



Populism: The Response from the Centre

Joly Theatre, Hamilton Building, Trinity College Dublin
16 -17 June, 2017



Wilfried
Martens Centre
for European Studies



The Collins
INSTITUTE

FOREWORD

Thank you for coming to the inaugural conference of The Collins Institute. This event is co-sponsored by The Martens Centre.

In 2013, Hans Werner-Müller, at the conclusion of an essay on contemporary political systems, wrote: "The worst of the economic crisis might be over but the political crisis in Europe is only just beginning." Today, one might wonder if the volatility, uncertainty and sheer chaos of the last year alone was what he had in mind.

This conference is an opportunity to consider some of the features of social, political, economic and cultural life that have given rise to our increasingly unpredictable political milieu. The Collins Institute, in association with The Martens Centre, has gathered a diverse range of speakers who will encourage us to think together about possible futures. In doing so they will range over the broader historical context, the national implications, the assumptions fermenting fear and a sense of doom, the deficiencies of contemporary political systems, and much more. Their purpose is not to provide the choral commentary of a Greek tragedy (ancient or contemporary) but to encourage alternative thinking and action.

There is little point in expecting easy solutions to contemporary problems. At any rate there is no unanimity about what the problems are. Last December, a Guardian headline ran: "How would the Stoics cope today?" Stoicism is hardly an adequate response but then neither is anger and outrage. These emotions are felt by those who are bewildered by the rejection of traditional forms of democratic engagement and those who feel alienated from those established systems.

It is notable that much of the writing on contemporary politics uses the language of uncertainty whilst some of the dominant political figures of our time express no doubt about their views. "LOSERS" –everybody who does not hold "our" world-view. No room for doubt there. "Global Britain", (described by Müller as "an extreme example of fantasy politics") goes unchallenged even in the face of electoral catastrophe. Whatever the source of this forceful expression of certainty, it entertains no contestation or challenge. This manipulation carries all the hallmarks of Orwell's newspeak: "designed to diminish the range of thought." It would however, be entirely short-sighted to ignore the evolution of this use of language and its connections to the political rhetoric of the establishment.

The impetus for this conference was a desire to look forward and think about the kind of future we want to shape and share. It is an accident that we are starting on Bloomsday but perhaps the metaphor of journeying fits our purpose well. Cavafy, like Joyce, understood the need to explore:

*As you set out for Ithaka
hope the voyage is a long one,
full of adventure, full of discovery.
Laistrygonians and Cyclops,
angry Poseidon—don't be afraid of them:
you'll never find things like that on your way
as long as you keep your thoughts raised high,
as long as a rare excitement
stirs your spirit and your body.
Laistrygonians and Cyclops,
wild Poseidon—you won't encounter them
unless you bring them along inside your soul,
unless your soul sets them up in front of you*

There are lots of questions to consider during this conference and the only certainty is that there will be no simple answers. Contestation, challenge and uncertainty are expected from speakers and audience with an emphasis on the plurality of democratic discussion.

The Collins Institute hopes to host similar events in the future. We would be very interested in getting your reactions to this conference and your suggestions for future activities.



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Marion Coy
Chair, Collins Institute

FRIDAY, 16 JUNE

2.00 – 2.30	Opening/Welcome	Marion COY <i>Chair, The Collins Institute</i>
		Roland FREUDENSTEIN <i>Policy Director, Wilfried Martens Centre for European Studies</i>
2.30 – 4.00	Session 1 Chair: Marion Coy	Dr. Hugo HALFERTY DROCHON <i>University of Cambridge</i> <i>Can the Centre Hold?</i> <i>A Short History of the Middle Ground since WWII</i>
		Dr. Theresa REIDY <i>Department of Government, University College, Cork</i> <i>Populist voters in Ireland; far left, far right or just local!</i>

4.00 – 4.30 Coffee break

4.30 – 6.00	Session 2 Chair: Michael McLoughlin	Ann-Cathrine JUNGAR <i>Associate Professor, Södertörn University, Stockholm</i> <i>From the Margins to the Mainstream.</i> <i>Populism in the Nordic Region</i>
		David GOODHART <i>Head of Demography, Immigration and Integration</i> <i>Policy Exchange, London</i> <i>The Road to Somewhere:</i> <i>The Populist Revolt and the Future of Politics</i>

SATURDAY, 17 JUNE

10.00 – 11.30	Session 3 Chair: Paddy Harte	Paschal DONOHOE TD <i>Minister for Public Expenditure and Reform</i> <i>Populism – A Moderate Response</i>
		Sophie GASTON <i>Head of International Projects, DEMOS, London</i> <i>The Politics of Fear</i>

