

Moscow School of Social and Economic Sciences
Interdisciplinary Center for Social Sciences (InterCenter)
Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration

XXVI International Symposium

Paths of Russia. Narodniks and Populists

27 - 28 September 2019



CONFERENCE VENUE

Address: Prospekt Vernadskogo, 82, building 5, 3d floor
Metro Station Yugo-Zapadnaya (Line n1, red)



WEBSITE: http://conferences.mses.ru/putirossii2019_en

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PROGRAMME

September 27

RANEPA, building 5

9:30 – 10:00 Registration of participants (room 325)

10:00 – 10:30 Opening of the conference. Greeting words **Theodor Shanin, Sergey Zuev, Vasily Zharkov, Kersten Kaiser, Julius von Freytag-Loringhoven, Irina Prokhorova**

10:30 – 13:30 **Keynote Speakers**

Chair – Vasily Zharkov (MSSES)

Julius von Freytag-Loringhoven (Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom) Ralf Dahrendorf and “Eight Remarks on Populism”

Francisco Panizza (London School of economics) Towards a Conceptualisation of Populist Rights

Carlos de la Torre (University of Florida) **Populism in Power and as a Regime**

Sergio Schneider (Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul) Uncertainty, Crisis and Social Changes - Brazil in Times of Neopopulism

13:30 – 14:30 Lunch

14:30 – 19:30 Workshop “Populism Across the Borders: From Cases to Theory”

(room 325, in English, synchronous interpretation)

The workshop is held by Greg Yudin (MSSES)

This workshop brings together different national perspectives on populist politics to refine the conceptual apparatus. What are the implications for democracy from various ramifications of populism in different national contexts? What are the differences between populist parties in Western and Eastern Europe and can they be justly subsumed under the same label? Should plebiscitarian tendencies manifested in many countries in both East and West be understood as instantiations of populism? Does the experience of populists in power in Latin America justify the idea of populist regime – or rather populism can only be properly grasped as political logic and political movement? What are the meaningful differences between the right-wing and left-wing populist politics across Europe and what do the examples of Venezuela or Ecuador tell about the possibility of mutation of the left-wing populism?

The workshop is supported by Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom.

14:30 – 16:30 Session 1. Chair – Greg Yudin (MSSES)

Alexandra Panzarelli (The New School University) "Chavez Goes to Heaven and the PSUV Goes to Hell": Populism and Messianism in post-Chavez Venezuela

Tatiana Vorozheikina (independent researcher) The Everlasting Populism: Latin America between 20th and 21st centuries

Ilya Matveev (North-Western Institute of Management RANEPA) The Art of Drawing a Line: Populism and Nationalism in Russian Politics

Dorottya Szikra (Hungarian Academy of Sciences) Populist Governance, Democratic Down-sliding and the Welfare State. A Comparative Overview of Russia, Turkey and Hungary

16:30 – 17:00 Coffee break

17:00 – 19:30 Session 2. Chair – Alexandra Panzarelli (The New School)

Nikolay Babich (Federal Center of Theoretical and Applied Sociology, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow) "For Everything Good and Opposed to Everything Bad": Populism as a Manifestation of the Modularity of Political Consciousness

Sergei Koretko (European University at Saint Petersburg) What is to be done with populism? The Mixed Constitution in Classical Republicanism and Alain Badiou's Metapolitics

Stephan Merl (Bielefeld University) The Rise of Populism – Crisis of Democracy? A Comparative View from a Historical Perspective

Greg Yudin (MSSES) Plebiscitarianism vs. Populism: Case of Russia

14:30 – 20:00 Parallel Sessions

16:30 – 17:00 Coffee break

"The people" as a concept in civil religions of modernity: between the necessity and the impossibility (room 419, in Russian)

Chairs – Oleg Kildushov (Center for Fundamental Sociology NRU HSE), Alexander Marey ("Philosophy. The HSE journal"), Andrey Teslya (Institute of humanities Immanuel Kant Baltic Federal University)

The session is supported by the Center for Fundamental Sociology NRU HSE and the journal "Sociological Review"

"Small deed theory: history and our times" (room 121, in Russian)

Chairs –Theodor Shanin (MSSES), Alexander Nikulin (Center for Agrarian Studies RANEPA, "The journal of peasant studies")

The session is supported by Rosa Luxemburg Foundation.

