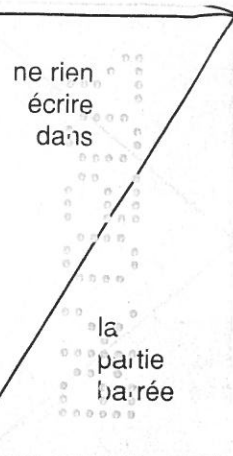


Populist demands are based on a so-called opposition between those who are exploited and those who benefit from the toil of the former. They fuel the idea that a growing danger is threatening the core values of the 'people'.

First populists have to define their foes. In order to know who they must fight. Overall the distinction remains very simple, between Good and Evil, for this kind of opposition enables to gather several people. Thus M. Kazin writes that there is 'an antagonism between a large majority of producers and a tiny elite of parasites' (document 1, l. 7). He resorts to a very specific semantic field to put the emphasis on the danger that the 'elite' embodies, to populists. In the 2<sup>nd</sup> part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century parties like the Grange or the Greenback Party firmly changed the 'monster' - that is the federal bank checking inflation. Cobden uses such a binary opposition - between Good and Evil - with the 'landlords' (document 2, l. 3) and the 'farmers' (document 2, l. 16). Thus he fuels criticisms against 'absentee landlords' who refuse to invest to raise production. Yet he does not make explicit who is targeted by his speech, giving no name. In Bryan's speech the identity of the foes is blurred too, for he only denounces 'the few financial magnates'. Yet some of those magnates, like Carnegie or Rockefellers, aimed at relieving the poor through their 'Gospel of Wealth' at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

At the same time populists contend that they



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Anglais

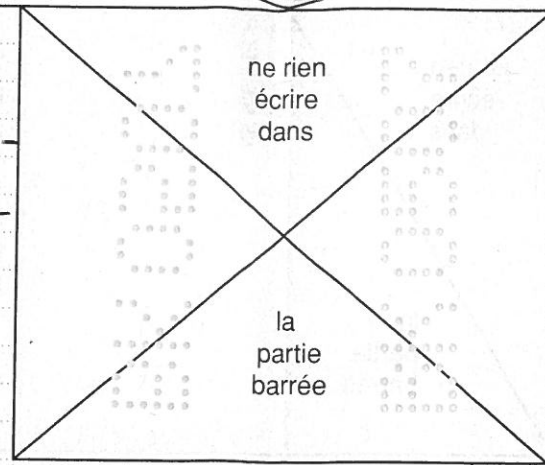
The first words of the American Constitution are well-known: 'We, the People.' In the US they embody the core principles of democracy, that is the fact to respect the will of the people. Yet at the very beginning of the nation some leaders - like Hamilton - feared what was done in the name of the 'people'.

This set of documents precisely tackles the issue of populism in the UK and in the US, and more precisely of the will of people. The five texts shed light on the identity of those belonging to the 'people', on their foes and on the manipulation of the will of people by political parties too. In his article entitled 'Populism', published in The Concise Princeton <sup>historical</sup> Encyclopedia of Political History (2011) (document 1), M. Kazin gives an objective definition of the notion of 'populism', even if he underlines the political manipulation of the notion throughout the American history. To him populism leans on an opposition between those who suffer and those who exploit the former. In his speech on free trade delivered on September 28, 1843, B.

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Gobden stressed this opposition between the landlords - which are vilified - and workers and farmers. Indeed at the beginning of the Victorian era (1837 - 1901), the British agriculture experienced a crisis which increased poverty among the bulk of society. While Gobden denounces the landlords who refuse to invest to raise production, he promotes liberalism and free trade - as Huskisson at the same time - to relieve the effects of the crisis (document 2). In his famous 'Cross of Gold Speech' delivered at the Democratic Convention on July 9, 1896, in Chicago, W. J. Bryan resorted to a harsh tone too (document 3). Indeed he tries to identify the enemy of the 'people', namely those - around G. Cleveland - who assert that money has to rely on gold exclusively. In the name of Americans living in the West he puts the emphasis on the necessity to rely not only on gold, but on silver as well, for merchants need inflation, contrary to Wall Street on the East coast. E. Powell's 'Rivers of Blood Speech' is also famous for its radical tone (document 4). On April 20, 1958, Powell took his stand against immigration, seen as a threat to the national identity. Because of his arguments against alien <sup>British</sup> he portends what will become the Thatcherite New Right. Yet after his 1958 he was not a key figure of the Conservative Party anymore, which was not in the saddle at the time. As Powell who hails the will of people, Nixon did so on August 8, 1958, as he was running for the presidency (docu-



ment 5). In his address at the Republican Convention he opposes the 'silent majority' - even if he does not resort to this word here - and the Johnson administration. Co him welfare programs - Medicare and Medicaid - have prevented people from helping themselves, and the war in Vietnam proves that Johnson does not hear Americans' demands. Hence his Southern Strategy aims at putting people in the saddle anew, by promoting a traditionally Democratic value: self-help.

