

HIST 3907B/ POLI 3809 B
Populism in History

Winter 2018
Carleton University
Department of History/ Political Science
Fridays, 8:35-11:25am

Professor Jennifer Evans
Office: 418 Paterson Hall
Office Hours: Fridays noon-2pm
Email: Jennifer_Evans@carleton.ca
Tel: 613.520.2600 x2848

Objectives

This course is inspired by current events, including the rise of alt-right, populist, and authoritarian parties and governments across the globe. Its aim is to use the tools of historical analysis to deepen our understanding of where and how these movements arose, how populism has appealed to voters in different places and contexts, and, crucially, how leaders have harnessed popular sentiments to their own end.

As much as our goal is to develop critical thinking skills to apply to contemporary events, our focus is squarely on a series of historical case studies from across the 20th century. Our job is not to flatten out the past in order to see moments of similarity with the present. Rather, the aim is to decipher the different ways in which authoritarianism has manifested over time. We will think about how popular support has been drawn upon, seized as well as given up, and interrogate the forms of opposition made possible under different historical conditions. In other words, the course will contextualize decision making and outcomes by evaluating different arguments and claims, making matters more complicated at first so as to appreciate more fulsomely the state of play.

Required Readings

The course readings will be available for access on ARES via CU_Learn. The following books have been ordered in through Octopus Books, 116 Third Avenue, in the Glebe. Please be sure to bring your course # and professor's name.

Federico Finchelstein, *From Fascism to Populism in History* University of California Press, 2017

Sinclair Lewis, *It Can't Happen Here*, 1935.

Wendy Lower, *Hitler's Furies*, Houghton and Mifflin, 2013

Timothy Snyder, *On Tyranny. Twenty Lessons from the Twentieth Century*. Tim Duggan Books, 2017.

We will also draw on readings assembled in the *New Fascism Syllabus* (www.thehistoryinquestion.com). The NFS is a compendium of articles, news reports, and Op/Eds written by historians, sociologists, and political scientists responding to the contemporary moment the world over. It, like our course, explores historical antecedents in order to gain insight from the lessons of history. This is the guiding theme of our course.

It is imperative that students complete the reading before coming to class. The participation grade rests on it.

Structure

Fridays will consist of a mix of lecture, workshop, and discussion. We will break into smaller groups to discuss the readings. We will also do a series of activities, some with digital humanities tools, that will prepare students to research and write/design the final assignment. There will be several guests to our class as well, colleagues from different fields who have agreed to share their knowledge and expertise with us.

Through the course, students will:

1. Gain an understanding of critical themes, events, and issues in the development of modern notions of authoritarianism, fascism, and populism.
2. Examine political, social, cultural and economic challenges and changes.
3. Explore the development and application of historical arguments.
4. Complicate assumptions about current events.
5. Reassess and challenge a variety of historical perspectives on events and issues.

By the end of the course students should:

1. Be able to critically evaluate the arguments and interpretations put forward by historians, weighing empirical evidence, and making judgments about the strength of various positions and arguments;
2. Have gained an appreciation of the benefits of interdisciplinary approaches to historical questions including the importance of thinking about the linkages between social, cultural, and political history.
3. Be able to use historical knowledge to establish a context for the present, and comprehend the accomplishments, failures, tensions, and issues facing how we think about politics today;
4. Have developed skills in critical thinking, research, writing, and communicating in public arenas.

Prerequisites

This is a third-year history course that assumes students have attained a general familiarity with historical trends over the past two centuries. Students lacking this background may wish to re-familiarize themselves with the key issues and timeline. Part of what this course is about is teaching how to historicize events when evaluating the change in ideas over time. In other words, this course is not a compendium of facts about the history of social and political movements; instead, it emphasizes conceptual trends that shape the discipline. Students will be asked to grapple with the varied ways in which historical actors and researchers themselves have made sense of past political identities, practices, and relationships.

CU-Learn and Course Materials

Our CU_Learn course website will be regularly updated with lecture skeletons and links to various documents and online sources. All material on CU-Learn is mandatory reading. It would be wise to check it before each lecture for any updates to class readings or changes in schedule.

