

International Conference  
Center for Cooperation with the EU  
Faculty of Philosophy  
University of Belgrade



# CONTEMPORARY POPULISM AND ITS POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES:

DISCOURSES  
AND PRACTICES  
IN CENTRAL AND  
SOUTH-EASTERN  
EUROPE

## BOOK OF ABSTRACTS

University of Belgrade, Studentski Trg 1  
Belgrade 12 - 13 December 2019

Center for Cooperation with the EU  
Faculty of Philosophy University of Belgrade

**CONTEMPORARY POPULISM AND ITS POLITICAL  
CONSEQUENCES: DISCOURSES AND PRACTICES  
IN CENTRAL AND SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE**

Belgrade  
2019

**CONTEMPORARY POPULISM AND ITS POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES: DISCOURSES  
AND PRACTICES IN CENTRAL AND SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE**

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## Conference Program

### **CONTEMPORARY POPULISM AND ITS POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES: DISCOURSES AND PRACTICES IN CENTRAL AND SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE**

**Belgrade, 12-13 December 2019**

Faculty of Philosophy University of Belgrade  
Center for Cooperation with the EU

Populism in Central-Eastern Europe and South-Eastern Europe has been framed through theoretical ideas and expectations based on West European experience. However, the region's experience of populist politics has diverged from that of Western Europe in important ways. In older West European democracies, the most typical vehicle for populism are, for the moment, new or previously marginal illiberal challenger parties which confront an essentially liberal, non-populist mainstream. In Central-Eastern Europe and South-Eastern Europe, it is the "mainstream" which is or has become populist. Therefore, it is important to elaborate which of these universal indicators of populism can be applied to the countries of Central and Eastern Europe and Western Balkans, and what kind of particularities will crystallize as a consequence of the socialist background. The main aim of the conference is to gather scholars that are researching different aspects and manifestations of populism in the region.

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**Thursday, December 12<sup>th</sup>, 2019**  
**University of Belgrade, Studentski Trg 1 room 16 (Sessions A1, A2)**

**11:30-12:00 Registration of the participants**

**12:00-13:00 Conference opening**

**12:00-12:15 Haris Dajč**

Faculty of Philosophy University of Belgrade, Scientist-in-Charge  
Populist rebellion against modernity in 21st century Eastern Europe

**12:15-12:30 Nikola Samardžić**

Faculty of Philosophy University of Belgrade

**Keynote speaker**

**12:35-13:00 Ljubomir Madžar**

Faculty of Economics, University of Belgrade

**13:00-14:00 Coffee and snacks break**

**14:00-15:00 Session A1: Populism beyond borders**

**Chair A1: Jarić Isidora**

14:00-14:15 Zbytniewska Karolina: **Eastern Promises of Populism**

14:15-14:30 Mesarovich Alexander: **Between a Rock and a Hard Place: Strategies of Political Cooperation in Populist World**

14:30-14:45 Weisner Aleksandar: **Captured State or Poisoned Society**

**14:45-15:00 Discussion Session A1**

**15:15-16:15 Session A2: Historical roots of Contemporary Populism Chair A2: Weisner Aleksandar**

15:15-15:30 Bešlin Milivoj and Žarković Petar: **Continuities of Populism in Serbia: 19<sup>th</sup>-21<sup>st</sup> centuries**

15:30-15:45 Dajč Haris, Jovanović Ajzenhamer Nataša, Pantelić Nikola: **Socialist Party of Serbia: the populist chameleon**

15:45-16:00 Orzechowska-Wacawska Joanna: **The Winning Story: The analysis of Electoral Campaigns of United Right in 2015 and 2019 Elections in Poland**

16:00-16:15 Filipović Luka: **Social and cultural structures behind Eastern nationalism as the defining factor of the unique characteristics of Eastern populism**

**16:15-16:30 Discussion Session A2**

**Friday, December 13<sup>th</sup>, 2019**  
**University of Belgrade, Studentski Trg 1 rooms 8 (Sessions C1, C2, C3, C4)**  
**and 16 (Sessions B1, B2)**

