

INTERNATIONAL SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE

EUROPE OF NATIONALISTS

European Nationalisms in Historical and Comparative Perspective

CONFERENCE HANDBOOK

JAGIELLONIAN UNIVERSITY IN KRAKÓW
Institute of European Studies
Division of Mediterranean Politics and Culture



OCTOBER 24-25, 2019



Organised by:



JAGIELLONIAN
UNIVERSITY
IN KRAKÓW



INSTITUTE OF EUROPEAN STUDIES
OF THE JAGIELLONIAN UNIVERSITY



DIVISION OF MEDITERRANEAN
POLITICS AND CULTURE
OF THE INSTITUTE OF EUROPEAN STUDIES
AT THE JAGIELLONIAN UNIVERSITY

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MIĘDZYNARODOWA KONFERENCJA NAUKOWA

EUROPA NACJONALISTÓW

Nacjonalizm a Europa w perspektywie historycznej i porównawczej

October 24th, 2019
Michał Bobrzyński Room
at the Collegium Maius
of the Jagiellonian University,
ul. Jagiellońska 15, 31-010 Kraków

October 25th, 2019
Conference Room
at the Auditorium Maximum
of the Jagiellonian University,
ul. Krupnicza 33, 31-123 Kraków

The international scientific conference entitled “**Europe of Nationalists. European Nationalisms in Historical and Comparative Perspective**” is part of a broader research project implemented by the Instytut Europeistyki UJ (Institute of European Studies of the Jagiellonian University) and Department of Political Science, Law and International Studies (SPGI) of the University of Padova entitled “Nationalism and Europe. European Nationalisms in Historical and Comparative Perspective”.

The conference in Kraków is devoted to European parties and nationalist groups after 1945 in a broader, comparative perspective, with particular focus to their attitude towards the idea of a united Europe. Besides the aforementioned guiding concept of the meeting, the conference touches upon the following phenomena:

- Nationalism and European federalism
- The idea of European identity and the idea of national identity
- Contemporary parties and nationalist groups towards the EU and its policies
- Contemporary ethno-nationalisms and Europe
- Euroscepticism and populism
- Sovereignty-oriented ideologies

The conference agenda envisages panels of small groups, during which the speakers have a chance to present 20-minute lectures serving as starting points for discussion.

PROGRAM OF THE CONFERENCE

24 X 2019 - MICHAŁ BOBRZYŃSKI ROOM AT COLLEGIUM MAIUS UJ

9:00-9:15 REGISTRATION OF PARTICIPANT

9:15-10:30 OPENING OF THE CONFERENCE

WELCOME OF GUESTS

dr hab. Dariusz NIEDZWIEDZKI, prof. UJ (Director of the JU Institute of European Studies)

INTRODUCTION

dr hab. Joanna SONDEL-CEDARMAS, prof. UJ, Uniwersytet Jagielloński

prof. Francesco BERTI, Università di Padova

prof. Filippo FOCARDI, Università di Padova

prof. dr hab. Zdzisław MACH (Uniwersytet Jagielloński): *Right-wing populism, Euroscepticism, and neo-traditionalism in Central Eastern Europe*

prof. Daniele PASQUINUCCI (Università di Siena): *Against Germany and against Europe: on some crucial historical roots of Antieuropeanism in Western Europe*

10:30-12:00

SESSION I: NATIONALISM AND THE PROJECTS OF UNITED EUROPE IN A HISTORICAL-DOCTRINAL PERSPECTIVE

Chair: Joanna SONDEL-CEDARMAS, Francesco BERTI

prof. Teresa NUNES (Universidade de Lisboa): *Nation, Liberalism and Nationalism in Portugal (1836-1910)*

dr hab. Arkadiusz BARUT (Uniwersytet Wrocławski): *Myśl polityczna Maurice'a Barrès-a - aktualność i nieporozumienia (Maurice Barrès political thought - topicality and misinterpretation)*

dr hab. Dariusz GÓRA, prof. UKSW (Uniwersytet Kardynała Stefana Wyszyńskiego w Warszawie): *Zły nacjonalizm, dobry nacjonalizm w interpretacji foucaultowskiej (Bad nationalism, good nationalism: a Foucaultian interpretation)*

