20180831.

April 24th (W) Class 26: Nationalism and Populism in the United States (Part 1)

- Lind, Michael. "The Case for American Nationalism." *The National Interest*, no. 131 (2014): 9–20.
- Pei, Minxin. "The Paradoxes of American Nationalism." *Foreign Policy*, no. 136 (2003): 31–37. https://doi.org/10.2307/3183620.
- Illing, Sean. "Can American Nationalism Be Saved?" Vox, November 22, 2019. https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2019/11/22/20952353/trump-nationalism-america-first-rich-lowry.

April 28th (M) Class 27: Nationalism and Populism in the United States (Part 2)

- Sullivan, Sean, and Robert Costa. "Trump and Sanders Lead Competing Populist Movements, Reshaping American Politics." Washington Post. Accessed December 9, 2023. https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/03/02/two-populist-movements-sanders-trump/.
- Stanford University. "Explaining the Surge in Populist, Politics Movements Today." *Stanford News* (blog), December 26, 2018. https://news.stanford.edu/2018/12/26/explaining-surge-populist-politics-movements-today/.

May 1st (W) Class 28: In-Class Final Exam

Final Paper Due Friday of Finals Week