"Between education and co-authorship. Social Research in public space" (room 208, in Russian)

Chairs – Mikhail Rozhansky (Center for social research – Irkutsk), Dmitriy Sporov ("Oral history" Foundation)

The session is supported by Mikhail Prokhorov Foundation

September 28

RANEPA, building 5

10:00 – 13:00 Parallel Sessions

11:30 – 12:00 Coffee break

“Small deed theory: history and our times” (room 121, in Russian)

Chairs – Theodor Shanin (MSSES), Alexander Nikulin (Center for Agrarian Studies RANEPA, “The journal of peasant studies”)

The session is supported by Rosa Luxemburg Foundation.

“Between education and co-authorship. Social Research in public space” (room 208, in Russian)

Chairs – Mikhail Rozhansky (Center for social research – Irkutsk), Dmitriy Sporov (“Oral history” Foundation)

The session is supported by Mikhail Prokhorov Foundation

“Populism in an organization and the subjective well-being of the employees: phenomena and interconnections” (room 210, in Russian)

Chairs – Veronika Kabalina (NRU HSE), Evgeny Morgunov (MSSES)

“The people” as a concept in civil religions of modernity: between the necessity and the impossibility (room 419, in Russian)

Chairs – Oleg Kildushov (Center for Fundamental Sociology NRU HSE), Alexander Marey (“Philosophy. The HSE journal”), Andrey Teslya (Institute of humanities Immanuel Kant Baltic Federal University)

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13.00 – 14.00 LUNCH

14.00 – 16.30 What does “imperialism” mean? Rosa Luxemburg and “The Accumulation of Capital” today. (room 325, in English, synchronous interpretation)

Chairs – Ilya Budraitskis (MSSES), Ilya Konovalov (NRU HSE)

The hundredth anniversary of the tragic death of Rosa Luxemburg presents an important opportunity to reconsider her theoretical legacy. The theory of imperialism, proposed by Luxemburg in fundamental work "The Accumulation of Capital", had a huge impact on the social and economic progressive thought of the twentieth century. The global growth of social inequality, the spread of military conflicts and the deepening dependence of the so-called "developing countries" have brought up to date the debate on imperialism and the grounds for its criticism. However, what can this criticism take from Luxemburg's legacy? How pertinent is her well known thesis that capitalism constantly appropriates non-capitalist elements external to it? What role does militarism and military production play in stabilizing capitalism? Can the conception of Luxemburg serve as a basis for a complex and non-linear concept of capitalist development, which take into account the simultaneous coexistence of different socio-economic forms? Finally, what place should the legacy of Rosa Luxemburg occupy in the new internationalist response to the challenges of the present?

The session is supported by Rosa Luxemburg Foundation

Alex Callinicos (King's College London) Rosa Luxemburg's Critique of Capitalism and Contemporary Imperialism

Ingo Schmidt (Athabasca University) Rosa Luxemburg: A Theoretical Guide to the Political Economy of Capitalism from its Early Days to the Present

Eric Toussaint (Committee for the Abolition of Illegitimate Debt) Rosa Luxemburg and the Debt as an Imperialist Tool. The Case of Egypt, China, etc

16:30 – 17:00 Coffee break

17.00 – 19.00 **Round table “Populism and the Postsoviet Transformation of Russia”** (room 325, Russian/English synchronous interpretation)

Supported by the Gorbachev Foundation

Moderated by **Olga Zdravomyslova** (The Gorbachev Foundation), **Andrey Ryabov** (Institute of World Economy and International Relations)

Participants: Mikhail Rozhansky, Emil Pain, Mikhail Ilyin, Ivan Babitsky, Roman Evstikheev, Dmitry Karasev, Veronika Sharova, Mikhail Vinogradov, Ilya Budraitskis, Vasily Zharkov

The Perestroika could be viewed as historical chance to constitute the rule of the people in Russia. The First Congress of People's Deputies of the Soviet Union (May, 25 – June, 8 1989) that launched the modern Russian parliamentarianism signified such a possibility. Various contradictions created an environment favorable to populism which prevailed in the early period of Boris Yeltsin's politics. Nevertheless when Yeltsin turned into a leader of a radical democratic opposition to Perestroika his features of a populist faded away. Neither in Russia nor in any other former Soviet Republic (with the noticeable exception of Belarus) populism played a decisive role. Radical reforms of the 90s did not produce any pronounced demand for the populism in the Russian society. The majority of the most people struggled to survive, while a more well-situated minority bided on the individual adaptation models.

However at the beginning of the XXI century the populist technologies came into play. Does this lead to the emergence of populist politicians? What are the specifics of a contemporary Russian populism (beyond technologies)? What explanation can be found for the combination of populism with ideology and practice of “new elitism”? And what is the ideological justification of the division of the society into classes? What conditions could bring about the appearance of strong populist key players in Russia?

19:00 Reception