Syllabus: LDST 390 “Leaders or demagogues? The Construction of Populist Leaders in South America, the US and Europe in the new Century”
Spring 2017

Instructor: Visiting Professor María Esperanza Casullo.

Course Time and Location: Monday-Wednesday 1:30-2:45 PM. Room 106 - Room 118 for classes shared with Ernesto Seman’s course.

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Course Description:

Populist movements and leaders are on the rise not only in remote parts of the world but in the US and Europe as well. Even as the “pink tide” which brought to power a record number left-wing populist governments in Latin America is receding, populism is rising elsewhere. A leader of the populist party UKIP, Nigel Farage, was instrumental in moving the British public opinion towards leaving the European Union; a populist millionaire and TV personality, Donald Trump, was elected president of USA in 2016; the right wing populist politician Marine Le Pen is waging a competitive race for the French presidency.

This is a shocking state of affairs when compared with the political landscape as it presented itself after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. Then, an era of democratic optimism was ushered in and the “end of history” was proclaimed. It was believed by many analysts that the whole world would march as one towards a future equalized by liberal democracy, globalization and free-market capitalism. Populism thus was regarded as a political atavism, something that belonged in the dustbin of history, a momentary detour in a global march toward political modernity.

An yet, almost twenty years after that, populism seems to be stronger than ever. Today, many of those same analysts struggle to gain a sense of why it is so, and what can liberal democracy do in response to the ascendance of populist leaders, both left-leaning and right-wing.

Populist politics is inseparable from leadership, since the very term is synonym for the mobilization of a people behind a charismatic leader. In fact, populism can be defined as a certain style of political leadership. However, there is nothing magical or mystical in this kind of leadership. As we shall see, populist leadership is strategized and performed through a careful use of self-presentation, narratives, discourses, and the media.

This course examines the main conceptual definitions of political populism, discusses the ways in which populist leaders construct their political personas, analyses the historical differences between left wing and right wing populisms, and performs in-depth analysis of contemporary cases from South America, the US and Western and Eastern Europe.
The course will perform three tasks. As the first one, we will analyse the basic theoretical tenets of populism, going back to its very roots in the writings of Aristotle and Machiavelli. As the second one, we will discuss the historical realization of populism in during the nineteenth and twentieth century. As the last one, we will analyse the current style of populist leadership and the way in which populist charismatic authority is created through the use of discourse, self-presentation, and the media.

Requirements and Grades:
1. Class Participation: 20%
I expect that you will participate actively throughout the entire course. Class attendance is absolutely necessary. I also expect that you come to class having read the texts and prepared to engage with debates and discussions pertinent to the class. Specific and incisive discussions of the readings are particularly welcome; general statements that do not relate to the authors' arguments or the other students' points are not.

2. Midterm Exam. 30%
It will consist of questions (short answers or mini essay-like) about the readings assigned up to this point (including those that were not discussed in class.) The midterm exam will take place on March 1st.

3. Role Playing. 20%
Students will work in groups of two or three. Each group will develop a populist discourse during the semester. This discourse will not be general or abstract, but it will be located in an specific time and space, and will be written and performed with an specific audience and adversary in mind. The discourse will be either read aloud in class, or filmed beforehand and presented to the class. Students will be graded according to their participation in the role playing based on: the academic foundations of your intervention through reading and research, the originality of your contribution, your contribution to the group, and the effectiveness of the discourse.

3. Final Project. 30%
Students will prepare a final project about any dimension related to the study of populism. By mid-semester, students will present a proposal that will have to be approved by me. The range of options for this project is vast and it will depend entirely on the students' preferences, skills and affinities: They include (but are not limited to) the writing of a book review, a movie review, a paper about any specific dimension of populism. The deadline for the proposal is April 7th. The deadline for the final research project is April 25th.

General expectations:
Class attendance is absolutely necessary. Each unexcused absence will lead to 2 percent taken off your final grade.
You should arrive at class on time, no exceptions. You should not leave class before it ends, no exceptions. Late arrivals (more than 3 minutes) or early departures (more than 3 minutes) will affect the percentage of your grade corresponding to class participation. You should make sure to go to the restrooms before class, or either wait until the class ends.

No food in the classroom. Water, coffee or tea and a light snack (cereal bar, pastry) are allowed.

The use of laptops, ipads or phones during class is prohibited. If you cannot take notes without an electronic device, you need to contact me as soon as possible with a Disability Accommodation Notice (DAN) provided the university (see below.)

I will respond to all emails within 24 hours of receiving them, but I will not respond to emails sent to me after 5pm until the following day. I can also give you feedback about your projects, but I will not read rough drafts once the outline for the final paper is approved.