Thus this set of documents contends that populism relies on an opposition between two groups, whose borders are often blurred. The will of people can be deployed to promote solutions to political, social and economic issues, and is able to shake society. To what extent is the will of people able to change society, whereas the demands of people are sometimes seen as too radical and the notion of 'people' often remains blurred?

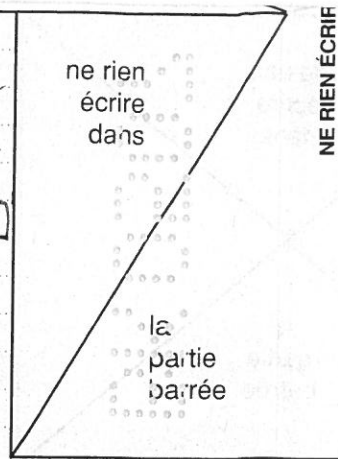
First I will underline the fact that populism relies on an opposition between two groups and on the fear of a threat to the identity of people. Then I will assert that populism is capable of shaking the foundations of society, for its radical demands are considered as legitimate in time of crisis. Finally I will stress the limits of the will of people, which often needs to be embodied by political parties to succeed in changing society.

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Dealing such crises populists claim that they have solutions to solve current problems. For instance the Grangers intended to crush 'monopolies' (document 1, l. 15) through a tougher regulation - with the Sherman Act for instance. Indeed they aimed at lowering prices, thanks to competition in the realm of railroads for instance. Cobden and Nixon have not only expounded their solutions but have implemented them. So Cobden 'Free Trade did compel them to sell their articles at a less price' (document 2, l. 38). Hence after he had contributed to convincing Peel to repeal the Corn Laws GB experienced an era of prosperity and economic growth. In the US Nixon targetted 'government jobs, and government housing, and government welfare' (document 5, l. 54) as President from 1968 onwards. His policy of 'benign neglect' led his Administration to reduce state intervention from 1968 to 1974. Indeed the federal government was seen as a threat to people's liberties. Yet sometimes populists do not succeed in influencing legislation in time of crisis. Although Powell calls for 'action now' (document 4, l. 28) Wilson's government does not follow suit immediately.

Even if populist demands can be considered as radical, they tend to become more and more legitimate at the same time. Indeed protests can be legions. That is why Bryan repeats 'we' several times (document 3, l. 40). He tries to gather thousands of voices



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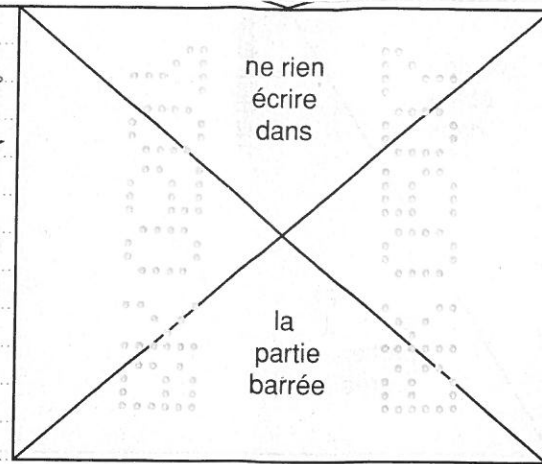
share core and common values. They depict themselves as members of social groups which hail virtues like hard-working or thrift. Thus E. Powell alludes to an 'ordinary working man' (document 4, l. 2) and Nixon celebrates those who embody the 'American private enterprise' (document 5, l. 55). Indeed self-help has been praised both in the US and in the UK, where S. Miles claimed in 1859, in Self-Help 'God helps those who help themselves.' The 'true' people is said to be formed by people who work hard to climb the social ladder, by refusing the privileges of the rich. Moreover they are depicted as industrious and as defenders of thrift. Kazin alludes to 'local power bases, family farms, country churches' (document 7, l. 77) where people implement such values. From 1789 onwards Jefferson celebrated Americans who worked in the country - the yeomen - and was upheld by J. Jackson's 'Jacksonian democracy' some decades later. So Jackson 'the merchant', 'the farmer', 'the miners' (document 3, l. 20/1/4) <sup>and Bryan</sup> represent the very American identity and have to be on an equal footing with the 'elite'.