11.30 – 12.00 Coffee break

12.00 – 1.15	Session 4 Chair: Frank Callanan	Ian BURUMA <i>Incoming Editor of The New York Review of Books</i> <i>Former Professor of Human Rights and Journalism, Bard College</i> <i>The Past is Not Always the Best Teacher</i>
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1.15 – 2.30 Lunch

2.30 – 4.00	Session 5 Chair: Fiona O'Connor	Dr. Emmanuelle SCHÖN-QUINLIVAN <i>Department of Government, University College, Cork</i> <i>Left-wing and right-wing populism:</i> <i>Lessons learnt from the 2017 French presidential election</i>
		Prof. Jiří PŘIBÁŇ <i>Professor of Law, Cardiff University</i> <i>No Democracy Without Populism: On Legitimacy by</i> <i>Expert Knowledge and Democratic Mobilisation</i>

4.00 – 4.30 Coffee break

4.30 – 5.30	Conclusions Chair: Brian Hayes MEP	All – roundtable discussion
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Speakers

Ian BURUMA

Ian Buruma was educated in Holland and Japan, where he studied history, Chinese literature, and Japanese cinema.

In the 1980s, he worked as a journalist, and spent much of his early writing career travelling and reporting from all over Asia.

Buruma now writes about a broad range of political and cultural subjects for major publications, most frequently for The New York Review of Books (of which he is incoming Editor), The New Yorker, The New York Times, and The Guardian, La Repubblica, NRC Handelsblad.

He was Cultural Editor of The Far Eastern Economic Review, Hong Kong (1983-86) and Foreign Editor of The Spectator, London (1990-91), and has been a Fellow at the Wissenschaftskolleg, Berlin, the Woodrow Wilson Center, Washington D.C., St. Antony's College, Oxford, and Remarque Institute, NYU.

He has delivered lectures at various academic and cultural institutions world-wide, including Oxford, Princeton, and Harvard universities. He is currently Paul W. Williams Professor of Democracy, Human Rights, and Journalism at Bard College, Annandale-on-Hudson, NY.

Ian Buruma was awarded the 2008 international Erasmus Prize for making "an especially important contribution to culture, society or social science in Europe."

He was voted as one of the Top 100 Public Intellectuals by the Foreign Policy/Prospect magazines in 2008, and in 2010.



Paschal DONOHOE

Paschal is the Fine Gael TD for Dublin Central and the Minister for Public Expenditure & Reform.

Prior to his appointment as the Minister for Public Expenditure & Reform, he served, from July 2014-May 2016, as the Minister for Transport, Tourism and Sport. Paschal has also held the position as the Minister for European Affairs at the Department of An Taoiseach and the Department of Foreign Affairs from July 2013-July 2014.

He was elected as a TD in February 2011, where he topped the poll in Dublin Central. Prior to his election, he was a member of Seanad Éireann from 2007 to 2011. He served as member of Dublin City Council from 2004 to 2007.

Paschal was formerly the Chair of Ireland's Future in Europe Oireachtas Sub-Committee, as well as a member of the Public Accounts Committee. He has also served as the Vice-Chair of the European Affairs Committee and, as a Senator, he served as a member of the Joint Oireachtas Committee on Transport.

During his time as member of Dublin City Council, Paschal served as Chair of the Environment & Engineering Strategic Policy Committee, as a member of the Corporate Policy Group and also as Chairman of the Central Area Committee.

Paschal is a graduate of University of Dublin, Trinity College, with a degree in Politics and Economics.



Sophie GASTON

Sophie leads international projects and partnerships at Demos think tank in London, overseeing research and events on global political trends and social change. She is particularly focused on the topics of populism, liberalism and the relationship between media and politics, and recently coordinated a pan-European project on the rising culture and politics of fear in Europe.

Sophie also oversees the organisation's external affairs, and is the editor of the organisation's Demos Quarterly journal. She supports the organisation's commitment to public policy capacity-building through advising other local and international non-governmental organisations on strategic governance, communications and advocacy.

Sophie has previously worked in other British think tanks, as a Ministerial speechwriter, media and communications adviser and researcher, and in various research and communications roles in the corporate, commercial and not-for-profit sectors. She holds a first class honours Master's degree in political communication research.





