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eviving C Against Populis ALGRAVE STUDIES IN CLASSICAL LIBERALISM ERIES EDITORS: DAVID F. HARDWICK · LESLIE MARSH

Reviving Classical Liberalism Against

Populism

Nils Karlson

**OPEN ACCESS** 

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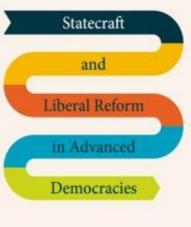
# 1985 to 2010

#### **The End of History**

- Francis Fukuyama 1989
- "What we may be witnessing is not just the end of the Cold War, or the passing of a particular period of post-war history, but the end of history as such: that is, the end point of mankind's ideological evolution and the universalization of Western liberal democracy as the final form of human government."







Nils Karlson







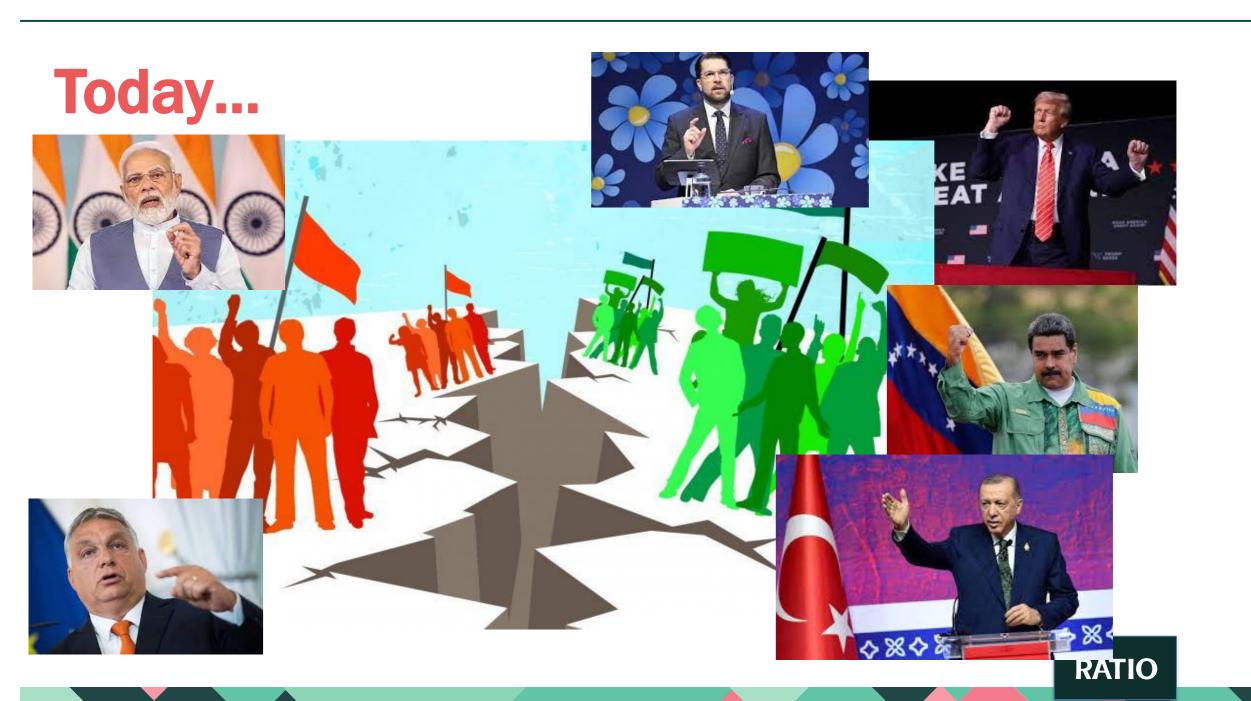
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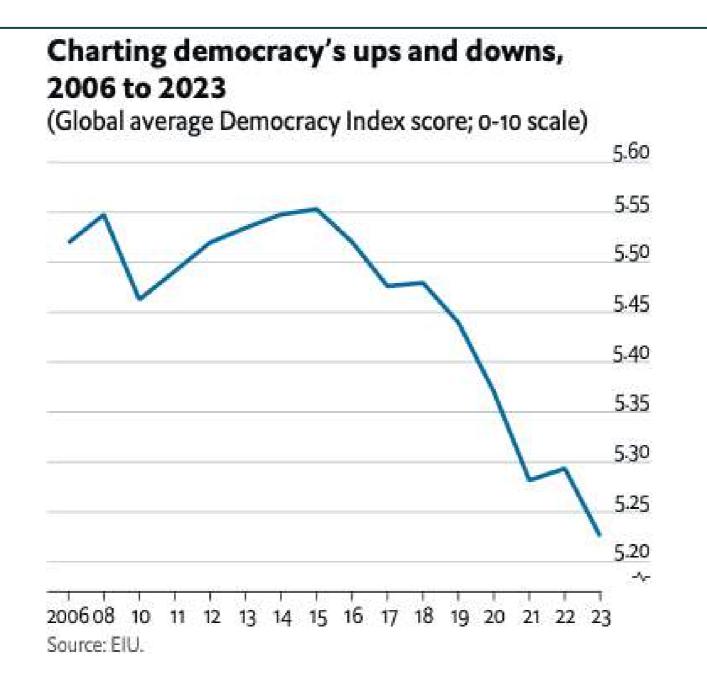
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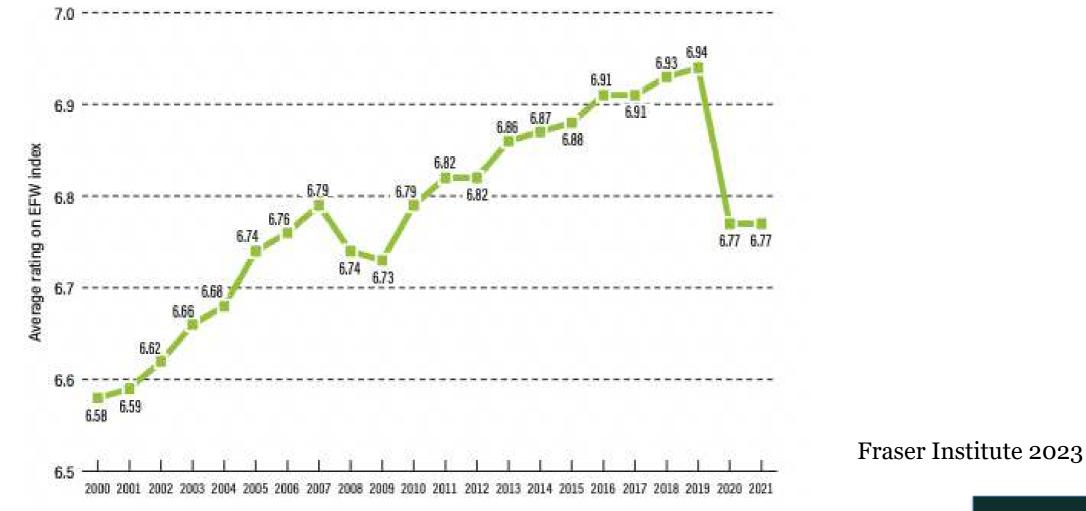
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### **Sharp Decline in Global Economic Freedom**



RATIO

## **Populism – defining characteristics**

**1.** Unserious and ill-founded policies

**2.** A rhetorical style and discourse frame

**3.** Autocratic institutional orientation



## **1. Unserious and ill-founded policies**

# Edwards (2019) Latin American Populism, and Its Echoes around the World. JOURNAL OF ECONOMIC PERSPECTIVES

"Most populist experiments go through five distinct phases that span from euphoria to collapse. Historically, the vast majority of populist episodes end up badly; incomes of the poor and middle class tend to be lower than when the experiment was launched"

# Funke et al (2023). Populist Leaders and the Economy. AMERICAN ECONOMIC REVIEW

"We identify 51 populist presidents and prime ministers from 1900 to 2020 and show that the economic cost of populism is high. After 15 years, GDP per capita is 10 percent lower compared to a plausible nonpopulist counterfactual. Economic disintegration, decreasing macroeconomic stability, and the erosion of institutions typically go hand in hand with populist rule."



