

## Left

Co-operation

Consensual

Horizontal

## Right

Competition

Hierarchical

Vertical

# Liberalism

Adam Smith

Laissez-faire

(regulate the State)

Consensual

Public/Private Split

Civility/ization

Humanism

# Neo-Liberalism

Hayek, Ayn Rand, Milton Friedman

Experience of fascism/mass society

De- and re-regulation, but by the market

Entrepreneurial Individual Competition

No civil society - no divides (non-binary)

Risk, anxiety, uncertainty

Human Capital

# Neo-Liberalism

Hayek, Ayn Rand, Milton Freidman  
Experience of fascism/mass society

FRIEDRICH A. HAYEK

THE CONDENSED VERSION OF *THE ROAD TO SERFDOM*  
BY F. A. HAYEK AS IT APPEARED IN THE APRIL 1945  
EDITION OF *READER'S DIGEST*

15

Your wages are "planned" . . . .

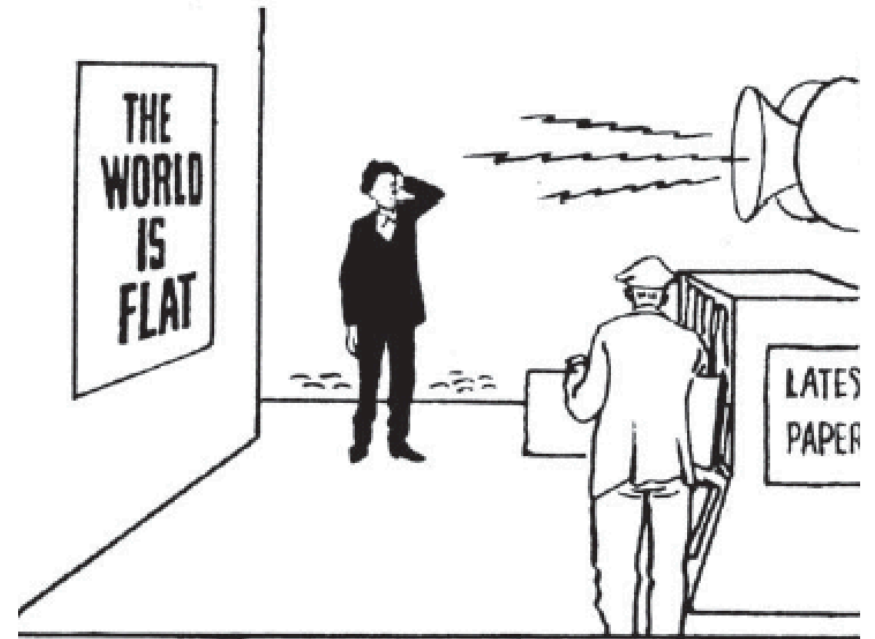
Divisions of the wage scale must be arbitrary and rigid. Running a "planned state" from central headquarters is *clumsy, unfair, inefficient.*



16

Your thinking is "planned" . . . .

In the dictatorship, unintentionally created by the planners, there is no room for difference of opinion. Posters, radio, press—all tell you the same lies!



Firstly, neoliberalism proposes a significantly different configuration of the relations among the State, national and world markets, the enmeshed polity and those excluded from this category, and the management of social reproduction, including cultural communications, than those found within a particular phase of liberalism, sometimes known as Fordism, that is characterized within the United States by the double hinge of the New Deal phase of the 1930s and 1940s and an ensuing military Keynesianism from the late 1940s until the first third of the 1970s. Although aspects of neoliberalism do engage with aspects of liberalism, as understood as emerging within the mid- to late-eighteenth-century arguments—often called classical political economy and exemplified by Adam Smith—the first perspective in discussions of neoliberalism must be one that places it in contrast to processes specific to the twentieth century that arose as responses to the Great Depression and its attendant socio-political emergences, such as the far-right corporate nationalism of the Nazi, Fascist, and Falangist regimes.