dr Marcin REBES (Uniwersytet Jagielloński): *Między tożsamością europejską a nacjonalizmem. Spór o tożsamość z perspektywy filozofii dialogu (Between European Identity and Nationalism. Debating identity in the light of the philosophy of dialogue)*

dr Ewa KOZERSKA (Uniwersytet Opolski): *Franciszek o Europie (Pope Francis about Europe)*

dr Tomasz SCHEFFLER (Uniwersytet Wrocławski): *Integracja europejska a nacjonalizmy (European Integration and Nationalisms)*

mgr Magdalena ZIĘTEK-WIELOMSKA (Instytut Badawczy Pro Vita bona): *Nacjonalizm czy imperializm? Dylematy współczesnych ruchów antyestablishmentowych (Nationalism or imperialism? Dilemmas of contemporary anti-establishment movements)*

12:00-12:30 COFFEE BREAK

12:30-14:30

SESSION II: NATIONALISM, SOVEREIGNTY, EUROSCEPTICISM IN EASTERN EUROPE

Chair: Joanna SONDEL-CEDARMAS, Francesco BERTI

prof. dr hab. Joachim DIEC (Uniwersytet Jagielloński): *Ethnic and Imperial Nationalism in Russia on the Brink of the Third Millennium*

dr Grzegorz POŻARLIK (Uniwersytet Jagielloński): *Re-inventing ideocracy. Some reflection on current nationalism-populism nexus in Central Europe*

dr hab. Tadeusz KOPYŚ (Uniwersytet Jagielloński): *Nacjonalizm węgierski po 1989 (Hungarian Nationalism after 1989)*

dr Łukasz LEWKOWICZ (Uniwersytet Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej w Lublinie): *Sojusznicy i wrogowie we współczesnej słowackiej myśli nacjonalistycznej (Allies and enemies in contemporary Slovak nationalist thought)*

dr Paweł ŁUBIŃSKI (Uniwersytet Pedagogiczny im. KEN w Krakowie): *Nacjonalistyczne oblicze partii politycznej Ruch Narodowy w kontekście (dez)integracyjnych tendencji we współczesnej Europie (Nationalistic face of the National Movement party in the context of (dis)integration tendencies in modern Europe)*

14:30-15:30 LUNCH

15:40-17:30

SESSION III: NATIONALISM, SOVEREIGNTY, EUROSCEPTICISM IN WESTERN EUROPE

Chair: Dariusz GÓRA

prof. dr hab. Adam WIELOMSKI (Uniwersytet Kardynała Stefana Wyszyńskiego w Warszawie): *Front national/Rassemblement national wobec Etat-Nation i francuskiej tradycji nacjonalistycznej XIX i XX wieku (Front national/Rassemblement national and idea of Etat-Nation and the French nationalist tradition of the 19th and 20th centuries)*

dr hab. Małgorzata MYŚLIWIEC (Uniwersytet Śląski w Katowicach): *Koncepcja narodu w narracji politycznej hiszpańskiej partii VOX (The concept of nation in the political narrative of the Spanish party VOX)*

dr Marcin GALENT (Uniwersytet Jagielloński): *English nationalism and its role in building support for Brexit: the case of UKIP and Brexit*

Łukasz DANEL (Uniwersytet Ekonomiczny w Krakowie): *Nacjonalizm czy eurosceptycyzm - co lepiej tłumaczy decyzję Brytyjczyków o wystąpieniu z Unii Europejskiej? (Nationalism or Euroscepticism - what better explains Britain's decision to leave the European Union?)*

dr Małgorzata LORENCKA (Uniwersytet Śląski w Katowicach): *Nacjonalizm w ujęciu Złotego Świtu w Grecji (Nationalism by Golden Dawn in Greece)*

