

ABSTRACTS

келлэк 61

Cas Mudde

Translation of the following text: **The Populist Zeitgeist.** *Government and Opposition*, Autumn 2004 (39): 4, 542–563.

Margaret Canovan

Translation of the following text: **Trust the People! Populism and the Two Faces of Democracy.** *Political Studies*, 1999 (XLVII), 2–16.

Ernesto Laclau

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Étienne Balibar

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Ádám Paár

Populism and Conservatism. Elective Affinities

According to most people, these two phenomena exclude each other. Nowadays, populism is attached to extremist thinking/mentality, whereas conservatism has traditionally had moderate attitudes since the French Revolution. However, the supporters of both populism and of conservatism always have negative attitudes towards liberalism, being labelled as a common enemy. In my paper, I attempt to illustrate the history of populism and the attitudes that can be found in the People's Party (also known as the Populist Party). This party might be described as the epitome of populism. Despite its left-wing Democrat agenda, the Populist Party also had affinities with its contemporary European agrarian, neo-conservative parties and movements, due to some attitudes, like as criticism of Liberalism, of modernization and of big cities, as well as nativism, i.e. granting a privileged status to native-born

citizens. Nowadays, these traditions can be found within the framework of the recent populist movements and parties.

Keywords: agrarian populism, conservatism, cultural criticism, traditionalism

Ferenc Tallár

Declining Core States, Ascending Populisms

In the first part of my work, I examine how neoliberal globalisation has paralysed the law- and democracy-based nation state organization that provided the fundament of normative self-interpretation and *imagined communities* for the core states of Europe. In the second part, I try to explain the *alteration of the perspective* that was an unexpected outcome of neoliberal globalisation: the rearrangement of the geopolitical space and of the centre-periphery relations questioned the validity of *Eurocentrism* and of the world history judged by Europe. This essentially *cultural* convulsion, connected with a series of *economic* problems opened the door to an authoritarian nationalism, but at the same time to the reinterpretation of leftist traditions as well.

Keywords: populism, globalisation, nation state, democracy, world system theory, cultural convulsion

Márk Áron Éber

In the Name of the People. Reasons of the New Wave of Populism after the Hegemony of Neoliberalism

In this paper, I examine the populist wave that collapsed neoliberal hegemony after 2008 in the light of the dynamics of the capitalist world-system. My questions: What kinds of transformations in global capitalism explain the new wave of populism after 2008? What sort of changes in social structures have led to the new populist era? The analytical framework of the analysis is borrowed from the critical perspective of global political economy, first of all from the world-systems analysis.

Keywords: (neo)populism, capitalism, neoliberal globalisation, global inequality, spectrality

Kinga Soós

‘A Spectre is Haunting Europe’: the Discursive Adventures of Populism

It is widely accepted among theoreticians coming from the field of social and political studies that populism, the most popular keyword of political analysis, has a spectral nature. This feature is possibly the consequence of the ambiguity and vagueness of the term that is parallelly used as a notion within the scientific discourse and as a constitutive part of the social reality. Accordingly, in this essay we analyse populism using the theoretical and methodological tools of discourse analysis (of Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe). In this regard, ‘populism’ is considered to be the floating signifier of neoliberal discourse and the empty signifier of both right- and left-wing populism.

Keywords: populism, neoliberalism, nationalism, discourse analysis, floating signifier, empty signifier

Attila Antal

The Authoritarian Nationalist and Transnational Populisms

One of the main political challenges of our time is that mainstream parties and ideologies seem to be unable to give an answer to the considerable electoral success of the autocratic nationalist populism. On the one hand, this radicalised the Transatlantic political systems and made it peaceless, on the other hand, a left populist and radical answer is being formed. I suggest that authoritarian populism is the old/new form of right-wing hegemony. Hereby I propose that right-wing authoritarian populism made its political success based on an embarrassing ideological diversity, which contains neoliberalism, radical left-wing theories (Gramsci, Laclau, Mouffe) and nationalism in terms of civilization. Nevertheless, this ideological multiplicity is burdened by internal tensions, which put the right-wing populism into an authoritarian direction. In contrast, a left-wing populist program is emerging, but it is trapped between the level of nation-state and transnationalism.

