

Ideologies of the Right

01:790:388

Spring 2020

Monday 5:35-8:35pm

Location

Barry Murdaco, PhD

Rutgers email address

Office Hours if applicable

Course Description: This class will focus upon the sociopolitical experience of conservative and often reactionary movements in selected countries. The first half of the class will examine conservative theorists from the late 18th and 19th centuries, covering thinkers in Great Britain, France, the United States, Germany, and Italy. The second half of the class will focus on conservative thinkers from the 20th century into the present. Rather than looking at conservatism in different national contexts, this part of the class will focus more at different varieties of conservative thinking: from fascism, paleoconservatism, neoconservatism, fiscal and religious conservatism, libertarianism, and neorealism.

Learning Goals:

By the end of the class students should be able to:

- Explain the basic language of right wing and conservative ideology;
- Offer an internally logical critique of the “liberal” world and of the Enlightenment;
- Present a well-documented and argued research paper.

Required Texts: Most of these texts (ex. Bronner and Meisel) can also be downloaded free on sites like Project Gutenberg. I have included links below (note: some may be older editions). The books by Stephen Bronner and James Meisel will be held on reserve at the library. All other reading materials will be posted on Canvas.

- Stephen Bronner (ed.), *Twentieth Century Political Theory*, Routledge, 2006 [ISBN-13: 978-0415948999] [ISBN-10: 9780415948999]
- Edmund Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, Oxford University Press, 2009 [ISBN-13: 978-0199539024] [ISBN-10: 9780199539024]
<http://pinkmonkey.com/dl/library1/ref.pdf>
- Joseph de Maistre, *Considerations on France*, Cambridge University Press, 1995 [ISBN-13: 978-0521466288] [ISBN-10: 0521466288]
http://www.strobertbellarmine.net/books/Maistre--Considerations_on_France.pdf

- John C. Calhoun, *A Disquisition on Government*, St. Augustines Press, 2007 [ISBN-13: 978-1587311857] [ISBN-10: 1587311852]
https://www.constitution.org/jcc/disq_gov.txt
- Richard Hofstadter, *The American Political Tradition*, Vintage Books, 1989 [ISBN-13: 978-0679723158] [ISBN-10: 0679723153]
<https://cryptome.org/2015/09/hofstadter-american-political-tradition.pdf>
- George Fitzhugh, *Cannibals All!*, Applewood Books, 2008 [ISBN-13: 978-1429016438] [ISBN-10: 1429016434]
<https://www.gutenberg.org/files/35481/35481-h/35481-h.htm>
- Friedrich Nietzsche, *On the Genealogy of Morality*, Hackett Publishing, 1998 [ISBN-13: 978-0872202832] [ISBN-10: 9780872202832]
<https://www.gutenberg.org/files/52319/52319-h/52319-h.htm>
- James Meisel, et al., *Pareto & Mosca*, Prentice Hall, 1965 [ISBN-13: 978-0136500933] [ISBN-10: 0136500935]
- Carl Schmitt, *The Concept of the Political*, University of Chicago Press, 2007 [ISBN-13: 978-0226738925] [ISBN-10: 0226738922]
<https://www.docdroid.net/cNhoLIH/the-concept-of-the-political-carl-schmitt.pdf>
- Robert Nisbet, *The Quest for Community*, Intercollegiate Studies Institute, 2010 [ISBN-13: 978-1935191506] [ISBN-10: 9781935191506]
<https://archive.org/details/RobertNisbetTheQuestForCommunity>
- G.K. Chesterton, *Orthodoxy*, CrossReach Publications, 2017 [ISBN-13: 978-1549791321] [ISBN-10: 154979132X]
<http://www.gutenberg.org/files/16769/16769-h/16769-h.htm>
- F.A. Hayek, *The Constitution of Liberty*, University of Chicago Press, 2011 [ISBN-13: 978-0226315393] [ISBN-10: 9780226315393]
https://www.press.uchicago.edu/books/excerpt/2011/hayek_constitution.html
- Robert Nozick, *Anarchy, State, and Utopia*, Basic Books, 2013 [ISBN-13: 978-0465051007] [ISBN-10: 0465051006]
<https://antilogicalism.files.wordpress.com/2018/04/anarchy-state-utopia.pdf>

Assessment:

Participation 10%

Reflection Papers 20%

Midterm 35%

Final Paper 35%

The midterm must be completed on the day scheduled. If a student is not able to complete the exam on that day, they must speak to me ahead of time, and, if necessary, provide documentation for needing extra time to complete the exam. The midterm will consist of four short answer questions.