**9:15-10:45 Session B1: Metamorphosis or Creation of New Political Parties**  
**Chair B1: Vasiljević Maja**

9:15-9:30 Nikola Venkov, **Discourse circulation, access to political discourse and the retreat of illiberal values in Bulgaria**

9:30-9:45 Volk Sabine: **Eastern German Right-Wing Populism as a Symptom of “Delayed Transformational Fatigue” in Eastern and Central Europe**

9:45-10:00 Kurtović Amer: **BIH Political Parties’ EU Discourses in a Time of Populist Euroscepticism: An Analysis of their Performative Structure**

10:00-10:15 Chiruta Ionut: **Challenging the Rule of Law in Romania: the Metamorphosis of Political Discourses towards Populism as Last Resort**

**10.15-10.45 Discussion Session B1**

**10:45-11:15** Coffee break

**11:15 - 12:15 Session B2: Enemy at the Gate**  
**Chair B2: Jovanović Ajzenhamer Nataša**

11:15-11.30 Đorđević Aleksandra: **Migrants on the Road to Nowhere and Public Opinion in Serbia**

11:30-11:45 Thevenin Elodie: **Anti-Migration Populist Discourse in the Polish Parliament: What Future for Europe?**

11:45- 12:00 Jovanović Teodora: **The Argument about Cultural (In) Compatibility in Far-right Populist Discourse: Constructing the Figure of a “Migrant”**

**12:00-12:15 Discussion Session B2**

**9:30-10:45 Session C1: Populist Answer to Contemporary Political Challenges**  
**Chair C1: Radonjić Ognjen**

9:30-9:45 Styczyńska Natasza: **Populist Euroscepticism in Poland – defining the main research areas**

9:45-10:00 Petrović Nikola: **Historical Grievances and Contemporary Populism: “Western Betrayal” Euroscepticism in Central and Southeastern Europe**

10.00-10.15 Sadecki Andrzej: **Fighting the Foreign Elites – the Populist Rewriting of the Memory of 1848 and 1956 Revolutions in Orbán's Hungary**

10.15-10.30 Krtolica Marko: **The Particularities of Populism in Macedonian Society – Past, Present and Future Tendencies**

**10:30-10:45 Discussion Session C1**

**10:45-11:15** Coffee break

**11:15-12:45 Session C2: Negotiating Gender in Populist Times**  
**Chair C2: Sadecka Agnieszka**

11:15-11:30 Galić Branka: **Some Sociological Elements of Contemporary Misogyny, Cleric-fascism and Neoconservative Politics in Populist Movements of Croatian Society**

11:15-11.30 Tatjana Rosić Ilić: **Populism and the Culture of Resistance in Serbia: Gender Regime as indicator of the Resistance and Its Mimicry**

11:30-11.45 Jarić Isidora, Krek Maja and Gajić Nikola: **Populist Rebellion against Feminism: The Rise of Masculinist Activism in Serbia**

11:45-12:00 Dekić Slobodanka: **Negotiating Family in Populist Time: Family Politics and LGBTIQ Organizations in Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia**

12:00-12:15 Radulović Mladen: **Educational Attainment and Acceptance of Patriarchal Values: Comparative Study**

12:15-12:30 Yermakova Olena: **Homophobia as an Element of Contemporary Populist Discourse in Poland**

**12:30-12:45 Discussion Session C2**

**12:45-13.30** Coffee and snacks break

**13:30- 14:45 Session C3: Culture: Elites Vs People**  
**Chair C3: Radulović Mladen**

13:30-13:45 Sadecka Agnieszka and Piekarska-Duraj Ucja: **The Curse of/on the Clergy: Backlash against the Catholic Church in Poland post-2015**

13:45-14:00 Vasiljević Maja and Dajč Haris: **Serbian Orthodox Church Comeback since 1980s: Dialogue with Rogers Brubaker**

14:00-14:15 Hill Caroline: **"Gay Propaganda" and Russia's Survival: Orthodox Framing of LGBT Rights**