17:30-18:30

SESSION IV: ETHNO-NATIONALIST MOVEMENTS AND PARTIES AND THE IDEA OF UNITED EUROPE - HISTORY AND CONTEMPORANEITY

Chair: Adam WIELOMSKI

dr Agnieszka GRZECHYNKA (Akademia Ignatianum w Krakowie): *Sojusznik, oponent czy środek do celu? Rola Unii Europejskiej w katalońskim procesie niepodległościowym (Ally, Opponent or Means to an End? The Role of the European Union in the Catalan Independence Process)*

mgr Sylwia CHMURA (Uniwersytet Wrocławski): *Kształtowanie się nacjonalizmu katalońskiego (Formation of Catalan Nationalism)*

dr Luca PALMARINI (Uniwersytet Jagielloński): *Niewidzialne nacjonalizmy: powrót do podzielonego na małe państwa półwyspu włoskiego. Anachroniczna hipoteza? (The invisible nationalisms: the return to a fragmented Italian peninsula in small states. It is an anachronistic hypothesis?)*

18:30-19:00 DISCUSSION

19:30 DINNER

25 X 2019 - CONFERENCE ROOM AT THE AUDITORIUM MAXIMUM UJ

9:00-10:40

SESSION VI: THE EUROPEAN UNION IN THE NARRATION OF POPULIST PARTIES AND MOVEMENTS

Chair: Filippo FOCARDI

prof. Andrea MAMMONE (Royal Holloway, University of London): *Is Bannon inventing the wheel? PanEuropeanism and transatlantic journeys*

prof. Paolo Roberto GRAZIANO, prof. Giorgia NESTI (Università di Padova): *United in diversity? Populist Parties' attitude towards European policies in the European Parliament*

dr hab. Katarzyna ZIELIŃSKA, dr Magdalena GÓRA (Uniwersytet Jagielloński): *Othering the EU in the Polish right-wing parties' discourse: aims, strategies and consequences*

dr Joanna ORZECHOWSKA-WACŁAWSKA (Uniwersytet Jagielloński): *Return of the <national>. Economic populism in Poland*

mgr Albert GUZIAK (Uniwersytet Warszawski): *The populist (ambivalent) stance on the European Union of the Austrian FPÖ party*

10:40-11:00 COFFEE BREAK

prof. Valentine LOMELLINI (Università di Padova): *The Five Star Movement in International Politics: an historical perspective*

dr Ewa KAMARAD (Uniwersytet Jagielloński): *Euroscepticism and LGBT People's Rights in Political Narratives in Poland and Portugal*

dr Przemysław TACIK (Uniwersytet Jagielloński): *Nationalist Populism, the Rule of Law and the Language of Constitutionalism*

António Paulo DUARTE, PhD (Instituto da Defesa Nacional): *Nationalism and Populism in Portugal. Three regimes (1910-2019). One Interpretation*

dr Elżbieta MACH (Uniwersytet Jagielloński): *Shaping of European citizenship in post-totalitarian societies. Reflection after 15 years of EU enlargement (Europe for Citizens) - project presentation poster*

12:30-13:00 DISCUSSION

13:00-14:00 LUNCH

14:00-16:30

SESSION VII: NATIONALISM, POPULISM, EUROSCEPTICISM IN A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE - PHD CANDIDATES' PANEL

Chair: **Elżbieta MACH, Grzegorz POŻARLIK**

Frederico BENVINDA, MA, Pedro PIRES, MA, Soraia Milene CERVALHO, MA (Universidade de Lisboa): *Integration and disillusionment: Eurosceptic and Pro-European discourse in three Portuguese regions (1986-1989/2019)*

mgr Małgorzata FIJAŁ (Uniwersytet Jagielloński): *The vision of Europe in the program of the Polish political movement Kukiz'15*

mgr Paulina ADAMIK (Uniwersytet Jagielloński): Between populism and nationalism - discourse of political parties in Central and Eastern Europe

mgr Katarzyna SKAŁA (Uniwersytet Gdańskiego): *Europejczycy, nacjonalisci, (post)Jugosłowianie? Paradoksy chorwackiej tożsamości (Europeans, nationalists, (post)Yugoslavians? The Paradoxes of Croatian identity)*