Course Requirements

attendance	(ongoing)	10%
in-class discussion/ reading responses	(ongoing)	30%
blog assignment	(April 11 th)	30%
Op/Ed #1	(February 12 th)	15%
Op/Ed #2	(March 15 th)	15%

1) in-class discussion, weekly reading responses (ongoing 30%)

In-class discussion each week will be structured around student thoughts posted on CU_Learn. In the first week of class, students will be assigned rotating roles for reading responses and commentaries. These roles will rotate throughout the semester.

The bulk of work for this class occurs outside the lecture hall. Accordingly, everyone is expected to do the weekly readings, to read each others' reading responses, and come to class prepared to discuss them. Several times during the semester, particular students will be selected to take on the role of 1) first responders, 2) class facilitators, and 3) sweepers (respondents). This will be outlined on CU_Learn.

- First responders post initial questions and commentaries about the assigned readings by Wednesday evening at 11:59pm. These posts should be substantive, 250 word commentaries, that weigh in *directly* on the arguments in the readings. They should not be descriptive. The task at hand is not to re-state the argument of the readings but to pose a series of questions of the material, reflect on the ideas raised, and link whenever possible the specific issues to the larger questions we are exploring over the course of the semester. This will provide a starting point for Friday's discussion.
- Class facilitators will come to class having prepared comments based on what the first responders' had to say. In small groups, they will introduce these ideas to the wider class. Facilitators will have the first 15-20 minutes of our Friday class to present these ideas. Important here is to take a critical stance, not just summarize. This will serve as a jumping off point for the class discussion.
- The sweepers will come in after that week's session, pick a commentary from the first responders' entries and build upon, disagree with, or extend the analysis based on what happened in class. They'll upload their comments – also roughly 250 words in length - no later than Saturday evening at 11:59pm. Future posts by new group responders and facilitators are free to link back to previous discussions.

*other students are free to comment and respond to any reading response post once the sweepers have finished their reflections on Saturday evening.

These online comments and responses will serve as a kind of archive of course reflections. Reader response posts will be evaluated for how rigorously they engage the material.

There are some caveats. Informed responses must be constructive – comments should be made in good faith to build up and add value to our collective reading of the text. Good questions cannot be answered in a few words and might help someone else with a similar question or another student looking to make a comment. Good answers are thoughtful. Good arguments are productive, allowing for the possibility of misunderstanding on all sides, creating spaces for further understanding. This doesn't mean we can't be critical, but our critique should be advanced to help us all see new sides to the issue at hand. **At no point will a student be the**

target of a dismissive or otherwise negative comment. Online etiquette matters, and our discussion forum belongs to the entire class.

In terms of other in-class activities, we will work with primary sources, conduct social reading exercises with news articles, and reflect on and critique each other's work. The goal is to create an environment over 13 weeks where we work collaboratively as well as collectively towards the two Op/Ed assignments. We will also think at length about what it takes to write in public, for a variety of audiences. The goal is to leave with new research and analytical skills that you can take to other classes while also learning how to navigate the public sphere.

For maximum benefit, it is essential to keep up with these Friday sessions, which will be run like workshops. There will be no "make-up" for missed sessions and attendance is a portion of the overall grade. There may be opportunities for bonus marks in the class. Details will be posted on CU_Learn.

****All written work will be judged according to the key elements of formal writing, which stipulate that papers have a clearly defined title, double-spaced text, typeface, a well-developed thesis statement, a sustained argument and logical development, and bibliography of sources cited. Proper style and grammar are essential elements of persuasive writing. Accordingly, all essays (including examination answers) with spelling, stylistic, and grammar mistakes will receive a lower grade.**

If you have any questions concerning footnoting or any other aspect of writing history papers, don't hesitate to come by my office, talk to the course TA, use the History Department Style guide (available here: <https://carleton.ca/history/undergraduate/essay-guide/>), or consult Kate Turabian's *Students Guide to Writing College Papers* available at any bookstore.