14:15-14:30 Vesić Ivana and Peno Vesna: **The Revitalization and Construction of the Distant Past in the SFR Yugoslavia of the 1980s: The Case of Serbian Cultural Spheres**

**14:30-14:45 Discussion C3**



**15:00-16:15 Session C4: Populism and its Impact on State**

**Chair C4: Styczyńska Natasza**

15:00-15:15 Radonjić Ognjen and Kotorchevikj Rosana Antoni: **Theories on the Roots of the EU and Western Balkans Rise of Populism**

15:15-15:30 Cem Mert Dalli: **Exploring Determinants of Welfare State Development in Post-Communist States: A Quantitative Comparative Analysis**

15:30-15:45 Lenik Paulina: **What Orbandomics means for Hungary: Fidesz's Policy Making since 2010**

15:45-16:00 Tmušić Marko: **Populism and its Implications on Economic Growth Model in Serbia: What have We Learned So Far?**

**16:00-16:15 Discussion C4**

**16:15-17:30 Session C5: New Media and Populism**

**Chair C5: Haris Dajč**

16:15-16:30 Jarić Isidora and Balaban Danica: **Instrumentalization of Unnamed Sources as a Method of Political Defamation**

16:30-16:45 Ninković Vladimir: **Securitization of the Migration Crisis in Serbian New Media**

16:45-17:00 Simone Neads: **How Systemic Problems in Digital Media are Breeding Radicalism: A Case Study of Jaromir Balda, 71**

17:00-17:15 Csáki-Hatalovics Gyla Bálays and Molnár Péter: **Balance in the Force? Social Media as a Tool and Counterweight of Populism**

**17:15-17:30 Discussion Session C5**

**17:45-18:30 Final Discussion**

**18:30 Conference closing**

**Saturday 14th December**

**11:30 - 13:30 Belgrade walking tour: From Roman time until Post-socialism Meeting in the front of the University of Belgrade, Studentski Trg 1**

**Marko Krtolica\***

Law Faculty "Iustinianus Primus", University of "Ss. Cyril and Methodius", Skopje

## **THE PARTICULARITIES OF THE POPULISM IN THE MACEDONIAN SOCIETY – PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE TENDENCIES**

**Abstract:** The 1990s of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, brought the process of transition toward democracy and market economy in the Macedonian society. On such a path, Macedonian reality was filled with unpopular but necessary decisions by the Macedonian political elites. Such decisions led to disappointment with the transition process among the Macedonian citizens and contributed to the rise of right-wing populism in Macedonian society. The trigger point for such right-wing populism in Macedonia was the Greek veto for Macedonian membership in NATO in 2008. Starting from 2008 until 2017, under the button of ruling of the political elites led by VMRO-DPMNE and Nikola Gruevski, the Macedonian society was plagued by a huge wave of right-wing populism. By representing themselves as a voice of the people, VMRO-DPMNE started to create THEM (traitors) V.S US (pure people) dichotomy in the Macedonian society. Over the years, the content of the camp "them" (traitors) was constantly changing from one group to another. It started with ex-communist and transitional politicians, after that it switched to mainstream media and intellectuals, finishing in the end with NGO's and foreign conspiracy forces. Throughout the years, the populist rule of VMRO-DPMNE was followed by "occupation" of the state, clientelism, discriminatory legalism and nationalistic rhetoric. All of this led to an authoritarian system and constant political crises in the Macedonian society. The biggest political crisis erupted in 2015 and led to a dramatic change of government in 2017. After 11 years, VMRO-DPMNE went in opposition and new government was formed. The new government led by SDSM and Zoran Zaev, in order to restore the European perspective entered in making tough and unpopular decisions. However, three years after the change of the government among Macedonian citizens there is again frustration with Macedonian politics. Such reality opens the possibility for a new rise of populism in Macedonian society. And if the Macedonian society is hit by a new wave of populism, then the question that arises is who will be the new captain of the Macedonian populist boat.

**Key words:** politics, democracy, populism, radical right, nationalism, authoritarianism, clientelism.

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