David GOODHART

David Goodhart is a British journalist, commentator, and author. He is the founder and former editor of Prospect magazine. In his new book *The Road to Somewhere*, the populist revolt and the future of politics, Goodhart identifies new socio-political tribes that help to explain the Brexit vote and the rise of populism. He is the former director of the centre-left think tank Demos and is currently head of the demography unit at the Policy Exchange think tank. His last book "The British Dream: successes and failures of post-war immigration" was runner up for the Orwell book prize.



Roland FREUDENSTEIN

Roland Freudenstein is the Policy Director of the Martens Centre. He was previously director of the Warsaw office of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation and its Head for Foreign and European Affairs in Berlin. Prior to that, he represented the German city state of Hamburg to the EU. He has contributed to debates and published extensively on international security, European integration and the EU's Eastern and Southern neighbourhoods.



Hugo HALFERTY DROCHON

Hugo Halferty Drochon is an historian of late nineteenth and twentieth century political thought, with interests in continental political thought, democratic theory, liberalism and political realism. His book, *Nietzsche's Great Politics*, came out with Princeton University Press in 2016. You can read reviews of it in the *New Statesman*, *Times Higher Education* and *Notre Dame Philosophical Reviews*, alongside interviews in *Vox* and the *Irish Times*.

His current research is on elite theories of democracy – Mosca, Pareto, Michels and Ostrogorski – and the impact their thinking had on the development of democratic theory in American and Europe after WWII, notably on figures such as Schumpeter, Dahl, Wright Mills, Aron, Manin, Rosanvallon and Bobbio.



Ann-Cathrine JUNGAR

Ann-Cathrine Jungar is a Swedish-speaking Finn, born in Pietarsaari, in Ostrobothnia. She is associate professor in political science at the Södertörn University College based in Stockholm. She defended her Ph.D. in Uppsala, Department of Government, after a master's thesis and associate thesis at Åbo Akademi University in Finland. She has been also living in Norway, and has a lot of contacts in Iceland. She has for this reason a special interest in European comparative politics, and more recently in comparative analysis of the political systems in the Nordic countries.

Jiří PŘIBÁŇ

Jiří Přibáň (1967) is a Czech-British academic, author, translator and essayist specializing in the areas of philosophy of law, sociology and political theory. He was promoted to a professorship at the Charles University in Prague in 2002 and became professor at Carthage University in 2006. During his career, he published a number of books, such as *The Defence of Constitutionalism* (2017), *Sovereignty in Post-Sovereign Society* (2015) and *Legal Symbolism* (2007). He regularly appears as a political commentator in the mainstream Czech media, such as Czech Television, *Lidové noviny*, *Hospodářské noviny*, and *Právo*. He also contributed to the BBC World Service. He is a member of the Program Council of the Forum 2000 conference. In February, 2013, he refused the offer of the President Miloš Zeman to become a constitutional judge.



Theresa REIDY

Dr Theresa Reidy is a political scientist in the Department of Government at University College Cork. Her research interests lie in the areas of party politics and electoral behaviour in Ireland and her recent work has been published in *Electoral Studies*, *Parliamentary Affairs* and *Irish Political Studies*. She is currently working on projects related to the 2016 general election. Theresa has received grant funding for her research from the Royal Irish Academy, the Irish Research Council and Irish Aid. She is a co-editor of the *International Political Science Review*.



Emmanuelle SCHÖN-QUINLIVAN

Dr Emmanuelle Schön-Quinlivan is a lecturer in European political science in the Department of Government, UCC. Born in France, she graduated in European law and political science from La Sorbonne (BL), Sciences Po Paris (MA) and Edinburgh University (LLM). She completed her PhD on the institutional impact of the 2000-2005 Kinnock administrative reforms on the European Commission, under the supervision of Professor Brigid Laffan, University College Dublin.



She teaches comparative politics, European policy-making and institutional politics as well as French politics. Her research interests lie in the area of European institutional change, with a special focus on the European Commission. Emmanuelle has recently published *Reforming the European Commission* (Palgrave, 2011) as well as a chapter on the European Commission's role in European environmental policy in *Environmental Policy in the European Union: contexts, actors and policy dynamics* (Routledge, 2012).

In 2009, 2010, 2011, Emmanuelle ran participative conferences aimed at raising awareness and debate among youth on European issues. These conferences were funded by the Communicating Europe Initiative (Department of Foreign Affairs). She has also organised conferences on issues surrounding the French presidential elections in 2002, 2012 and 2017.

In 2014, Emmanuelle was awarded a Starting RPG by the Irish Research Council. She was the Principal Investigator of a research team looking at the executive role of the European Commission in European economic governance.

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