Yet populists argue that their identity is three-

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bered by this minority. Kazin, Gobden and Bryan's texts prove that this feeling is due to the Industrial Revolution, which led to the birth of new social groups threatening the older one during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Thus Kazin stresses the fact that 'aristocrats, empire builders [...] (document 7, 1.23) obviously oppose the American creed of patience and of 'third gratification', because of their so-called greed. While he was President Jefferson called workers and farmers 'the chosen people of God' for they did not bend the knee in front of difficulties. In 1958 Nixon still resorted to the idea that the US was 'a chosen nation' (document 7, 1.27) by calling it 'a great nation' (document 5, 1.33). He fears that Americans would lose their dignity by being involved in foreign conflicts, like in Vietnam for instance, and contends that the Johnson administration embodies the minority which threatens the American greatness. Above all E. Powell sheds light on the fact that immigrants from the Commonwealth - from Pakistan, India, Rhodesia - are not welcomed, indeed he is explicit. The UK is 'his [of the man] country' <sup>in the UK</sup> (document 4, 1.73) and cannot be shared with foreigners who have different cultures and habits.

Populists firmly oppose two groups, one associated with Good and the other one with Evil. Although the borders of those two groups are often blurred, populists fuel the idea that their identity is threatened. Thus, through their demands, they seem to be capable of



shaking the foundations of society.

Populists appear to be able to shake the foundations of society, for they become active during crises and succeed in presenting their radical demands as legitimate.

First populist demands seem to be on the crest when a crisis occurs. Indeed social and economic difficulties play up their demands. The 'People's Party (document 7, 1.3) organized in a context of growing tension in the US, severely hit by the Great Depression (1873-96). Around 30 years later, from 1929 onwards, 'the first depression since the Populist era' began. People like 'Huey Long' (1.27) - the 'Kingfish' - or 'Coughlin' learnt on discontent to promote their own programs - a sort of universal wage for the elderly for instance in Long's platform. Gobden follows Kazin's argument when he alludes to the 'consequence of the bad seasons' which triggered protests in Victorian Great Britain. Thus between 1810 and 1820 the Chartists became active because of the depression which followed the Napoleonic Wars, then Waterloo (1815). In 1968 Nixon did not really lean on an economic crisis to promote what he considered as the 'true' will of the people, but on a social one. Thus he resorts to the semantic field of war - 'in smoke and flame (1.6, document 5), 'battlefields abroad' (1.8) - to denounce the riots who followed King's death in 1968 and the bombings on Vietnam. Indeed the Offensive was launched this year.

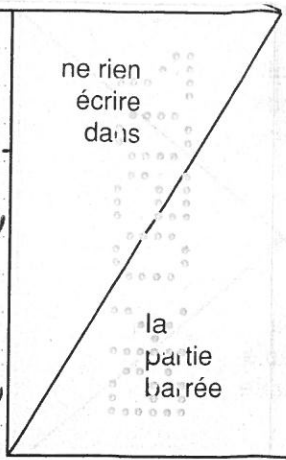
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For Nixon there was no reason to uphold claims concerning dire poverty in the US, for Johnson had launched his 'Great Society' campaign to fight it. Instead of that he argued that 'the American Dream' (1.58, document 5) was not shared by everybody, for to him it was based on self-reliance. Hence he had to adapt his arguments in 1968.

Through political organizations the will of people can become more visible, even if those organizations can use it to serve their own plans.

Those who uphold the will of people contend that the 'people' opposes a tiny elite, which does not embody the core values of the nation. That is why populists become active. They intend to solve economic and social problems in the name of the majority. Yet their arguments have to be implemented. Even if they seem to be legitimate they often must be deployed by political organizations. Thus populists are capable of changing society. In order to gain momentum they have to adapt their demands to the context. Hence D. Trump shed light on the Mexican question during his 2016 campaign and on globalization, to benefit from those who suffered from immigration and competition but had not been heard until then.



