

**CS651**  
**Right-Wing Politics in American History**  
**Fall 2004**

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MW 9:30am-11:18am  
Office Hours: Tuesday 12-2pm and by  
appointment

**Course Description:**

What does it mean to use the term “right-wing” or “conservative”? How have religious beliefs shaped American politics and social movements? How does a democratic society draw the line between church and state?

This course investigates the interconnections between politics, culture and religion in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. While there is a well-documented history of progressive social movements in the United States, scholars have devoted less attention to conservative and right-wing religious movements and ideas. Controversies over the teaching of evolution, the growth of the Ku Klux Klan, the success of political/religious leaders like Father Coughlin, Huey Long, George Wallace and Billy James Hargis, and the emergence of the Christian Identity Movement, John Birch Society, New Right and Christian Right reveal the long-standing links between politics and religion in American life.

We will explore the theological beliefs that shaped political and cultural movements through a close examination of texts, films, and primary sources. Paying close attention to issues of gender, sexuality, race and class, we will address topics such as fundamentalism, evangelicalism, populism, conservatism and secularism. The course proceeds chronologically, but we will consider a range of social movements and historical figures, and survey varying approaches for critical analysis—including historical, sociological, political/theoretical, biographical, and ethnographic literatures.

**Course Requirements:**

**Readings:**

All readings are required and may be obtained at the Main Library Reserve Room or at the Student Book Exchange. You should be prepared to discuss the readings on the dates they are assigned. There will also be a packet with articles at Grade A Notes (22 E.17<sup>th</sup> Street, 299-9999) and on reserve at the Main library.

- Cathy Stock, *Rural Radicals: From Bacons Rebellion to the Oklahoma City Bombing*
- Alan Brinkley, *Voices of Protest: Huey Long, Father Coughlin and the Great Depression*
- Joel Carpenter, *Revive Us Again: The Reawakening of American Fundamentalism*
- Lisa McGirr, *Suburban Warriors: The Origins of the New American Right*
- Andrew MacDonald, *The Turner Diaries: A Novel Read Online*
- Susan Harding, *The Book of Jerry Falwell: Fundamentalist Language and Politics*
- Faye Ginsburg, *Contested Lives: The Abortion Debate in an American Community*
- Linda Kintz, *Between Jesus and the Market: The Emotions that Matter in Right-Wing America*

**Assignments:**

-Response Papers:

You must complete 8 response papers out of the 11 weeks of class. Each should be 2-3 pages and based on the week's readings. They are due at the beginning of the class session on Monday. I will not accept papers on Wednesday.

-Discussion questions for one class session:

One person will be responsible for initiating the discussion each week. That person will compose a list of 6-8 questions that address the major themes and issues raised in the readings. He or she must email me the questions the night before the class session so I can provide each member of the class with a copy.

**-In-Class Essay:**

One 3-4 page essay based on readings from the first part of the semester to be completed in class.

**-3-4 page analysis of a primary source related to your final paper**

**-Final paper:**

Students will complete an original research paper of 15 pages on a social, religious, political movement or historical figure related to the class. (Topics are due on April 2, final due May 7) On the final day of class, you will do a five-minute presentation on your final paper.

All papers should be written in 12-point, double-spaced type, with standard margins, and pages numbered and stapled. *All written work should be thoroughly proofread.*

**There are no extensions, and all assignments are marked down one-third of a letter grade (5 points) for every late day.**

**Grading:**

Class participation: 20%

Response Papers: 20%

Discussion Questions: 15%

In-Class Essay: 10%

Primary Source Analysis: 10%

Final Paper and Presentations: 25%

**Student Conferences:** You should plan to meet with me at least once during the semester to discuss one of your papers, and you must get my approval for your final paper topic. However, feel free to stop by office hours or schedule an appointment if necessary. Email is always the fastest way to reach me.

**Attendance and Participation:**

I expect students to be active participants in their educations. This means that each student should come to class having carefully read the assigned readings and be prepared to discuss them. Because knowing how to articulate your ideas is a crucial part of the learning process, you will be expected, as a member of the seminar, to contribute your own unique perspective to our discussions.

The real action of our seminar takes place in the classroom. Therefore, it is important and expected that you will be at every class session. Inevitably, an occasion may arise when you are unable to attend. Out of fairness to your classmates who do attend every class, chronic lateness and/or more than one unexcused absence will detract from your participation grade. To make up for a missed class, you may turn in a 2-page, single-spaced précis summarizing the reading for the class you missed. Finally, if you have any special needs or concerns with this course, please feel free to come and talk with me.

