

# HISTORY 3735G

## Global History of Populism

Winter 2024

**Instructor: Professor Keith Fleming**

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**This is a draft syllabus. Please see the course site on OWL for a final version.**

### Course Description:

This lecture and seminar course surveys the global history of populism and its main populist actors from the early 19<sup>th</sup> Century to the present, focusing on Russia, the United States, Canada, Argentina, Brazil, Australia, New Zealand, France, Italy, Ghana, Burkina Faso, South Africa, Zambia, and India.

### Prerequisite:

1.0 History course at the 2200 level or above

### Course Syllabus:

Populism is one of the most controversial and fervently discussed topics in the social sciences today. While there is much scholarly debate over how precisely populism should be defined, it is generally agreed that all forms of populism include a critique of ‘the establishment/the elite’ and adulation of the ‘common people.’ It is also conventional wisdom that populism originated in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century as agrarian protest movements in Russia (where *narodnichestvo* or ‘populism’ appeared in response to hardships encountered by the peasantry in feudal tsarist Russia), and in the United States (where rural discontents were expressed politically via the People’s Party). Today, populism affects almost all continents and political regimes but is most prevalent in the democracies of Europe and the Americas.

The course begins by considering how best to define ‘populism.’ Next, some recent and high-profile manifestations of populism, including Trumpism, Brexiters, France’s National Front, and Venezuela’s Hugo Chávez will be studied to provide a contemporary context. The principal focus of the course surveys the global history of populism and its main populist actors over the past 150 years, focusing specifically on Russia, the United States, Canada, Latin America (especially Argentina and Brazil), Australia and New Zealand, France, Italy, Africa (Ghana, Burkina Faso, South Africa, and Zambia), and India.

### LEARNING OUTCOMES:

Students will be able to

- identify major events, concepts, and personalities associated with early manifestations of populism globally
- interpret information about a wide range of people, groups, events, and documents discussed in the assigned readings and explain their significance
- strengthen skills of oral and written communication
- analyze primary and secondary sources, including their origins, methods, arguments, strengths, limitations, potential implications, and significance for the study of the global history of populism

- solve research problems by identifying a topic, refining it to a significant and answerable historical question, determining the essential components of the argument, organizing the parts of the essay, and drawing conclusions
- effectively integrate primary and secondary sources within class presentations, discussions, and research essays
- analyze academically the impact of historical precedents that contextualize present day expressions of populism globally

### Course Materials:

The course **Required Readings** are available either in digital format at the Western Libraries site for History 3735G (which can be accessed via the ‘Course Readings’ link on the course OWL website), or on two-hour reserve at D.B. Weldon Library.

### Methods of Evaluation:

Research Essay Proposal (due Thursday February 8 <sup>th</sup> )	5%
Research Essay (due Friday March 14 <sup>th</sup> )	30%
Primary Source Presentation and Report	15%
Seminar Participation	20%
Assigned Readings Written Responses (10 x 3%)	30%

**Students must pass all elements of the course (research essay proposal; research essay; primary source presentation and report; seminar participation; assigned readings written responses) to achieve a passing grade in the course.**

Each student must submit electronically to [kfleming@uwo.ca](mailto:kfleming@uwo.ca) a formal and brief (1-2 page typewritten) **essay proposal** no later than **Thursday February 8<sup>th</sup> at 11:55 p.m.** Students who fail to meet this deadline will not be permitted to submit an essay and will receive a grade of “0” on the assignment. Approved essay topics cannot subsequently be changed without the instructor’s prior consent.

Each student will write a **research essay** (13-15 typewritten pages in length). Essay topics will be assigned by the instructor in consultation with each student. An electronic copy of the completed research essay must be submitted via the course OWL website no later than **Friday March 14<sup>th</sup> at 11:55 p.m.** In addition, the essay must be submitted by the due date and time to Turnitin.com via the course OWL website.

Each student, in consultation with the instructor, will make a 15-minute **seminar presentation** discussing a minimum of three primary sources that the student has identified as providing clarity and context to central themes in that week’s required readings. The types of sources to be consulted could include, but are not limited to, government documents, speeches, newspaper articles, personal diaries, excerpts from novels, advertisements, photographs and other illustrations, or radio and television broadcasts. Presentations must not exceed the maximum 15-minute allotment. An electronic copy of the primary source presentation and accompanying written report must be submitted to [kfleming@uwo.ca](mailto:kfleming@uwo.ca) no later than noon on the day that the class presentation takes place. In addition to including all images of the primary sources being discussed in class, the written report must describe your reasons for selecting those primary sources and how they provide clarity and context to the week’s assigned readings. The written report should be approximately 5 pages in length. The course instructor will post the primary source presentation on the “Resources” section of the History 3735G OWL website for other students in the course to access prior to the presentation being made.