Students must also write an original research paper (5-7 pages) about a topic of their choice related to conservatism. Students will be expected to draw on existing scholarship on the topic (academic articles and/or books), and to rely on original sources (such as books, newspaper and magazine articles, and/or archival documents from the period).

Participation includes responding to questions I pose to the class, asking your own questions, or responding to comments or questions made by other students.

Students are expected to create a blog where they will post “reflection papers” on the topics discussed in class. This is done to provide me with feedback to see how well you understand the material as well as to provide time for students to think about and evaluate the material we cover in class.

In your blogs, groups, and discussions you should focus on the question or issue that is the topic for that day, although, if you are following an interesting thread that is not exactly on topic, that’s fine as long as it is within the umbrella of the overall class. The midterm however, should be tightly focused on the question and should be concise; i.e. do not give me a lot of background information or details that do not specifically relate to the question.

Course Outline:

Session 1, 1/27

Introduction

Go over syllabus. Meet the class.

I. 19th Century Conservatism

Session 2, 2/3

Origins of Conservatism: Edmund Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790), pp. 1-59

What impact did the French Revolution have on Great Britain?

Session 3, 2/10

The Counter-Enlightenment in France: Joseph de Maistre, *Considerations on France* (1797), pp. 1-76

What is the Counter-Enlightenment? What role did the Catholic Church play in pre-revolutionary France?

Session 4, 2/17

American “Slaveocracy”: John C. Calhoun, *A Disquisition on Government* (1851) Skim; Richard Hofstadter, “John C. Calhoun: The Marx of the Master Class” in *The American Political Tradition* (1948) pp. 68-92; George Fitzhugh, *Cannibals All!* (1857) pp. 25-32, 353-362

How do Calhoun and Fitzhugh defend slavery in the United States?

Session 5, 2/24

German *Lebensphilosophie*: Friedrich Nietzsche, *On the Genealogy of Morality* (1887), pp. 1-60

What is slave morality? Why is Nietzsche hostile to the Enlightenment?

Session 6, 3/2

The Italian School of Elitism: James Meisel, et al., *Pareto & Mosca* (1965), pp. 1-44, 57-61, 71-88, 161-165

What is the ruling class? What is the iron law of oligarchy?

Session 7, 3/9

Midterm

3/16 No Class

II. 20th Century and Contemporary Conservatism

Session 8, 3/23

Fascism: Carl Schmitt, *The Concept of the Political* (1932); Richard Wolin, "Carl Schmitt: The Conservative Revolutionary Habitus and the Aesthetics of Horror," *Political Theory*, Vol. 20, No. 3 (Aug., 1992), pp. 424-447

What is political existentialism? What role does violence play in conservative discourse?

Session 9, 3/30

Paleo-Conservatism: Robert Nisbet, *The Quest for Community* (1953), pp. 45-74;

Michael Oakeshott, "On Being Conservative" (1956) in Bronner, pp. 77-90

What is paleoconservatism? How do conservatives frame the debate over individualism and collectivism?

Session 10, 4/6

Religious Conservatism: G.K. Chesterton, *Orthodoxy* (1908) Skim; Gary North, "It Usually Begins with Ayn Rand," *Lewrockwell.com* (December 16, 2002)

What role does religion play in supporting traditional authority? How is religion opposed to rationalism? What role does the religious right play in American politics?

Session 11, 4/13

Neo-Conservatism: William F. Buckley "Why the South Must Prevail" *The National Review* (August 24, 1957); Leo Strauss, "What is Liberal Education?" (1959), Bronner pp. 103-108; Norman Podhoretz, "The Adversary Culture and the New Class" (1979), Bronner, pp. 109-116; Jeanne Kirkpatrick, "Dictatorships and Double Standards," *Commentary* (November 1979)

What role does education play in conservative discourse? How do neocons differ from paleocons?

Session 12, 4/20

Fiscal Conservatism: Friedrich Hayek, "Why I Am Not a Conservative," *The Constitution of Liberty* (1960); Milton Friedman, "The Social Responsibility of Business is to Increase its Profits," *The New York Times Magazine* (September 13, 1970); Niall

Ferguson, "Why the Young Should Welcome Austerity," BBC Reith Lecture #1, (June 17, 2012)

How does neoliberalism relate to conservatism? Why has income inequality increased since the 1970s?