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**STUDENT RIGHTS AND CONDUCT**

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Any student with a documented disability who may require special accommodations should identify him or herself to the instructor as early in the quarter as possible to receive effective and timely accommodations. You may also wish to contact the Office for Disability Services (150 Pomerene Hall, 292-3307).

Students are expected to know and understand the rules regarding academic misconduct, particularly the rules regarding plagiarism, as stated in the University's Code of Student Conduct. All cases of plagiarism will be treated very seriously according to the University's guidelines.

## SCHEDULE OF TOPICS AND READINGS

### Week 1

Sept. 22

*Introduction*

### Week 2 *Understanding Categories and Methodologies*

Sept 27 Randall Balmer, "The Vocabulary of Evangelicalism"

Nancy Ammerman, "North American Protestant Fundamentalism"

Randall Balmer, "Visions of Rapture: Optimism and Apocalypticism in American Culture"

Blessed Assurance

Margaret Bendroth, "The Roots of Anti-Feminism: The Early Fundamentalist Search for Order"

### Sept. 29 *Representations of Scopes and Fundamentalism*

-Susan Harding, "Fundamentalist Exile"

-Edward Larson, *Summer for the Gods* excerpts

- Margaret Bendroth, "Fundamentalist Men and Liberal Women: Gender in the Fundamentalist Modernist Debate"

Film:

**Primary source:** *Inherit the Wind*

*Film and trial transcripts*

### Week 3 *Populism and Vigilante Violence*

Oct 4

-Cathy Stock, *Rural Radicals* (pp.1-143) and conclusion

Oct 6

-Kathleen Blee, "Women in the 1920s Ku Klux Klan"

-Nancy MacClean, "White Women and Klan Violence in the 1920s: Agency, Complicity and the Politics of Women's History"

**Primary source:** 1923 KKK handout

### Week 4 *Anti-Semitism and the Rise of the Populist Politician*

Oct 11th

-Alan Brinkley, *Voices of Protest*

**Primary source:** *Father Coughlin* radio broadcasts and film

Oct 13

-Leo Ribuffo, *The Old Christian Right: The Protestant Far Right from the Great Depression to the Cold War* excerpts

**Primary source:** *Ford and the Protocols*

**IN CLASS ESSAY: Populism, Scopes, and Fundamentalism**

### Week 5 *Did Fundamentalism and Populist Politics Disappear?*

Oct 18

-Joel Carpenter, *Revive Us Again*

-Christian Smith, "From Separate Pews to Separate Churches: Evangelical Racial Thought and Practice" in *Divided by Faith*

**Primary source:** *Scofield Reference Bible*

### Oct. 20<sup>th</sup> *Catholicism and McCarthyism*

Donald F. Crosby, *God, Church and Flag: Senator Joseph McCarthy and the Catholic Church, 1950-1957* excerpts

**Primary source:** *Transcripts of the Army-McCarthy Hearings*

**Week 6 *From Anti-Communism to the New Right***

**Oct 25 & 27**

-Lisa McGirr, *Suburban Warriors*

-Dan T. Carter, "Richard Nixon, George Wallace and the Southernization of American Politics" in the Politics of Rage

**Primary source:** *Billy James Hargis and the Christian Crusade Materials*

**Week 7 *Christian Identity and the Racist Right***

**Nov 1 & 3**

-Michael Barkun, *Religion and the Racist Right* excerpts

-Andrew MacDonald, *The Turner Diaries*

**FINAL PAPER TOPICS DUE NOV. 3RD**

**Week 8 *The Emergence of the Christian Right***

**Nov. 8&10**

-Sara Diamond, "Intro" and "The Long March" in *Not By Politics Alone*

-Susan Harding, "Cultural Exodus" and "The Moral Majority Jeremiad" in *The Book of Jerry Falwell*

**Primary source:** Anita Bryant, "At Any Cost"

Screening: *Gay Rights, Special Rights*

**Week 9 *Family Values: Abortion and the Politics of Submission***

**Nov. 15 & 17**

-Faye Ginsburg, *Contested Lives*

- Marie Griffith, "Submissive Wives, Wounded Daughters and Female Soldiers"

