"We reject the ideology of globalism, and we embrace the doctrine of patriotism." With these words, US president Donald Trump reiterated and universalized his campaign slogan “America First” in his second speech in the General Assembly of the United Nations on September 25th, 2018. The subsequent list of priorities and decisions gave a very vivid illustration of what this dichotomous distinction means for him and his administration: Rejection of the International Criminal Court, rejection of the Iran Nuclear Deal, rejection of the Global Compact on Migration, rejection of multilateral trade agreements, questioning of US contributions to the UN peacekeeping missions and to foreign aid.

In this rejection of global cooperation – be it in trade, migration, peacebuilding, environmental protection or other fields – Trump is not alone: The attempt to de-legitimate several forms of global cooperation and the turn to the nation-state as the only legitimate scale of political action is also wide-spread in other political parties and movements, including the current left. While the Alter-Globalization movement, which flourished around the turn of the millennium, developed an alternative vision of a “globalization from below”, a strong section of the left is currently urging to retrieve “sovereignty” or “national agency”, limit immigration and defend a “traditional” way of life. In its attempt to compete with the various forces of populism and the New Right, these sections of the left have been accused of mirroring some of the features of populism, including the construction of “the people” as a homogeneous entity betrayed by cosmopolitan elites. However, there are movements and politicians labeled as “populist” who have deliberately embraced various forms of global or regional cooperation, such as Venezuela’s former socialist president Hugo Chávez or Brazil’s Lula da Silva.

When turning to the question why these de-legitimations of global cooperation are so successful, it is important to realize that they are not only based on a rejection. Instead, they recur to powerful techniques of storytelling about a glorious past and a bright future. By contrast, the future-oriented liberal and socialist utopias with their promises of economic and political progress have lost their appeal and so have the visions of “borderless prosperity” which were once associated unlimited globalization. In times of growing inequalities and dwindling prospects for political and social participation, liberalism has lost its story and its visionary power. Across the world, this void is perceived by the populists and compensated for with new narratives and new emotion norms such as fear of outsiders, love of country and indignation against the “establishment”, leading to a “globalization of rage” (Pankaj Mishra) and the rise of politicians like Donald Trump, Rodrigo Duterte and – recently – Jair Bolsonaro.

Against this background, this Käte Hamburger Dialogue sets out to discuss questions concerning the relationship between populism and the de-legitimation of global cooperation, including the following:
What is the role of nationalism and de-legitimations of global cooperation in populist discourse and politics?

How can the growing appeal of populist politics directed against global cooperation be understood?

Is it feasible and normatively desirable to develop counter-narratives and to appeal to the emotions in order to increase legitimacy for global cooperation in different policy fields?

Programme

18:00-18:30 Registration

18:30-18:40 Welcoming and Introductory Remarks:

Karl-Rudolf Korte
Professor of Political Science, Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences
Director, NRW School of Governance

Sigrid Quack
Professor of Sociology, University of Duisburg-Essen (UDE)
Director, Käte Hamburger Kolleg/Centre for Global Cooperation Research (KHK/GCR21)

18:40-19:30 14th Käte Hamburger Dialogue
From “Another world is possible” to “Our country first”? Populism and Global Cooperation

Panellists: Benjamin De Cleen
Assistant Professor at the Department of Communication Studies
Vrije Universiteit Brussel

Daphne Halikiopoulou
Associate Professor in Comparative Politics, Department of Politics and IR, University of Reading

Wolfram Kaiser
Professor of European Studies
University of Portsmouth

Taylan Yildiz
Research Associate, Chair “Political System of Germany”, NRW School of Governance, UDE

Moderator: Christine Unrau
Research Group Leader “Pathways and mechanisms of global cooperation”, KHK/GCR21

19:30-20:00 Discussion with the Audience

20:00 End of the Dialogue and Get-together