2) blog assignment (April 11th 30%)

The major writing assignment for this course is a public blog which students will update throughout the semester. The blog, hosted on Wordpress, is a place where students will post thoughtful, critical commentaries based on contemporary news articles related to the themes of the course. Students are required to make 20 primary reflections by the last day of lecture, April 11 th. Ideally, these should be completed at weekly intervals but it is also acceptable students complete them in chunks. They might be organized around a particular set of themes or focused on a single country or region. Students are encouraged to draw from a broad array of news sources however 75% should come from major newspapers and journals, with no more than 25% from other blogs or social media sites. See CU_Learn for a list of ideal sources. In addition to the 20 primary entries, students are required to make 10 comments on other users' commentaries. In addition to the rules of writing, all entries will be graded for sophistication and nuance. Blog writing is different than regular essay writing. It can be more informal yet all entries must demonstrate care and precision. Most important of all, as an exercise in writing in public, blogs bring with them a measure of forethought about audience and how one wishes to represent themselves and the course to the wider world. In some instances, students may wish to remain anonymous online. This is completely understandable. We can talk in class about how to do this.

3) Op/Eds (February 12th and March 15th 2x15%)

Over the course of the semester, students will craft two Op/Eds of 700 words each on the subject of their choosing. Op/Eds must use the tools of history and historiography to advance an argument about current events. In other words, these are not simple opinion pieces, rather, they will demonstrate the usefulness of history to a critical engagement with issues in these times. We will devote considerable time to these in class and students will be encouraged as well, if they choose, to try and place them in print, although the success of the assignment does not hinge on this. As preparation, students should read several different Op/Ed and Opinion pieces in the world's major newspapers including *Haaretz*, *The New York Times*, *The Globe and Mail*, *The Ottawa Citizen*, *The Financial Post*, *The New York Review of Books*, and *The Guardian*. Additionally, *The Huffington Post*, *The Conversation*, and *The Washington Post* have specific sections devoted to higher education. These will prove helpful as well. More information will be circulated in class.

Late Policy

Assignments are to be uploaded to CU_Learn by midnight of the day they are due. Students must keep their own local copy in case there is a problem with the attachment. Late papers will lose marks for each day late (i.e. from A to A- etc.). Please obtain a note from a physician or from counseling services in the event of illness or family affliction.

Plagiarism and Student Accommodations – see last sheet of course outline.

Class Schedule

*In order to meet the educational needs of students,
I reserve the right to make changes to the readings to enhance the learning experience.
Be sure to check CU_Learn regularly for updates.

Week 1: January 12th

The Road Ahead

- *What are fascism, populism, and authoritarianism?*
- *How do we understand the relationships among them?*
- *What role should history play in how we analyze the relevance of these categories today?*

Timothy Snyder, *On Tyranny: Lessons from the 21st Century* (entire book).

George Orwell, "What is Fascism?" (1944)

http://www.orwell.ru/library/articles/As_I_Please/english/efasc

**students are to bring in a single primary source each Friday related to the theme of the week. This might be a photograph, a short film, a poem, story, newspaper article, poster or speech. We will incorporate these into the discussion component of the class.

Week 2: January 19th

The Middle Ages in the 20th/21st Century Imagination

- *How has the history of the Middle Ages been manipulated to serve contemporary ideas about the so-called crisis of civilization?*

Federico Finchelstein, "Introduction: Thinking Fascism and Populism in terms of the Past" in Federico Finkelstein, *From Fascism to Populism in History* (University of California Press, 2017).

Amy S. Kaufmann, "Medievalism and the KKK"

<https://www.publicmedievalist.com/birth-national-disgrace/>

Patrick Geary, "Medieval Matters, Modern European Racism" <https://itunes.apple.com/ca/podcast/medieval-matters-modern-european-nationalism-fight/id385643787?i=1000085432471&mt=2>

Patrick Geary, *Myth of Nations. The Medieval Origins of Europe* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003), chapter 1 (Ares)

Week 3: January 26th

Italy, Populism's Birthplace

- *What was Fascism's socio-political program? To what extent did those early objectives change and evolve during its conquest of power between the mid- to late-1920s?*

Benito Mussolini and Giovanni Gentile. "The Doctrine of Fascism." *Enciclopedia Italiana*. 1932. <http://facweb.furman.edu/~bensonlloyd/hst11/mussolinidoctrines.htm>

Federico Finkelstein, "What Is Fascism in History?" *From Fascism to Populism in History* (University of California Press, 2017).