Students will submit each week a **written response** (maximum 500 words per weekly response) to a question based on the assigned readings for that week. The response questions will be posted on the “Assignments” section of the course OWL website 24 hours before the written response is due. Students will submit their weekly written responses via the course OWL website no later than the beginning of that day’s class (2:30 p.m.). Late submissions will not be accepted or graded. Since students **are not** required to submit an assigned readings written response the same week as they make their primary source presentation, a total of ten response questions in total will be submitted.

A late penalty of 5% for the first day and 2% per day thereafter (weekends included) will be assessed against written work (including the book review; research essay; and primary source presentation report) submitted after the due date.

Students are expected to attend and participate actively in all seminar discussions, thereby demonstrating their comprehension of the **Required Readings**. This course syllabus also lists numerous **Supplementary Readings** which students are not required to read but are useful for providing context or examining in greater detail the weekly discussion topics.

Sample discussion questions based on the **Required Readings** will be posted on the History 3735G OWL website (under the ‘Resources’ link) before each class to assist students in preparing to participate meaningfully in the seminar. All students will be assigned a participation grade on a 10-point scale following each seminar. Failure to attend a seminar will result in a score of “0” for that class. Merely attending a seminar without participating in the discussion will result in a score of “2” for that class. The assignment of a participation grade from “3” to “10” will be determined by the quality of the student’s contributions to discussion during any given seminar.

In instances when absence from class is unavoidable, students are expected, when possible, to inform the instructor in advance of their pending absence.

Non-illness absences from seminars are unacceptable. Any student attending fewer than nine of the twelve scheduled discussion seminars (an absence rate of approximately 25%) for non-illness reasons will be assigned a failing grade for seminar participation and a failing grade in the course.

**NOTE: All work submitted in this course must be your own. You may not make use of generative AI tools like ChatGPT for any assignments in this course.**

### Course Schedule and Readings:

**Session One: Thursday 11 January 2024**  
**Introduction to History 3735G**

**Session Two: Thursday 18 January 2024**  
**Topic: What is Populism?**

#### **Required Readings:**

Federico Finchelstein, “Populism without borders. Notes on a global history,” *Constellations* (vol 26, 2019), pp. 418–429.

[https://journals-scholarsportal-info.proxy1.lib.uwo.ca/details/13510487/v26i0003/418\\_pwbnoagh.xml](https://journals-scholarsportal-info.proxy1.lib.uwo.ca/details/13510487/v26i0003/418_pwbnoagh.xml)

Cas Mudde and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, "Populism," in Michael Freeden, Lyman Tower Sargent, and Mark Stears, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Political Ideologies* (Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 493-512.

<https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199585977.013.0026>

Yasmeen Serhan, "Populism Is Meaningless" in *The Atlantic* (March 2020).

<https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2020/03/what-is-populism/607600/>

### **Supplementary Reading:**

Federico Finchelstein, "What is Populism in History?" in *From Fascism to Populism in History* (University of California Press, 2019), pp. 98-174.

Carlos de la Torre, "Global Populism: Histories, Trajectories, Problems, and Challenges," in Carlos de la Torre, ed., *Routledge Handbook of Global Populism* (Routledge, 2019), pp. 1-27.

### **Session Three: Thursday 25 January 2024**

#### **Topic: Global Populism in 2024**

#### **Required Readings:**

Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart, "Trump's America" in *Cultural Backlash: Trump, Brexit, and Authoritarian Populism* (Cambridge University Press, 2019), pp. 331-367.

Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart, "Brexit," in *Cultural Backlash: Trump, Brexit, and Authoritarian Populism* (Cambridge University Press, 2019), pp. 368-405.

Laura Silver, "Populists in Europe – especially those on the right – have increased their vote shares in recent elections," Pew Research Centre, October 6, 2022.

<https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2022/10/06/populists-in-europe-especially-those-on-the-right-have-increased-their-vote-shares-in-recent-elections/>

#### **Supplementary Readings:**

Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, "Explaining the Emergence of Populism in Europe and the Americas," in Carlos de la Torre, ed., *The Promise and Perils of Populism: Global Perspectives* (University Press of Kentucky, 2015), pp.189-227.