Session 13, 4/27

Libertarianism: Robert Nozick, *Anarchy, State, and Utopia* (1974), pp. 26-53, 149-182
Why does Nozick argue for a minimal state? What is distributive justice?

Session 14, 5/4

Neo-Realism: Francis Fukuyama, "The End of History?" *The National Interest*, No. 16 (Summer 1989), pp. 3-18; Samuel Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 72, No. 3 (Summer, 1993), pp. 22-49

How has globalization changed politics? Is the "war on terror" a clash of civilizations?

Final Paper Due Date

<http://finalexams.rutgers.edu/>

Academic Integrity Policy: Plagiarism is the use of another person's words, ideas, or results without giving that person appropriate credit. To avoid plagiarism, every direct quotation must be identified by quotation marks or appropriate indentation and both direct quotation and paraphrasing must be cited properly according to the accepted format for the particular discipline or as required by the instructor in a course. Some common examples of plagiarism are:

- Copying word for word (i.e. quoting directly) from an oral, printed, or electronic source without proper attribution.
- Paraphrasing without proper attribution, i.e., presenting in one's own words another person's written words or ideas as if they were one's own.
- Submitting a purchased or downloaded term paper or other materials to satisfy a course requirement.
- Incorporating into one's work graphs, drawings, photographs, diagrams, tables, spreadsheets, computer programs, or other nontextual material from other sources without proper attribution

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Violations include: cheating, fabrication, plagiarism, denying others access to information or material, and facilitating violations of academic integrity.

The Camden Plagiarism Tutorial (INTERACTIVE):

<http://library.camden.rutgers.edu/EducationalModules/Plagiarism/>

Consult *Don't Plagiarize: Document Your Research!* For tips about how to take notes so that you don't plagiarize by accident. http://www.libraries.rutgers.edu/avoid_plagiarism

<http://academicintegrity.rutgers.edu/resources-for-students>

Support for Students: Online Learning Tools from Rutgers University Libraries including Rutgers RIOT, Searchpath and RefWorks
<http://www.libraries.rutgers.edu/tutorials>

Academic Support Programs: <http://newbrunswick.rutgers.edu/academics/academic-support>

Policy on Absences: Students are expected to attend all classes; if you expect to miss one or two classes, please use the University absence reporting website <https://sims.rutgers.edu/ssra/> to indicate the date and reason for your absence. An email is automatically sent to me.

Excessive absences will negatively impact a student's grade.

Student-Wellness Services: Just In Case Web App
<http://codu.co/cee05e>

Access helpful mental health information and resources for yourself or a friend in a mental health crisis on your smartphone or tablet and easily contact CAPS or RUPD.

Counseling, ADAP & Psychiatric Services (CAPS)
(848) 932-7884 / 17 Senior Street, New Brunswick, NJ 08901/
www.rhscaps.rutgers.edu/

CAPS is a University mental health support service that includes counseling, alcohol and other drug assistance, and psychiatric services staffed by a team of professional within Rutgers Health services to support students' efforts to succeed at Rutgers University. CAPS offers a variety of services that include: individual therapy, group therapy and workshops, crisis intervention, referral to specialists in the community and consultation and collaboration with campus partners.

Violence Prevention & Victim Assistance (VPVA)
(848) 932-1181 / 3 Bartlett Street, New Brunswick, NJ 08901 /
www.vpva.rutgers.edu/

The Office for Violence Prevention and Victim Assistance provides confidential crisis intervention, counseling and advocacy for victims of sexual and relationship violence and stalking to students, staff and faculty. To reach staff during office hours when the university is open or to reach an advocate after hours, call 848-932-1181.

Disability Services
(848) 445-6800 / Lucy Stone Hall, Suite A145, Livingston Campus, 54 Joyce Kilmer Avenue, Piscataway, NJ 08854 / <https://ods.rutgers.edu/>

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documentation: <https://ods.rutgers.edu/students/documentation-guidelines>. If the documentation supports your request for reasonable accommodations, your campus's disability services office will provide you with a Letter of Accommodations. Please share this letter with your instructors and discuss the accommodations with them as early in your courses as possible. To begin this process, please complete the Registration form on the ODS web site at: <https://ods.rutgers.edu/students/registration-form>.

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Free and confidential peer counseling and referral hotline, providing a comforting and supportive safe space.

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