Features of neoliberalism include state deregulation of markets, privatization, and anti-labour and social welfare strategies; the ascendancy of finance capital; the renewed imperialism of law-and-order schemes on the global level (as in the endless “war on terror”) and in domestic arenas (as with the creation of a prison industrial complex); the elite project of wealth redistribution through new forms of ecological enclosure and accumulation via dispossession; the proliferation of metrics that spur competition in new realms of social life and administrative oversight; the exploitation of crises and disasters to force the imposition of austerity and structural adjustment; the increased biopolitical control of individuals by the state; the redefinition of individuals as quantum of human capital rather than subjects of interior development or political representation; the deployment of mass personal debt in ways little foreseen by prior macroeconomics; and the emergence of new algorithmic technologies of surveillance and financialization that have penetrated everyday life.

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# Liberalism

Pastoral State

Bio-power (citizenship)

# Neo-Liberalism

Careless State

Necropolitics (social death)

Neo-Eugenics

Covid policy



Profitability Crisis

1890s

Profitability Crisis

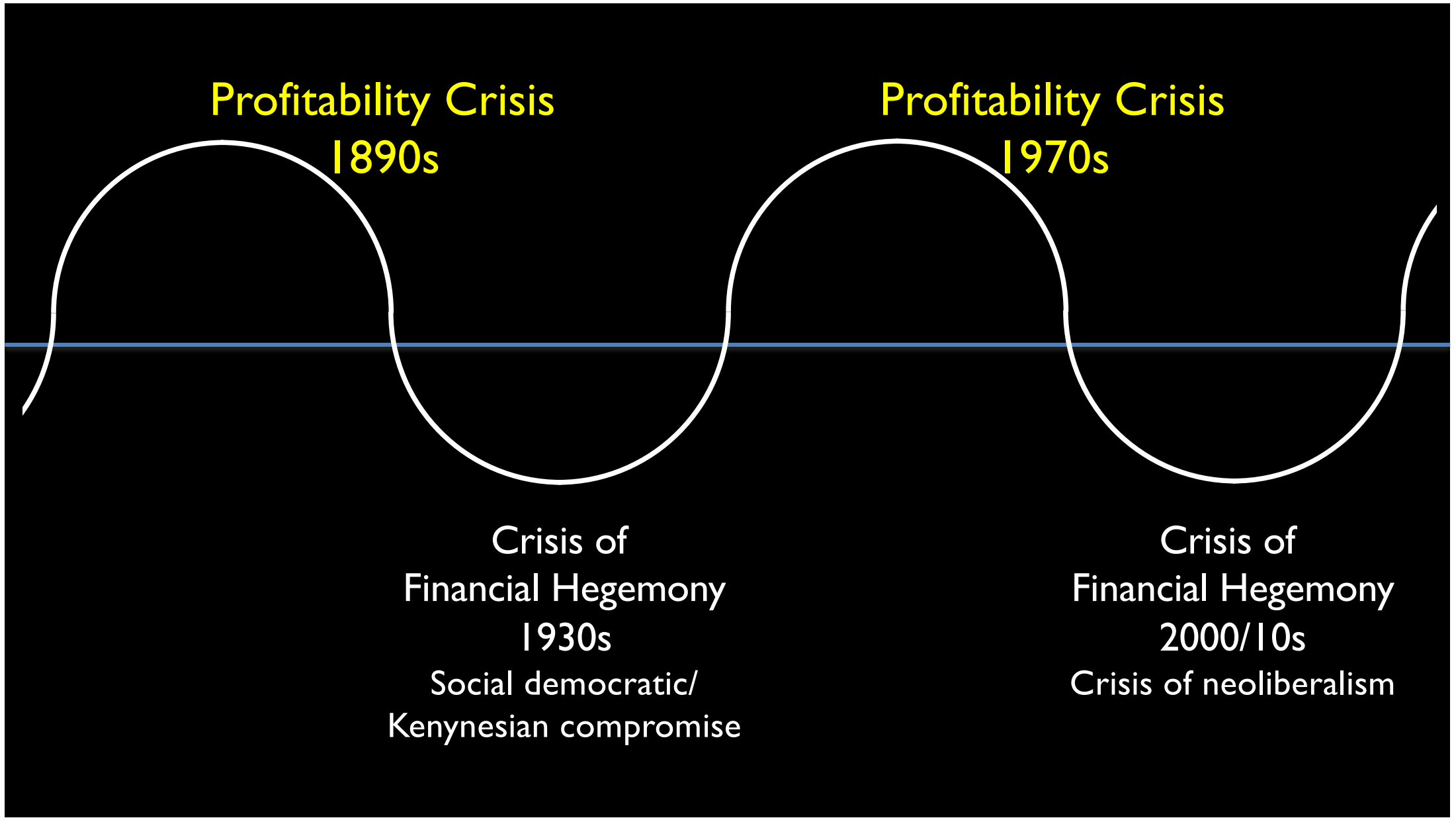
1970s

Crisis of  
Financial Hegemony  
1930s

Social democratic/  
Keynesian compromise

Crisis of  
Financial Hegemony  
2000/10s

Crisis of neoliberalism



Profitability Crisis  
1970s

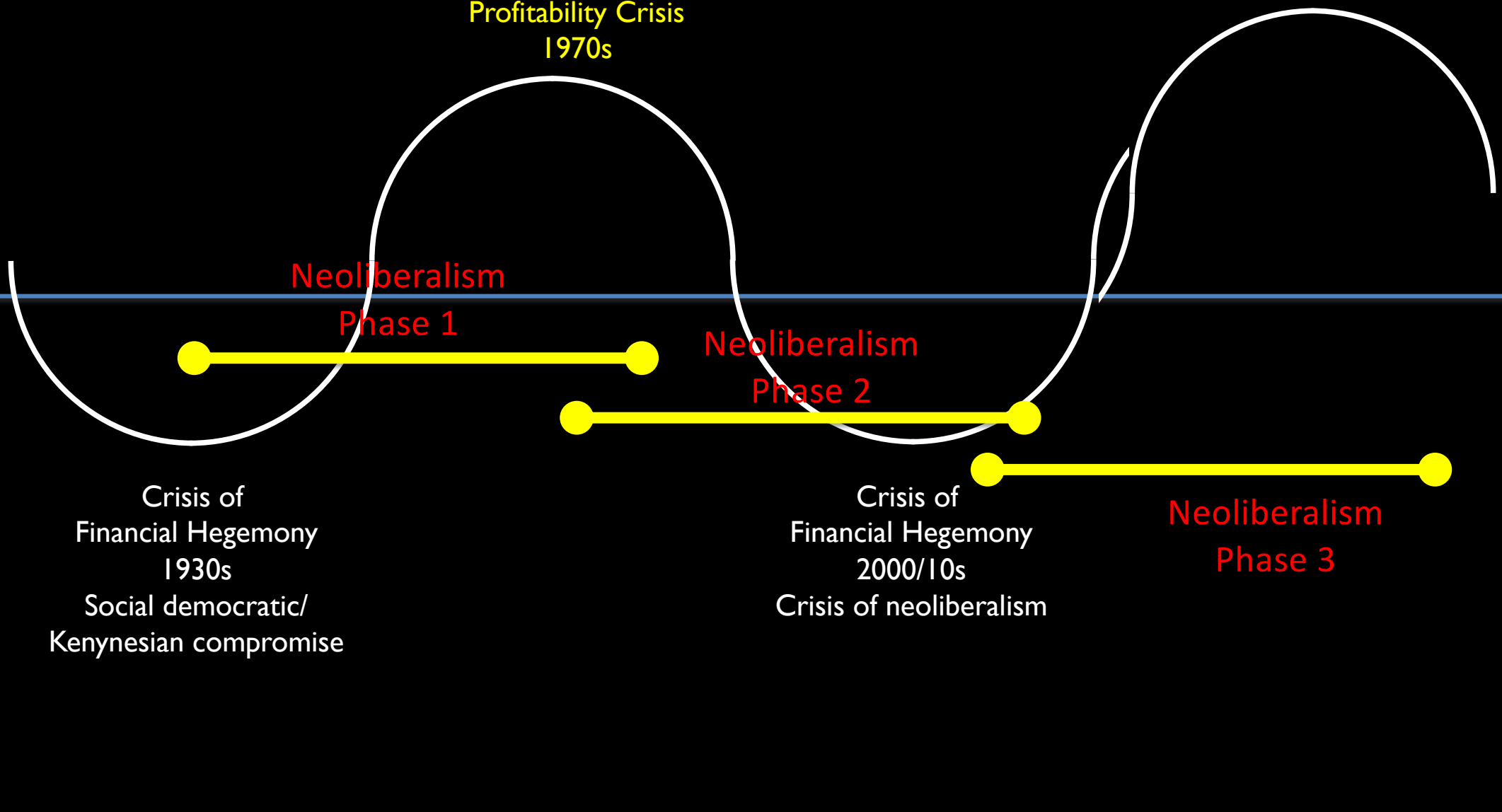
Neoliberalism  
Phase 1

Neoliberalism  
Phase 2

Neoliberalism  
Phase 3

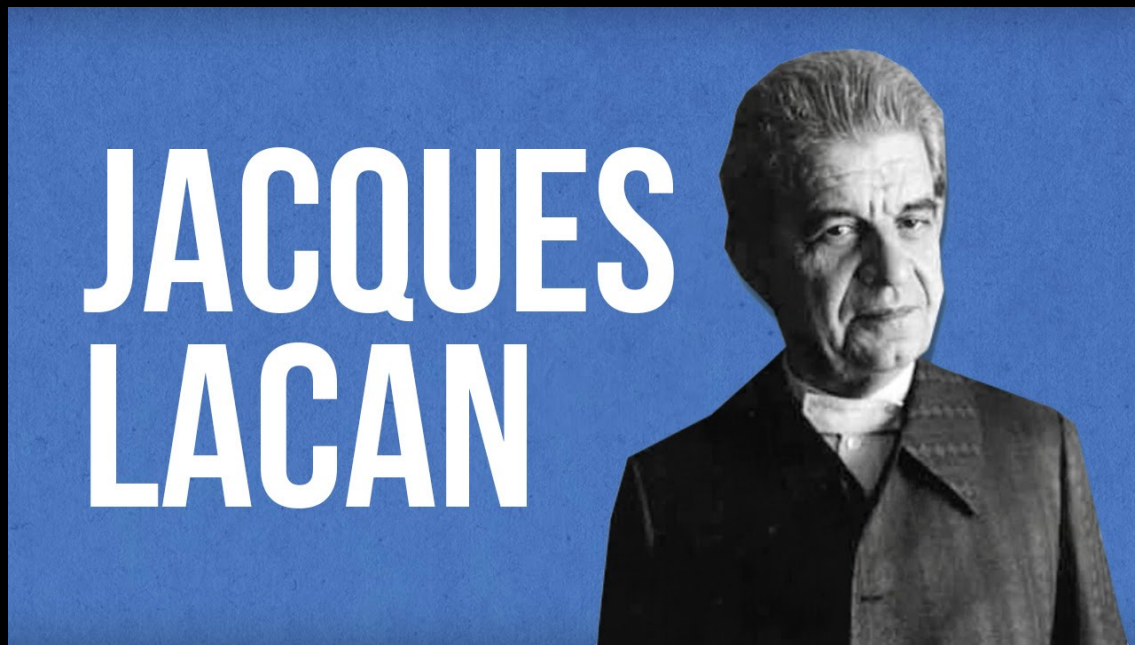
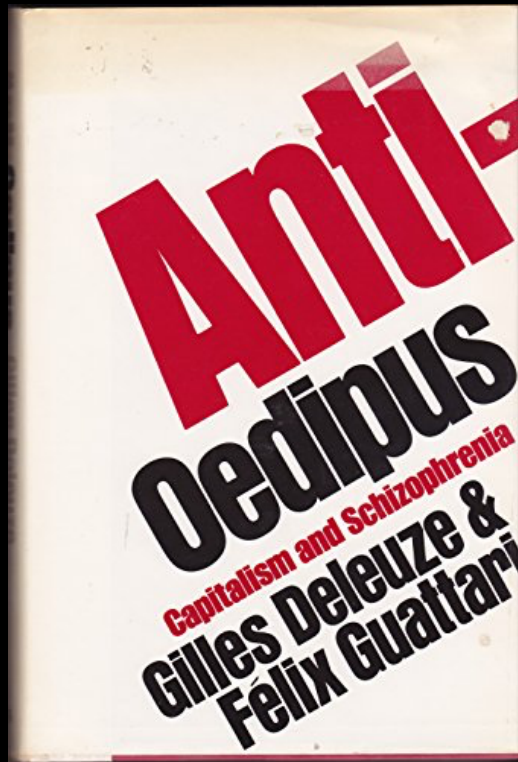
Crisis of  
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Crisis of  
Financial Hegemony  
2000/10s  
Crisis of neoliberalism