Chris Erl, "The People and The Nation: The 'Thick' and the 'Thin' of Right-Wing Populism in Canada," *Social Science Quarterly* (Vol. 102, No. 1, January 2021), pp. 107-124.

[https://journals-scholarsportal-info.proxy1.lib.uwo.ca/details/00384941/v102i0001/107\\_tpatnttorpic.xml](https://journals-scholarsportal-info.proxy1.lib.uwo.ca/details/00384941/v102i0001/107_tpatnttorpic.xml)

James Farney, "Canadian Populism in the Era of the United Right," in James Farney and David Rayside, eds., *Conservatism in Canada* (University of Toronto Press, 2013), pp. 43-58.

Vedi R. Hadiz and Angelos Chrysosgelos, "Populism in World Politics: A Comparative Cross-regional Perspective," in *International Political Science Review* (Vol. 38, No. 4, 2017), pp. 399–411.

[https://journals-scholarsportal-info.proxy1.lib.uwo.ca/pdf/01925121/v38i0004/399\\_piwpaccp.xml](https://journals-scholarsportal-info.proxy1.lib.uwo.ca/pdf/01925121/v38i0004/399_piwpaccp.xml)

### **Session Four: Thursday 1 February 2024**

#### **Topic: Populism in Russia**

#### **Required Readings:**

Christopher Ely, *Russian Populism: A History* (Bloomsbury Academic, 2022), pp. 1-39; 99-125.

Ben Eklof and Tatiana Saburova, *A Generation of Revolutionaries : Nikolai Charushin and Russian Populism from the Great Reforms to Perestroika* (Indiana University Press, 2017), pp. 39-72

**Supplementary Readings:**

Deepanshu Mohan and Abhina Padmanabhan, "From the Tsars to Gorbachev," in *Strongmen Saviours: A Political Economy of Populism in India, Turkey, Russia and Brazil* (Routledge, 2023), pp. 115-128.  
Andrzej Walicki, "Russia," in Ghita Ionescu and Ernest Gellner, *Populism: Its Meanings and National Characteristics* (Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1969), pp. 62-96.

**Session Five: Thursday 8 February 2024****Topic: Populism in the United States****Required Readings:**

Michael Kazin, *The Populist Persuasion: An American History* (Cornell University Press, 2017), pp. 9-46; 109-133.

Charles Postel, *The Populist Vision* (Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 3-22; 137-171; 269-289.

**ESSAY PROPOSAL DUE TODAY****Supplementary Readings:**

Ritchie Savage, "Populism in the U.S.," in Carlos de la Torre, ed., *Routledge Handbook of Global Populism* (Routledge, 2019), pp. 402-415.  
Joseph Lowndes, "Populism in the United States," in Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, Paul Taggart, Paulina Ochoa Espejo, and Pierre Ostiguy, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Populism* (Oxford University Press, 2019), pp. 232-247.

**Session Six: Thursday 15 February 2024****Topic: Populism in Canada****Required Readings:**

Clark Banack, *God's Province: Evangelical Christianity, Political Thought, and Conservatism in Alberta* (McGill-Queen's University Press, 2016), pp. 3-30.

Dale Eisler, *From Left to Right: Saskatchewan's Political and Economic Transformation* (University of Regina Press, 2022), pp. 13-32.

**Supplementary Readings:**

David Laycock, *Populism and Democratic Thought in the Canadian Prairies, 1910-1945* (University of Toronto Press, 1990), pp. 203-266.  
Clark Banack, "American Protestantism and the Roots of 'Populist Conservatism' in Alberta," in James Farney and David Rayside, eds., *Conservatism in Canada* (University of Toronto Press, 2013), pp. 231-248.  
David Laycock, "Populism and the New Right in English Canada," in Francisco Panizza, ed., *Populism and the Mirror of Democracy* (Verso, 2005), pp. 172-201.

**Session Seven: Thursday 29 February 2024****Topic: Populism in Latin America (Brazil and Argentina)****Required Readings:**

Federico Finchelstein, "Populism in Latin America as Global History," in Nathan Stoltzfus and Christopher Osmar, eds., *The Power of Populism and People: Resistance and Protest in the Modern World* (Bloomsbury Academic, 2022), pp. 243-253.

Joel Horowitz, "Populism and Its Legacies in Argentina," in Michael L. Conniff, ed., *Populism in Latin America*, 2nd ed. (The University of Alabama Press, 2012), pp. 23-47.

Michael L. Conniff, "Brazil's Populist Republic and Beyond," in Michael L. Conniff, ed., *Populism in Latin America*, 2nd ed. (The University of Alabama Press, 2012), pp. 48-70.