Keywords: authoritarian populism, nationalism, civilisationalism, transnational populisms, class politics, hegemony

Viktor Kiss and Ágnes Kerékgyártó
The Return of the Politics? Chantal Mouffe
and the Left-wing Populism

According to Chantal Mouffe, a new form of politics has appeared in Western societies since the 1990s. This perceives democracy as a field of consensus rather than of competing alternatives. For Mouffe, the main question today is how the Left can overcome this post-political world view". She believes this effort can only be successful in a 'left populist' project. In this paper, we examine how Chantal Mouffe's concept of 'left populism' can actually promise a 'return of the political' for the radical-revolutionary left. Our starting point is that the relationship between left populism and post-politics is rather problematic. In the first part of the article, we argue that populism in many respects is post-political in nature. In the second part of the study, we demonstrate that Chantal Mouffe is proposing a new approach to contemporary populism considering it as rebellion against the post-political situation. According to Mouffe, populism is a characteristic of today's Western societies, and it has been mostly right-wing – but after the campaign of the Spanish Podemos and Bernie Sanders, it opened a new era in the history of left-wing politics. Finally, in the last part of our study, we examine what sort of politics would be resulted from the left populism project for the actors looking for the paths of renewal. In our opinion, this concept of left populism is fundamentally controversial.

Keywords: left-wing populism, return of the political, post-politics, Chantal Mouffe

Zsolt Kapelner
Can Populism be Democratic?

While the current rise of populism is often described as a grave threat to liberal democratic values, some see in populism a strategy of accomplishing and deepening democratic politics. Advocates of this progressive or 'left-wing' populism often emphasize the potential of populism to carry out a sort of popular politics that is in line with fundamental democratic ideals. Populism, after all, is meant to be an attempt from the part of the 'people' to take back control from the 'elites', thus achieving a genuine government by the people. In this paper, I demonstrate that the essential

democratic ideal of the rule by the people, once properly understood, is incompatible with populism understood generally. Populism conceives the people as one of the many agents engaged in a political struggle for hegemony, while democracy is premised upon the ideal of an inherently plural people whose members can view each other as co-authors of the political realm they share. As such, the democratic ideal is inherently anti-hegemonic. The tension between populist and democratic politics therefore renders two incompatible concepts, thus making unjustified to hope for the restoration of genuine democracy through forms of progressive or left-wing populism.

Keywords: populism, pluralism, democracy, anti-hegemony and anti-sovereignty

András Lányi

Populism, or the Crisis of Democracy

If there was any concept describing the regimes of Tony Blair, Hugo Chávez and Viktor Orbán at the same time, one should avoid its use as a meaningless generalization, not helpful at all in understanding their politics. For this reason, in the following I am going to attempt to differentiate populism as a political phenomenon from other phenomena that I do not consider political ones. I am trying to perform this hoping that a narrower interpretation of populism would help us to continue the debate about the viability of democracy as a part of a discourse that is as old as democracy itself.

Keywords: populism, crisis of democracy, geopolitics, media politics, mass society, majority

Tamás Kiss

Between Developmental Idealism and Neoliberal Populism. Notes on the Anti-corruption Discourse of the Romanian Professional Middle Classes

I focus on the phenomenon that might be called the ‘mainstream’ of Romanian populism. Romanian populism is quite irregular in a European context. The ‘mainstream’ Romanian populism is not coupled with

far-right discourses at all, it is supported mainly by urban professional middle classes, and it is pro-Western and neoliberal in its orientation. Its core idea consists in the anti-establishment feeling and the strong opposition against the political class perceived as ‘retrograde’, ineffective and, most importantly, immensely corrupt. I argue that this populist discourse and the anti-corruption agenda have dominated the Romanian political field since 2004, when Traian Băsescu won the presidential elections using an anti-corruption rhetoric. Meanwhile, the Romanian anti-corruption populism has changed profoundly its face and is no more dominated by Băsescu. Following 2009, it has become polycentric and it lacks charismatic leaders. One can argue that Romanian anti-corruption populism has turned into what Gerbaudo calls ‘citizenism’. Importantly, its mechanism of inclusion/exclusion does not possess ethnical characteristics, as it does not refer to the Romanian ‘people’ but to ordinary Romanian citizens (who are ‘civilized’ enough to build a ‘normal’ country). Accordingly, Transylvanian Hungarians can be included into the polity (contrary to ‘irresponsible’ groups such as the poor and the Roma). Nevertheless, I consider that anti-corruption populism has had a range of devastating consequences on Romanian democracy and has led to an illiberal vision of the institutional system.

Keywords: anti-corruption populism, neoliberalism, developmental idealism, citizenism, romanian professional middle classes

Ákos Bartha

Populist antifascism? The Hungarian Front – Liberation Committee of the Hungarian National Uprising (1944) in the Mirror of Contemporary Documents

In this study, first I give a short critical overview on ‘populism’, taking a glance at the ideological construct of ‘antifascism’ as well. I argue that the politically instrumentalised phrase ‘antifascism’ can be considered as a category for the history of ideas but not as an umbrella concept for the Hungarian resistance. Finally, I discuss the most important documents of the Hungarian Front – Liberation Committee of the Hungarian National Uprising based on archive sources and by exploring the possibility of using the framework of populism.

Keywords: populism, antifascism, IIWW, hungarian resistance, history of ideas