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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

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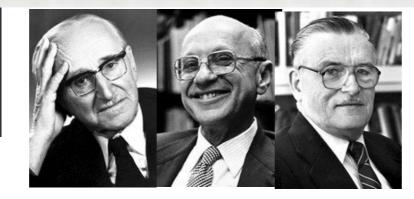
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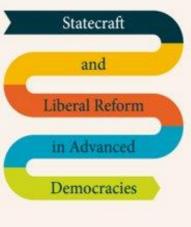
1985 to 2010

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







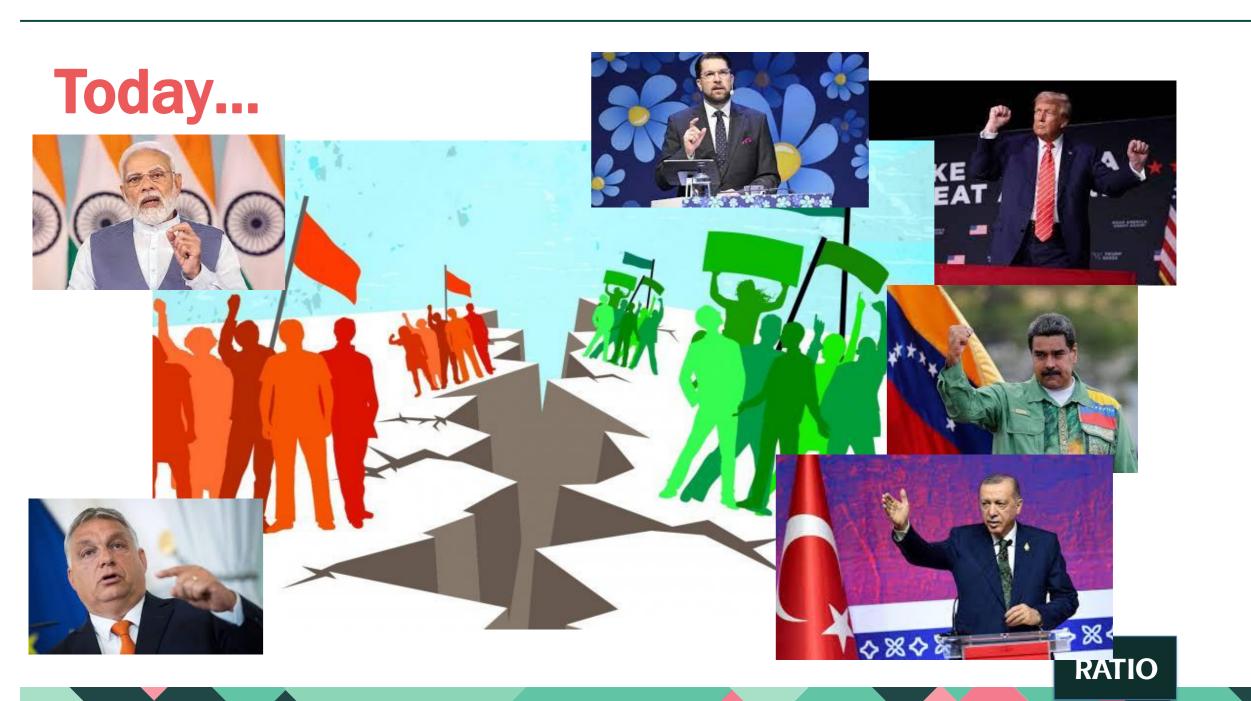
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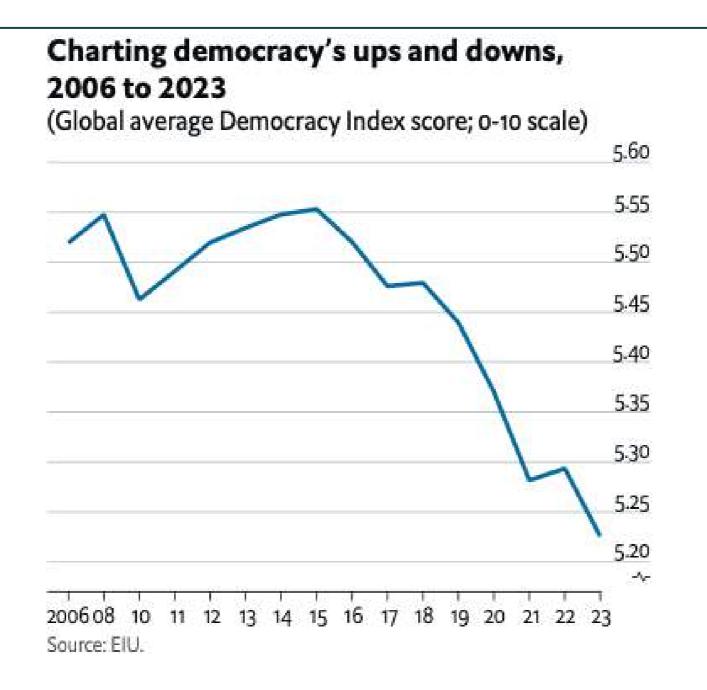
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Sharp Decline in Global Economic Freedom



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



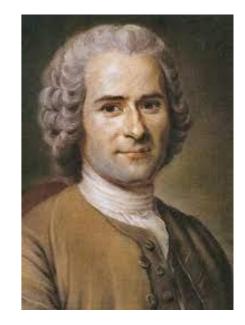




	Left-wing populists	Right-wing populists	
The 'people'	The working class, ordinary, decent people, welfare recipients, the "precariat"	'Native' citizens, patriots, often rural and religious, ordinary hard- working people, taxpayers	
Morales The 'elite'	Neoliberals, experts, right- wing media, right of center political parties, capitalists, IMF, World Bank	Academics, experts, liberals, left- wing media, established parties, international organizations, EU, cosmopolitan elites	Orbán
The 'others' Iglesias Turrión	Big business, capital owners, foreign companies, actors on 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, anti-globalization, discrimination, exploitation, protectionism, anti- Americanism, inequality, redistribution	Nationalism, cultural identity, anti-immigration, traditionalism, religion, law and order, anti- globalization, national sovereignty, protectionism, restore welfare systems	Åkesson 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 (t₂) (t₁)

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