Ruth Ben-Ghiat, Chapter 5 "Conquest and Collaboration" in *Fascist Modernities: Italy, 1922-1945* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004 (Ares)

Week 4: February 2nd

The Thirties: Germany

- *Hitler's Germany drew on nationalist principles from before the 20th century, honed and shaped through street fighting and democratic crisis. How did Germany's legacy differentiate Nazism from the fascism of Mussolini?*
- *What was the appeal of Nazism beyond ideology?*

Wendy Lower, *Hitler's Furies* (entire book)

Week 5: February 9th

The Thirties: the United States

- *How do we explain how populism looks in the United States versus Europe? What are the differences and similarities?*

Linda Gordon, "What do we mean by populism? The 'Second' Klan as Case Study" <https://www.historians.org/publications-and-directories/perspectives-on-history/september-2017/what-do-we-mean-by-populism-the-second-klan-as-a-case-study>

Sinclair Lewis, *It Can't Happen Here* (entire book)

Week 6: February 16th

Authoritarianism's New Man

- *How do authoritarian and nationalist regimes use gender ideology to craft ideal visions of masculinity and femininity, binding citizens to the state?*
- *In what way does homosexuality challenge these norms and the practices that undergird them?*

Claudia Bruns, "How Gay is Germany? Homosexuality, politics and racism in historical perspective" in Achim Rohde, Christina von Braun, Stefanie Schüler-Springorum, *National Politics and Sexuality in Transregional Perspective: the Homophobic Argument* (New York: Routledge, 2018). (Ares)

Dan Healey, "Forging Gulag Sexualities: Penal Homosexuality and the Reform of the Gulag after Stalin" *Russian Homophobia from Stalin to Sochi* (London: Bloomsbury Press, 2017). (Ares)

Rio Otomo, "Narratives, the Body and the 1964 Tokyo Olympics" *Asian Studies Review*, 31:2 (2007): 117-132.

Valentin Sandulescu, "Fascism and Its Quest for the 'New Man': The Case of the Romanian Legionary Movement." *Studia Hebraica* 4 (2004): 349-61.

Winter Break February 18-25th

Week 7: March 2nd

South America

- *How does the history of continental theory and history of fascism help us understand the violence of the Dirty Wars in South America?*
- *What are the many different forms of resistance to authoritarianism?*

Eric Steiner Carlson, *I Remember Julia; Voices of the Disappeared* (student choice – excerpts – Ares)

Federico Finchelstein, "What is Populism in History?" *From Fascism to Populism in History* (University of California Press, 2017).

Temma Kaplan, "Reversing the Shame and Gendering the Memory." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture & Society* Vol. 28 Issue 1 (2002): 179-199.

Teresa Meade, "Holding the Junta Accountable: Chile's 'Sitios de Memoria' and the History of Torture, Disappearance, and Death." *Radical History Review* 79 (Winter 2001): 123-139.

Week 8: March 9th

Multicultural Europe?

- *How do myths surrounding European identity buckle when faced with the challenge of colonialism/postcolonialism and mass migration?*

Federico Finchelstein, "Populism Between Dictatorship and Democracy" in *From Fascism to Populism in History* (University of California Press, 2017).

Gloria Wekkers, "...For Even Though I am Black as Soot, My Intentions are Good": the Case of Zwarte Piet/Black Pete" in *White Innocence. Paradoxes of Colonialism and Race* (Duke University Press, 2015), pp. 139-167 (Ares).

Zack Beauchamp, "An expert on the European far right explains the growing influence of anti-immigrant politics" May 31, 2016

<https://www.vox.com/2016/5/31/11722994/european-far-right-cas-mudde>

Nilüfer Göle, "Decentering Europe, Recentering Islam" *New Literary History*, Volume 43, Number 4 (Autumn 2012): 665-685.