**Primary source:** *Handouts on Operation Rescue*

Screening: *Women of Faith and Chosen Women*

**\*\*\*\*ANALYSIS OF PRIMARY SOURCE DUE NOV. 17TH**

**Week 10 *The Politics of Sexuality and Race in the Christian Right***

**Nov. 22**

-Didi Herman, "Illegitimate Minorities: The Construction of Rights- (Un) Deserving Subjects"

-Christian Smith, "Becoming Active"

**Primary source:** William Dannemeyer, *Shadow in the Land, ex-gay materials*

Screening: *One Nation Under God*

**Nov. 24- NO CLASS ---Work on final papers**

**Week 11 *The Emotions that Matter in Right Wing America***

**Nov. 29**

Linda Kintz, *Between Jesus and the Market*

**Dec. 1** Discussion of religion and politics in the 2004 election  
Presentations of final paper topics

**Dec. 8 Final Paper Due**

## Guidelines for Response Paper

1. The paper should first summarize the **primary argument** of the readings. It is important to summarize this first before doing a critique so that you establish you understand what the author is trying to say.
  - a The readings will make many points, but you should focus on the **most important** or **central** arguments in the texts.
  - b You should address the **particular argument** the author is making, not just identify the topical area. Questions to help you identify the argument:
    1. What is different about what the author is saying from what other people who write in the same subject area?
    2. To whom is the author writing?
    3. What is the primary problem the author sees?
2. The paper should do a **critical analysis** of the primary argument. Critical does not necessarily mean negative. Rather, it is an analysis that helps shed further light on the readings.
  1. Do not just give your immediate response to the paper (ie. I didn't like this; I did like this; I thought this was boring, etc.) Use your responses to explore why you had this reaction to the paper.
  2. Even if you feel you do not know the subject well enough to do an analysis, here are some questions you can address as a starting point:
    1. How does this reading differ from other readings of the class and why?
    2. Is the argument logically consistent?
    3. Is there any important issues that the author is not considering?
    4. How does her argument shed further light on other issues of importance?
    5. What assumptions is the author making? What do you think of those assumptions?
3. End your paper with a question for class discussion. They should be broad, open-ended questions to promote discussion rather than fact-finding questions (although feel free to bring those questions, too).
4. **These papers must be completed by the beginning of each class on Monday.**

## Final Paper Guidelines

The final paper is your opportunity to perform original research and writing on a topic related to conservative politics that is particularly intriguing to you. For this paper, you will conduct outside research and utilize a minimum of **five** sources (books, articles or films) that we have not covered in class. In addition, you are encouraged to use the articles and books from class as additional sources for your paper. Your final paper should include a works cited page with a minimum of **seven** sources.

The final research paper can be a topic of your choice, but must be pre-approved by the instructor. Some possible topics:

- 1) Focus more in-depth on an issue, organization or activist covered in the class.
- 2) Compare a conservative social movement to other religious/social movements
- 3) Assess what strategies are needed to either stop or promote right-wing ideas/agendas, depending on your political-religious persuasion.
- 4) Research an issue, organization or activist that we have not covered in class.

You should organize your paper around a question that you wish to explore rather than a general topic. Your paper should make a specific argument. It should not simply present facts or repeat another author's ideas. For example, instead of examining the Christian Coalition, you should ask a question such as, "How does the Christian Coalition approach the issue of homosexuality?" Then you would make an argument, discuss the debate and support your argument with examples from other sources.

### PROJECT PROSPECTUS:

A 3-4 page project prospectus will be due **WEDNESDAY, 3RD**.

Your prospectus should include four sections [A paragraph for each section would be appropriate]:

**Section I: POSING THE PROBLEM** -- Present the conceptual problem or question you will address in either the research paper or book review.

**Section II: PRIMARY SOURCES** -- Describe your primary sources and their relation to your question.

**Section III: OUTLINE** -- Propose an outline for your essay or book review.

**Section IV: BIBLIOGRAPHY** -- List all of the sources, both primary and secondary, that you will use in your research paper or book review.

### PRIMARY SOURCE:

You will write a 2-3 page paper analyzing a primary source related to your paper topic. In your paper, you should discuss how the source relates to your main argument. Does it provide information that a secondary source doesn't? Does it challenge or confirm your main idea? **DUE WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 17TH**

### PRESENTATIONS:

On **DECEMBER 1<sup>ST</sup>**, you will do a five-minute presentation on your final paper or book review.