Plagiarism: Any plagiarism is grounds for failure for the assignment in question, for the course, and for the school as well. When the ideas or writings of others are presented in assignments, these ideas or writing should be attributed to that source. Special care should be taken to cite sources correctly and to use quotation marks. Resources such as the library and the Writing Center are available on campus to assist you. You are encouraged to take advantage of these resources.

Important note:
This class was developed in close collaboration with Dr. Ernesto Semán class on Caudillismo. We will share some of our class meetings with his class, and some discussions will be led by him.

This syllabus is a map and a guide for the months of work ahead of us. It is not an ironclad contract. Depending on the pace of the work in the classroom, the feedback from the students, and any other contingent factor, changes might be made. They will be duly announced on Blackboard and in class.

Class Schedule

Week one. Introduction to the course The (very brief) end of history.
January 9th.

January 11th.

Week 2: Caudillos and followers in Latin America
January 16th. No class. MLK DAY.

January 18th. CLASS MERGES. INSTRUCTOR: SEMAN.
Week 3. What is a people? Populism as the “ghost of democracy.” Aristotle's analytic of the city and the part of those who have no part.

January 23rd.
- Aristotle, Politics, Book I. (Digital.)
- (Snippets from the classic Costa Gavras’ The Battle of Algiers will be discussed in class.)

January 25th.
- Aristotle, Politics, Book IV, selections. (Digital.)
- (Snippets from the classic Costa Gavras’ The Battle of Algiers will be discussed in class.)


January 30th. CLASS MERGES. INSTRUCTOR: CASULLO.
- Nicolo Machiavelli. The Prince. (Selections.) (Digital.)
- James Madison, “Federalist nr. 10.” (Available in Boatwright Library Website.)
(Snippets from Zhang Yimou’s movie Hero will be discussed in class.)

February 1st.

Week 5: National Sovereignty, Fragmentation and Strongmen.

February 6th. CLASS MERGES. INSTRUCTOR, SEMAN.
- (Students have to watch AT HOME the movie The Liberator, movie. part I. Available at Boatwright Library Film Collection.)

February 8th. CLASS MERGES. INSTRUCTOR: SEMAN.
Week 6. How is populist leadership created: discourse.

February 13th. **A discursive theory of populist mobilization.**
(Discourses by Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Juan Domingo Perón and Evo Morales will be watched and discussed in class.)

February 15th.

Week 7. The Lonely Crowd. Modern Science and the individual

February 20th. **CLASS MERGES. INSTRUCTOR: SEMAN AND CASULLO.**

February 22nd

**Week 8: Revision and Exam**
**Feb 27th. Revision. Mock Exam discussion.**

**March 1st. Mid Term Exam.**

**Week 9. Spring Break, no class.**

March 6th. Spring break, no class.

March 8th, Spring Break, no class.
Week 10. The Two Zones of Populist Governance. Latin America vs the Rest of the World.

March 13th, CLASS MERGES. INSTRUCTOR: CASULLO.
Readings:

March 15th, CLASS MERGES. INSTRUCTOR: SEMAN AND CASULLO.
Readings:

Week 11. Populism, the Leader and the Media
March 20th.

March 22nd.

Week 12. Week 12: The New Deal Revisited
March 27th TOGETHER MARK HEALEY INVITED TALK ON POPULISM


Week 13: Populism in the US in the Twentieth and Twentieth First
April 3rd. Reading. CLASS MERGES. INSTRUCTOR: SEMAN AND CASULLO.
- Robert Penn Warren, All the King's Men, (Noel Polk, editor), Mariner Books, (2002). (Students should buy and read the book.)
April 5th.

**Week 14. Populism and Democracy**

April 10th. **CLASS MERGES WITH ERNESTO SEMAN’S**

April 12th. No class - I will be away for a conference on Populism in Glasgow.

**Week 15th.**
April 17th. Final presentations.
April 19th Final presentations.

**Awarding of Credit**
To be successful in this course, a student should expect to devote 10-14 hours each week, including class time and time spent on course-related activities.
http://registrar.richmond.edu/services/policies/academic-credit.html

**Disability Accommodations**
Students with a Disability Accommodation Notice should contact their instructors as early in the semester as possible to discuss arrangements for completing course assignments and exams.
http://studentdevelopment.richmond.edu/disability-services/policies.html

**Honor System**
The Jepson School supports the provisions of the Honor System. The shortened version of the honor pledge is: “I pledge that I have neither received nor given unauthorized assistance during the completion of this work.”
http://studentdevelopment.richmond.edu/honor/

**Religious Observance**
Students should notify their instructors within the first two weeks of classes if they will need accommodations for religious observance.
http://registrar.richmond.edu/planning/religiousobs.html

Staff members from these resources are available to students for consultation regarding the points delineated below.