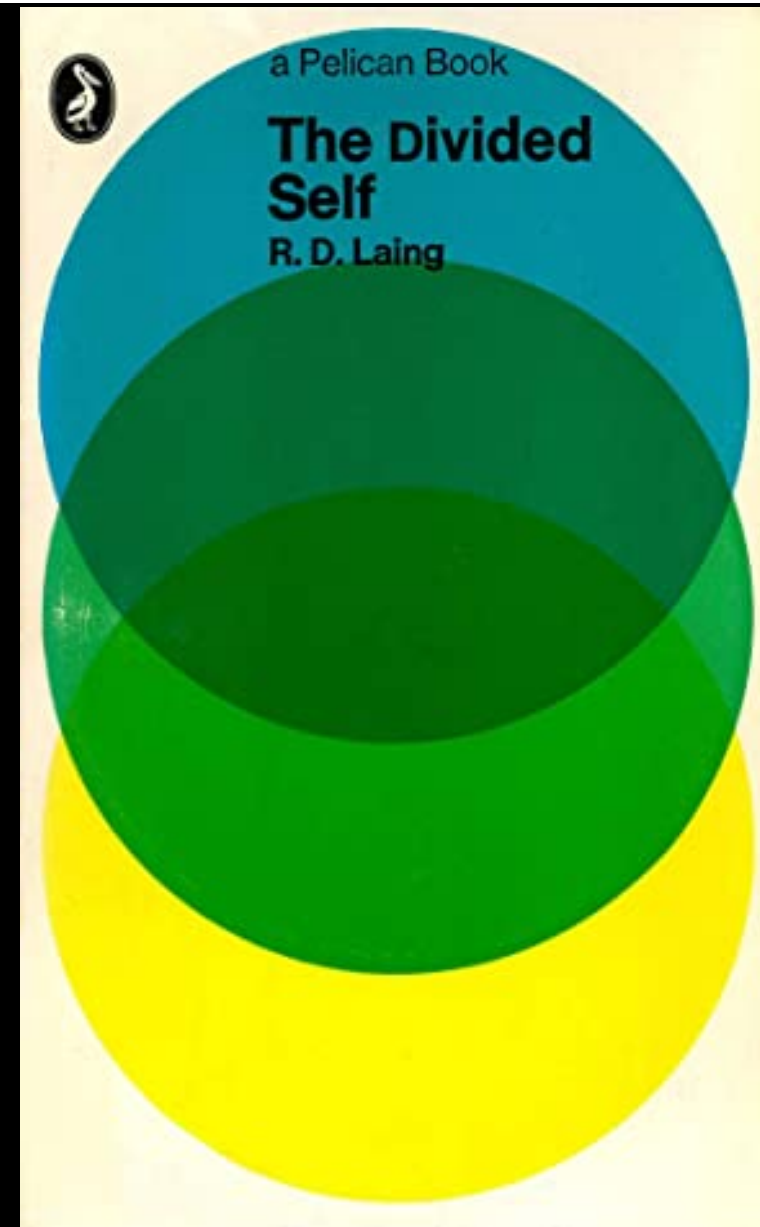
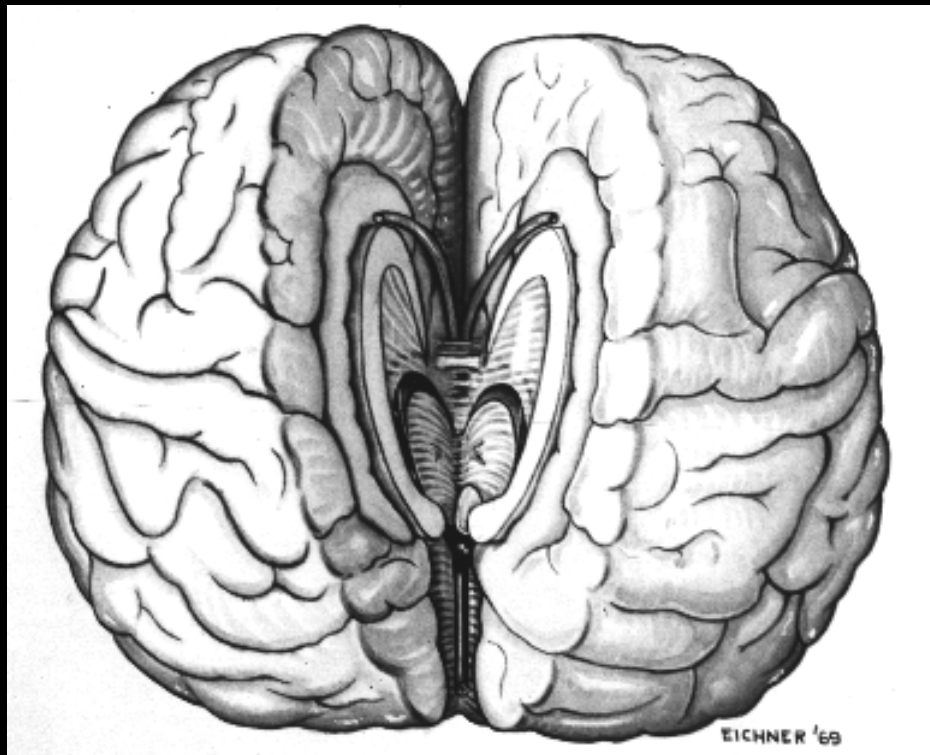
# Adam Curtis