Federico Finchelstein, "Peronist Populism and Fascism," in *The Ideological Origins of the Dirty War: Fascism, Populism, and Dictatorship in Twentieth Century Argentina* (Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 65-92.

Enrique Peruzzotti, "Peronism and the Birth of Modern Populism," *Journal of Inter-Regional Studies: Regional and Global Perspectives* (Vol 2, March 2019), pp. 3-15.

[https://www.waseda.jp/inst/oris/assets/uploads/2018/03/04\\_Peronism-and-the-Birth-of-Modern-Populism\\_Enrique-Peruzzotti.pdf](https://www.waseda.jp/inst/oris/assets/uploads/2018/03/04_Peronism-and-the-Birth-of-Modern-Populism_Enrique-Peruzzotti.pdf)

Carlos de la Torre, "Populism in Latin America," in Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, Paul Taggart, Paulina Ochoa Espejo, and Pierre Ostiguy, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Populism* (Oxford University Press, 2019), pp. 195-213.

### **Supplementary Readings:**

Deepanshu Mohan and Abhina Padmanabhan, "Brazil's Transitions" and "The Rise of Bolsonaro," in *Strongmen Saviours: A Political Economy of Populism in India, Turkey, Russia and Brazil* (Routledge, 2023), pp. 163-181.

Felipe Burbano de Lara, "Populist Waves in Latin America: Continuities, Twists, and Ruptures," in Carlos de la Torre, ed., *Routledge Handbook of Global Populism* (Routledge, 2019), pp. 435-450.

Alistair Hennessy, "Latin America," in Ghita Ionescu and Ernest Gellner, *Populism: Its Meanings and National Characteristics* (Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1969), pp. 28-61.

Joel Horowitz, "Populism and Its Legacies in Argentina," in Michael L. Conniff, ed., *Populism in Latin America*, 2nd ed. (The University of Alabama Press, 2012), pp. 23-47.

Alexandre Fortes, "World War II and Brazilian Workers: Populism at the Intersections between National and Global Histories," *International Review of Social History* (Vol. 62, 2017), pp. 165-190.

<https://www.cambridge.org/core/services/aop-cambridge-core/content/view/BFCED0F82F4518248FA9B25EDE4289E3/S0020859017000608a.pdf/div-class-title-world-war-ii-and-brazilian-workers-populism-at-the-intersections-between-national-and-global-histories-div.pdf>

Juan Grigera, "Populism in Latin America: Old and New Populisms in Argentina and Brazil," *International Political Science Review* (Vol. 38, No. 4, 2017), pp. 441-455.

[https://journals-scholarsportal-info.proxy1.lib.uwo.ca/pdf/01925121/v38i0004/441\\_pilaoanpiaab.xml](https://journals-scholarsportal-info.proxy1.lib.uwo.ca/pdf/01925121/v38i0004/441_pilaoanpiaab.xml)

### **Session Eight: Thursday 7 March 2024**

#### **Topic: Populism Australia and New Zealand**

#### **Required Readings:**

"Introduction" in Michael Leach, Geoffrey Stokes, and Ian Ward, eds., *The Rise and Fall of One Nation* (University of Queensland Press, 2000), pp. 1-13

Geoffrey Stokes, "One Nation and Australian Populism," in Michael Leach, Geoffrey Stokes, and Ian Ward, eds., *The Rise and Fall of One Nation* (University of Queensland Press, 2000), pp. 23-41.

Benjamin Moffitt, "Populism in Australia and New Zealand" in Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, Paul Taggart, Paulina Ochoa Espejo, and Pierre Ostiguy, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Populism* (Oxford University Press, 2019), pp. 121-139.

**Supplementary Reading:**

Benjamin Moffitt, "Contemporary Populism and 'The People' in the Asia-Pacific Region: Thaksin Shinawatra and Pauline Hanson in Carlos de la Torre, ed., *The Promise and Perils of Populism: Global Perspectives* (University Press of Kentucky, 2015), pp. 293-316.

**Session Nine: Thursday 14 March 2024**

**Topic: Populism in France**

**Required Readings:**

Jens Rydgren, "France: The *Front National*, Ethnonationalism and Populism," in Daniele Albertazzi and Duncan McConnell, eds., *Twenty-First Century Populism: The Spectre of Western European Democracy* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), pp. 166-180.

"Two Steps Forward, One Step Back?: Marine Le Pen and the National Front in France," in John Agnew and Michael Shin, *Mapping Populism: Taking Politics to the People* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2020), pp. 91-111.