Week 9: March 16th

Zimbabwe

- *What are the differences in African authoritarianism?*
- *What explains Mugabe's hold on Zimbabwe all this time?*

Rudo Mudiwa, "Feeling Precarious" *Transition* 123 (2017): 78-88

Tim Scarnecchia, "The 'Fascist Cycle' in Zimbabwe, 2000-2005" *Journal of South African Studies* 32:2 (2006): 221-237.

Sabelo J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni, "Rethinking *Chimurenga* and *Gukurahundi* in Zimbabwe: A Critique of Partisan National History" *African Studies Review* 55:3 (2012): 1-26.

Week 10: March 23rd

Brexit

- *What are the long and short term causes of British disaffection with the EU?*

A. Meon and J.P Salter, "Brexit: Initial Reflections" *International Affairs* 92:6 (2016): 1297-1318.

S. Hobolt, "The Brexit Vote: A Divided Nation, A Divided Continent" *Journal of European Public Policy* 23:9 (2016): 1259-1277.

Enoch Power, "Rivers of Blood" <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mw4vMZDIItQo>

Brian Lewis, "Decided Queer: A Brief History of Gay Marriage and Brexit in the Disunited Kingdom" October 14, 2017 (YouTube: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CC-zCLjTcQ>) 48:30 minutes.

Week 11: March 30th – no class

Week 12: April 6th

Eastern Europe

- *What explains the resurgent anti-Semitism in Eastern European populism?*
- *How does eastern European authoritarianism reflect the tensions of post-Cold War transition? What is new and what belongs to the region's legacy?*

Federico Finchelstein, "Populism Recharged" in *From Fascism to Populism in History* (University of California Press, 2017).

Masha Gessen, "The Putin Files" Frontline PBS,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Kk9igTqTx9s>

G. M. Tamas, "The Mystery of Populism Finally Unveiled"
<https://www.opendemocracy.net/wfd/can-europe-make-it/g-m-tam-s/mystery-of-populism-finally-unveiled?fref=gc>

Victor Orbán, "Viktor Orbán's Speech at the 14th Kötcse Civil Picnic." Speech, Kötcse, Hungary, September 17, 2015. Website of the Hungarian Government.

<http://www.kormany.hu/en/the-prime-minister/the-prime-minister-s-speeches/viktor-orban-s-speech-at-the-14th-kotcse-civil-picnic>

Sławomir Sierakowski, "The Five Lessons of Populist Rule." Project *Syndicate*. 2 January 2017.

<https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/lesson-of-populist-rule-in-poland-by-slawomir-sierakowski-2017-01>

Maya Vinokour, "90% of Polish Jews died in the Holocaust. So why are Poland's nationalists chanting 'Get the Jews out of power?'" *Haaretz* November 13, 2017.

<https://www.haaretz.com/opinion/1.822484>

Week 12: April 11th (a Friday schedule)

Instructor Away – no class

REGULATIONS COMMON TO ALL HISTORY COURSES

COPIES OF WRITTEN WORK SUBMITTED

Always retain for yourself a copy of all essays, term papers, written assignments or take-home tests submitted in your courses.

PLAGIARISM

The University Senate defines plagiarism as “*presenting, whether intentionally or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one’s own.*” This can include:

- reproducing or paraphrasing portions of someone else’s published or unpublished material, regardless of the source, and presenting these as one’s own without proper citation or reference to the original source;
- submitting a take home examination, essay, laboratory report or other assignment written, in whole or in part, by someone else;
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, or paraphrased material, concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another’s data or research findings;
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another’s works and/or failing to use quotation marks;
- handing in "substantially the same piece of work for academic credit more than once without prior written permission of the course instructor in which the submission occurs."

Plagiarism is a serious offence which cannot be resolved directly with the course’s instructor. The Associate Dean of the Faculty conducts a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student, when an instructor suspects a piece of work has been plagiarized. Penalties are not trivial. They can include a final grade of "F" for the course.