- Left Creates, the Right appropriates
- Critique of postwar Keynesianism  
(stultifying bureaucracy)
- RD Laing, *The Divided Self* (1960)  
schizophrenia as the new horizon



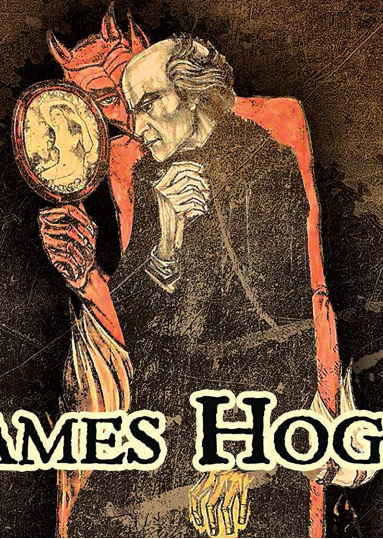
draws on Gregory Bateson's double-bind theory

"The family may be imagined as a web, a flower, a tomb, a prison, a castle" [note similarity to Gothic].



*The Private*  
Memoirs *and*  
Confessions  
*of a*  
Justified  
Sinner

JAMES HOGG



## Barbara Deming, “The Peacemakers” (*The Nation*, 1960)

“The uniformity of all these responses is, in fact, striking. The responses of the workers at Electric Boat match almost phrase for phrase—if one censors a few rough words—the responses I have heard from intellectuals. Their source is the same acute suffering: the same infuriating sense of helplessness; of the impossibility any longer of battle that is not self-defeating, of gallant action; and of the same deep sense of guilt from which there is, seemingly, no way out—unless perhaps in that almost-wished-for-explosion which would be the End of the World.”