**ESSAY DUE TOMORROW (FRIDAY MARCH 15<sup>TH</sup>)**

**Supplementary Reading:**

Paul Taggart, "Populism in Western Europe," in Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, Paul Taggart, Paulina Ochoa Espejo, and Pierre Ostiguy, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Populism* (Oxford University Press, 2019), pp. 248-263.

**Session Ten: Thursday 21 March 2024**

**Topic: Populism in Italy**

**Required Readings:**

Gianluca Passarelli, "Populism and the Lega Nord" in *The Oxford Handbook of Italian Politics*, (Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 224-239.

"Populist Totalitarianism and/or Fascist Mysticism Under the Duce" in R.J.B. Bosworth, *Mussolini and the Eclipse of Italian Fascism: From Dictatorship to Populism* (Yale University Press, 2021), pp. 148-179.

"When in Rome ... Populism and the Five Star Movement in Italy," in John Agnew and Michael Shin, *Mapping Populism: Taking Politics to the People* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2020), pp. 113-136.

**Supplementary Readings:**

Marco Tarchi, "Italy: A Country of Many Populisms," in Daniele Albertazzi and Duncan McConnell, eds., *Twenty-First Century Populism: The Spectre of Western European Democracy* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), pp. 84-99.

**Session Eleven: Thursday 28 March 2024**

**Topic: Populism in Africa**

**Required Readings:**



Donald Rothchild and E. Gyimah-Boadi, “Populism in Ghana and Burkina Faso,” *Current History* (Vol. 88, May 1989), pp. 221-244.

Brian J. Peterson “From Political Prisoner to Populist Prime Minister, 1982-1983,” in Brian J. Peterson, *Thomas Sankara: An African Revolutionary* (Indiana University Press, 2021), pp. 89-111.

Alastair Fraser, “Post-populism in Zambia: Michael Sata’s Rise, Demise and Legacy,” in *International Political Science Review* (Vol. 38, No. 4, 2017), pp. 456–472.

[https://journals-scholarsportal-info.proxy1.lib.uwo.ca/pdf/01925121/v38i0004/456\\_pizmsrdal.xml](https://journals-scholarsportal-info.proxy1.lib.uwo.ca/pdf/01925121/v38i0004/456_pizmsrdal.xml)

Louise Vincent, “Seducing the people: Populism and the challenge to democracy in South Africa,” in *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* (Vol. 29, No. 1, January 2011), pp. 1-14.

[https://journals-scholarsportal-info.proxy1.lib.uwo.ca/pdf/02589001/v29i0001/1\\_stppatctdisa.xml](https://journals-scholarsportal-info.proxy1.lib.uwo.ca/pdf/02589001/v29i0001/1_stppatctdisa.xml)

Danielle E. Resnick, “Populism in Africa,” in Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, Paul Taggart, Paulina Ochoa Espejo, and Pierre Ostiguy, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Populism* (Oxford University Press, 2019), pp. 267-280.

### **Supplementary Readings:**

Danielle Resnick, “Varieties of African Populism in Comparative Perspective,” in Carlos de la Torre, ed., *The Promise and Perils of Populism: Global Perspectives* (University Press of Kentucky, 2015), pp. 317-348.

### **Session Twelve: Thursday 4 April 2024**

#### **Topic: Populism in India**

### **Required Readings:**

Christophe Jaffrelot and Louise Tillin, “Populism in India,” in Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, Paul Taggart, Paulina Ochoa Espejo, and Pierre Ostiguy, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Populism* (Oxford University Press, 2019), pp. 179-194.

Narendra Subramanian, “Populism in India,” *SAIS Review of International Affairs* (Vol. 27, No. 1, Winter-Spring 2007), pp. 81-91.

<https://muse-jhu-edu.proxy1.lib.uwo.ca/article/212483/pdf>

### **Supplementary Readings:**

Deepanshu Mohan and Abhina Padmanabhan, “India’s Transformation: From Nehru to Vajpayee,” in *Strongmen Saviours: A Political Economy of Populism in India, Turkey, Russia and Brazil* (Routledge, 2023), pp. 21-35.

### **Additional Statements:**

Please review the Department of History’s shared policies and statements for all undergraduate courses at: [https://history.uwo.ca/undergraduate/program\\_module\\_information/policies.html](https://history.uwo.ca/undergraduate/program_module_information/policies.html)

for important information regarding accessibility options, make-up exams, medical accommodations, health and wellness, academic integrity, plagiarism, and more.