COURSE SHARING WEBSITES and COPYRIGHT

Classroom teaching and learning activities, including lectures, discussions, presentations, etc., by both instructors and students, are copy protected and remain the intellectual property of their respective author(s). All course materials, including PowerPoint presentations, outlines, and other materials, are also protected by copyright and remain the intellectual property of their respective author(s).

Students registered in the course may take notes and make copies of course materials for their own educational use only. Students are not permitted to reproduce or distribute lecture notes and course materials publicly for commercial or non-commercial purposes without express written consent from the copyright holder(s).

STATEMENT ON CLASS CONDUCT

The Carleton University Human Rights Policies and Procedures affirm that all members of the University community share a responsibility to:

- promote equity and fairness,
- respect and value diversity,
- prevent discrimination and harassment, and
- preserve the freedom of its members to carry out responsibly their scholarly work without threat of interference.

Carleton University Equity Services states that “every member of the University community has a right to study, work and live in a safe environment free of discrimination or harassment”. [In May of 2001 Carleton University’s Senate and Board of Governors approved the Carleton University Human Rights Policies and Procedures. The establishment of these policies and procedures was the culmination of the efforts of the Presidential Advisory Committee on Human Rights and a Human Rights Implementation Committee.]

GRADING SYSTEM

Letter grades assigned in this course will have the following percentage equivalents:

A+ = 90-100 (12)	B = 73-76 (8)	C - = 60-62 (4)
A = 85-89 (11)	B - = 70-72 (7)	D+ = 57-59 (3)
A - = 80-84 (10)	C+ = 67-69 (6)	D = 53-56 (2)
B+ = 77-79 (9)	C = 63-66 (5)	D - = 50-52 (1)

F Failure. No academic credit WDN Withdrawn from the course

ABS Absent from the final examination

DEF Official deferral (see "Petitions to Defer")

FND Failure with no deferred exam allowed -- assigned only when the student has failed the course on the basis of inadequate term work as specified in the course outline.

Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean. This means that grades submitted by the instructor may be subject to revision. No grades are final until they have been approved by the Dean.

WITHDRAWAL WITHOUT ACADEMIC PENALTY

The last date to withdraw from Fall/Winter and Winter term courses is April 11, 2018.

REQUESTS FOR ACADEMIC ACCOMMODATIONS

You may need special arrangements to meet your academic obligations during the term. For an accommodation request the processes are as follows:

Pregnancy obligation: write to me with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details see the Student Guide: <https://carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf>

Religious obligation: write to me with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details see the Student Guide: <https://carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf>

Academic Accommodations for Students with Disabilities: The Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) provides services to students with Learning Disabilities (LD), psychiatric/mental health disabilities, Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD), Autism Spectrum Disorders (ASD), chronic medical conditions, and impairments in mobility, hearing, and vision. If you have a disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact PMC at 613-520-6608 or pmc@carleton.ca for a formal evaluation. If you are already registered with the PMC, contact your PMC coordinator to send me your Letter of Accommodation at the beginning of the term, and no later than two weeks before the first in-class scheduled test or exam requiring accommodation (if applicable). After requesting accommodation from PMC, meet with me to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. Please consult the [PMC website](#) for the deadline to request accommodations for the formally-scheduled exam (if applicable).

PETITIONS TO DEFER

Students unable to complete a final term paper or write a final examination because of illness or other circumstances beyond their control or whose performance on an examination has been impaired by such circumstances may apply within five working days to the Registrar's Office for permission to extend a term paper deadline or to write a deferred examination. The request must be fully and specifically supported by a medical certificate or other relevant documentation. Only deferral petitions submitted to the Registrar's Office will be considered.

ADDRESSES (613-520-2600, phone ext.)

- Department of History (2828) 400 PA
- Registrar's Office (3500) 300 Tory
- Academic Advising Centre (7850) 302 Tory
- Paul Menton Centre (6608) 500 Unicentre
- Centre for Student Academic Support – Study Skills, Writing Tutorials, Bounce Back (3822) 4th fl Library

Application for Graduation Deadlines

- Spring Graduation (June): March 1
- Fall Graduation (November): September 1
- Winter Graduation (February): December 1