

# Contents

## **Introduction — 1**

Towards a minimal definition of neoliberalism — 3

Outline of this book — 9

## **1 Neoliberal reason — 16**

1.1 The emergence of neoliberalism — 16

1.2 The neoliberal subject as entrepreneur of the self — 21

1.2.1 Debt, between social subjection and machinic servitude — 25

1.3 Neoliberal governmentality: not such a soft power — 32

1.4 By way of conclusion — 38

## **2 The neoliberal era and the crisis of liberal democracy — 41**

2.1 Brief reflections on liberal democracy — 43

2.2 Democracy and liberalism, between sovereignty and government — 46

2.3 Neoliberalism against democracy — 49

2.3.1 The technocratic critique of democracy — 50

2.3.2 The conservative critique — 51

2.3.3 The pluralist critique of democracy — 56

2.3.4 The racialized critique — 59

2.4 Was Hayek a conservative? — 65

2.5 The Trilateral Commission and the ungovernable democracy — 70

2.6 From the critique of democracy to the defense of authoritarianism — 74

## **3 The new neoliberalism: neoliberal fascism or neoliberalism reloaded? — 77**

3.1 Towards a periodization of ‘actually existing neoliberalism’ — 81

3.1.1 Combative neoliberalism: from the Chilean experiment to Thatcher and Reagan — 83

3.1.2 Normative neoliberalism — 87

3.1.3 Punitive neoliberalism — 90

3.2 Neoliberal fascism? — 92

3.3 Post-fascism? — 97

3.4 Reflecting on the specificity of current neoliberalism — 100

3.4.1 Reactionary neoliberalism in the Latin American context — 101

3.5 From neoliberal fascism to authoritarian neoliberalism — 103

<b>4 Authoritarian neoliberalism and the rise of the new radical right — 105</b>
4.1 Neoliberalism and authoritarianism — 107
4.1.1 The concept of authoritarian neoliberalism — 108
4.1.2 The authoritarianism inherent to neoliberal rationality — 110
4.1.3 New radical right, authoritarianism, and neoliberalism — 111
4.2 By way of conclusion — 117
<b>5 Towards a genealogy of contemporary right-wing populism. An approach to the national-(neo)liberal trend in Europe and the United States — 119</b>
5.1 From Euroscepticism to Brexit — 121
5.2 The American path to right-wing populism. The alliance between libertarians and paleoconservatives — 125
5.3 Rothbard and Rockwell's anti-statism and free-market anti-globalism — 129
5.4 Libertarians and the extreme right — 132
5.5 Buchanan's paleoconservatism and the alt-right — 133
5.6 By way of conclusion — 135
<b>6 Anti-communism without communism? The construction of feminism as a strategic enemy of the new radical right and the dilemma of social reproduction — 140</b>
6.1 The new radical right and the need to build enemies — 142
6.2 “Gender ideology” as a strategic enemy — 143
6.3 Feminism: The Marxism of the twenty-first century? — 148
6.4 Patriarchal-colonial capitalism and the control of bio-social reproduction — 149
6.5 The feminist tide: the movement that transforms the existing state of affairs — 151
6.6 By way of conclusion — 154
<b>7 Rethinking the common(s) in neoliberal capitalism — 156</b>
7.1 Defining the commons and their imaginary tragedy — 157
7.2 The real tragedy: the common(s) in neoliberal capitalism — 162
7.3 The struggle for the common within and against the state — 170
<b>8 Epilogue: Neoliberalism reloaded — 174</b>
<b>Bibliography — 183</b>
<b>Index — 195</b>