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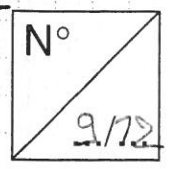
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In order to strengthen his position. Nonetheless he failed to do so in 1896, for the most famous sentence of the speech - 'You shall not crucify mankind [on a Cross of Gold]' - was seen as a blasphemy. Powell does the same thing when he declares that '[u]hat he is saying, thousands and hundreds of thousands are saying and thinking' (1.74-5, document 4). He leans on the opinion of a single man to claim what the whole 'people' is meant to think about immigration. In his article Kazin clearly shows that 'the People' (document 7, 1.33) serves as a 'great name' to uphold the demands of change. This process seems close to the 'silent majority' defined by Nixon during his term. Indeed the borders of the group are unclear but what really matters is the fact that this majority gathers the bulk of Americans.

Through their demands populists are able to shake the foundations of society. In time of crisis the will of people tends to be considered as more legitimate. Yet it is not always heard, and those who support the demands of people are often forced to organize in political parties to become more visible.

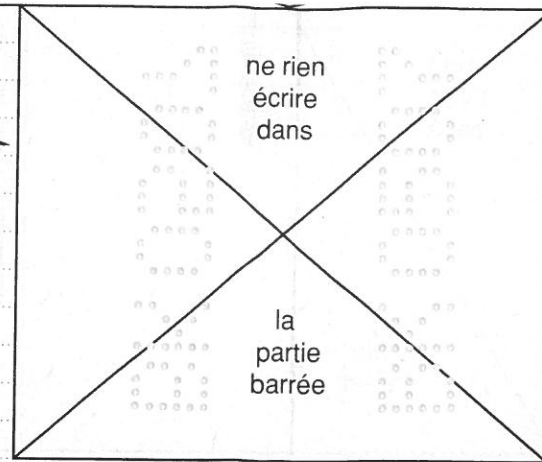


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Thanks to political organization the will of people seems to be not only able to shake society, but to change it.

Political structures enable protesters to become more visible. Thus in the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century 'third parties' (document 1, 13) - also called local parties in comparison to the two giants which formed the Second Political System - were founded in the US. They aimed at gathering 'manual workers, small farmers, small shopkeepers [...]' (1. 10-11) instead of letting them isolated and unable to voice their resentment. Yet the GOP and the DP are capable to deploy populist demands as well. Thus, when Nixon called for support 'in November' (document 5, 1. 43), he proved that a reversal in domestic policy and foreign policy would be possible with the support of the GOP only. Bryan follows suit in his speech, praising the 'organization' (1. 6, document 3) of Democrats and the 'platform' (1. 8) which promotes the defense of silver. In the UK Powell agrees with this strategy, for, while taking his stand against immigration, he intends to lure voters for the next general election.

Yet therein is the problem. By trying to gather people who want to change society, political parties run the risk to use it to serve their own political plans. The question of honesty is at stake. Thus Kazin describes the strategy of 'socialists [...]' [who] rema-



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de themselves into champions of the same small farmers they had earlier viewed as anachronisms' (1. 35, document 1). Indeed socialist organizations - like the K of L, then the A of L (1886), and finally the IWW - had tried to gather workers during the Gilded Age, but had renounced to do so with farmers. Yet when time seemed to be ripe to lean on them, socialists were said to have tried to please farmers. Powell's speech raises the same question. Indeed he claims that British people fear the 'occupati[on] [...]' [of cities] [by] sections of the immigrant and immigrant-descended population (document 4, 1. 24-5). Yet he generalizes about the issue whereas he has discussed with one man only.

In order to gather protesters political organizations have to rely on current issues, that is to adapt themselves. That is why those five texts tackle the issue of populism, but do not resort to the same arguments. For instance Cobden seems to allude to a class warfare, while he is charging 'the men who content themselves [...]' and draw from 'the impoverishment of the people' (document 2, 1. 34-6). Yet today this kind of opposition seems outdated, and politicians speak about the rich and the poor instead of opposing the landlords and those who are submitted to them. Hence populist demands depend on a specific context. 'Conditions have arisen' (1. 44, document 3) to deal with the question of silver, but after the end of the depression inflation did not run riot anymore and political parties demanding - praising silver gradually petered out.

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