Juan Peron





## 2. A rhetorical style and discourse frame

- **1.** An appeal to the "true" people, antiestablishment
- 2. The 'Us vs. Them' logic, deliberate polarization, trigger tribalism



- 4. Narratives that 'construct' the people and its different enemies
- 5. Attack "fake news", media, experts, courts, demonize opponents



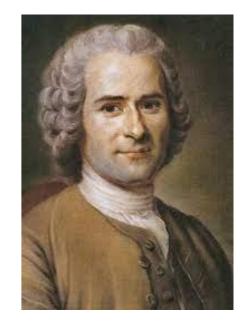




|  | Left-wing populists   | <b>Right-wing populists</b>   |                |
|--|---|---|----------------|
| The 'people'   | The working class, ordinary,<br>decent people, welfare<br>recipients, the "precariat"   | 'Native' citizens, patriots, often<br>rural and religious, ordinary hard-<br>working people, taxpayers  |                |
| Morales The 'elite'  | Neoliberals, experts, right-<br>wing media, right of<br>center political<br>parties, capitalists, IMF, World<br>Bank  | Academics, experts, liberals, left-<br>wing media, established parties,<br>international organizations, EU,<br>cosmopolitan elites  | Orbán          |
| <b>The 'others'</b><br>Iglesias Turrión  | Big business, capital owners,<br>foreign companies, actors on<br>the global markets, US, EU   | Migrants, non-natives, ethnic and religious minorities, Muslims, Jews   | Le Pen         |
| Key themesImage: Second FieldImage: Second FieldImag | Neoliberalism, anti-capitalism,<br>anti-globalization,<br>discrimination, exploitation,<br>protectionism, anti-<br>Americanism, inequality,<br>redistribution | Nationalism, cultural identity,<br>anti-immigration, traditionalism,<br>religion, law and order, anti-<br>globalization, national<br>sovereignty, protectionism,<br>restore welfare systems | Åkesson<br>TIO |

## **3. Autocratic institutional orientation**

- Ultra-majoritarian, volonté general
- Anti-constitutional, anti-checks-and-balances, anti-pluralist
- Successive attacks on courts, electoral manipulations, limiting minority rights etc.
- An enemy from within democracy itself



Jean-Jacques Rousseau

• Deeply illiberal



#### **Explaining populism and autocratization** Populist ideas, Charismatic beliefs and leaders and policy values entrepreneurs Social media Autocratizating Institutions Economic and Interest and identity institutions and and policies social conditions of the 'people' policies (t<sub>2</sub>) (t<sub>1</sub>)

Globalization Immigration Policy failures etc.



## A collectivistic identity politics

- The 'us-versus-them' logic offers a sense of belonging, to the nation, class, history, or religion
- Provides meaning and a purpose to defend the people against allegedly corrupt elites and threatening others
- A politics of resentment and recognition







# **The liberal potential**

## Three dimensions of classical liberalism

## **1**. The liberal institutions

- Limited government. constitutional democracy, the rule of law, private property rights, civil liberties, etc.

## 2. The liberal economy and society

- Market economy, civil society, voluntary cooperation, clubs, families, open society, etc.

## 3. The liberal spirit

- Rejoice in individual development and selfauthorship, in entrepreneurship, in diversity and tolerance, in free speech and rational discourse in voluntary cooperation, moderation, etc.





## Four categories of liberal strategies

- **1.** Expose the populist strategies and their consequences
- 2. Defend and develop the liberal institutions
- 3. Embrace and promote the liberal spirit
- 4. Develop liberal statecraft



# Requires the revival of classical liberalism itself