mgr Paulina FRONCZAK-CHRUŚCIEL (Uniwersytet Łódzki): *Powstanie i działalność organizacji PEGIDA w Federalnej Republice Niemiec (Origin and activity of PEGIDA organisation in Federal Republic of Germany)*

mgr Paweł BIELAWSKI (Uniwersytet Jagielloński): *Unia Europejska czy Imperium Europejskie? Europejska Nowa Prawica wobec kwestii zjednoczonej Europy (European Union or European Empire? The European New Right and the question of united Europe)*

mgr Marcin KOWALSKI (Uniwersytet Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej w Lublinie): *Działalność i ideologia Młodzieży Wszechniczej w latach 2001-2007 (Activity and ideology of the Młodzież Wszechnicza (All-Polish Youth) in the years 2001-2007)*

16:30 CONCLUSIONS

the industrialization, urbanization of the national tissue, the massive impact of emigration to Europe, mainly to France and Germany, and the effects of the April 1974 revolution. These so late developments of Portuguese society towards modernity had weakened conservative and populistic political positions and explain probably why in Europe where the right ideology it's today hegemonic, Portugal foresee the possibility of having a Parliament with a huge left majority, more than two thirds, in the elections that will run in October 2019, accordingly to all the pools. The conference will present arguments that seek to explain Portuguese political evolution since 1910 (from the Republican Revolution) and the limits that that evolution had produced to constrain conservative and populistic parties today.

 **DR ELŻBIETA MACH (Uniwersytet Jagielloński)** is PhD in social sciences in the field of pedagogy. Europeanist, Assistant Professor at the Institute of European Studies of the Jagiellonian University, expert in the field of textbooks for elementary education, expert of the Foundation for the Development of the Education System (FRSE) and Education Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency in field of the European educational programs. Hobby - breeder of the Turkish Van cats, a lover of classical music and mountain treks. Research interests: European education, educational policy of the European Union, sociology of education, education and identity, European citizenship, current socio-cultural processes seen in the perspective of educational change.

 **Shaping of European citizenship in post-totalitarian societies. Reflection after 15 years of EU enlargement (Europe for Citizens) – ShareEU [609162-CITIZ-1-2019-1-PL-CITIZ-REMEM] - PROJECT PRESENTATION POSTER**

The 15th anniversary of the EU enlargement is an opportunity to reflect on successes and failures of social and educational activities aiming at shaping civil society. This seems to hold particular relevance for countries with post-totalitarian experiences (Poland, Slovakia, Italy). Furthermore, this kind of reflection is important in times of an revival of nationalist movements in Europe. The project addresses clear need for such reflection on changes in Europe (including the new nationalist movements), EU values, active citizenship and pros and cons of EU enlargement in 2004.

 **FREDERICO BENVINDA, MA (Universidade de Lisboa)** is a PhD student in the field of Contemporary History from the School of Arts and Humanities of the University of Lisbon. Having finished his undergraduate studies in 2016, he became a master's student in History, specializing in Modern and Contemporary History at the School of Arts and Humanities of the University of Lisbon that same year. He completed his Masters Degree in 2019 and made his final work: *Zófimo Consigliero Pedroso: Portugal, Europa e Latinidade/ Zófimo Consigliero Pedroso: Portugal, Europe and Latinity* available online in February 2019. In September of the same year, he entered the School's PhD programme in Contemporary History, which he is currently pursuing. He is a researcher at the Centre for History of the University of Lisbon. In such role, he has participated in scientific events in Portugal, Spain, France, Hungary and Russia through the public presentation of his research into Portuguese republican thought about the national and international realities of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

 **PEDRO PIRES, MA (Universidade de Lisboa)** graduated from the Faculty of Arts and Humanities of the University of Lisbon, in 2016, with a degree in History. He undertook a Postgraduate degree in Strategic Studies and Security at the National Defense Institute & Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities of the University Nova of Lisbon. He's also an associate researcher at the History Center of the Faculty of Arts and Humanities of the University of Lisbon. He is currently undertaking his Master's degree in Contemporary History at the Faculty of Arts and Humanities of the University of Lisbon. Between September and December of 2016 he completed an internship at the National Defense Institute, where he became acquainted with