



**Society for
International Development**

Netherlands Chapter



SID Lecture Series 2011-2012: 'The State in a Globalizing World: Problematic, yet
Indispensable'

René Cuperus

Wiardi Beckman Foundation

'All Politics is domestic politics!?'

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All (democratic) politics is domestic politics

On Internationalism & the Populist *Zeitgeist*

René Cuperus
Wiardi Beckman Stichting

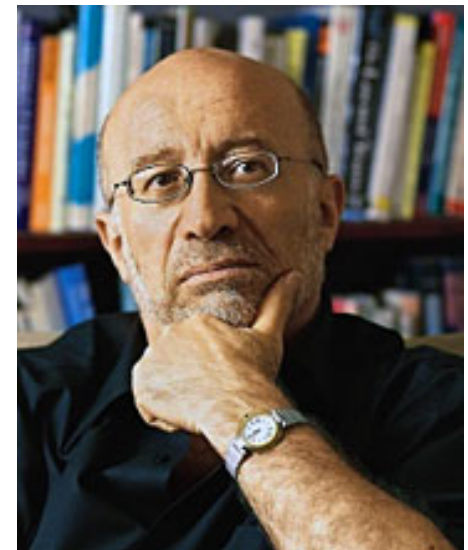
SID LECTURE
12 March 2012 - VU Amsterdam

*We have entered **an age of fear.***

Fear of the uncontrollable speed of change, fear of losing ground to others in an increasingly unequal distribution of resources, fear of losing control of the routines of our daily life.

And, perhaps above all, fear that it is not just we who can no longer shape our lives but that those in authority have also lost control, to forces beyond their reach

Tony Judt





PUBLIC SERVICE ANNOUNCEMENT

**AMNO
DO
YOU
KNOW
WHAT
NGO
STANDS
FOR?**
non-government organization
NOT
Nak @Grong lagi!

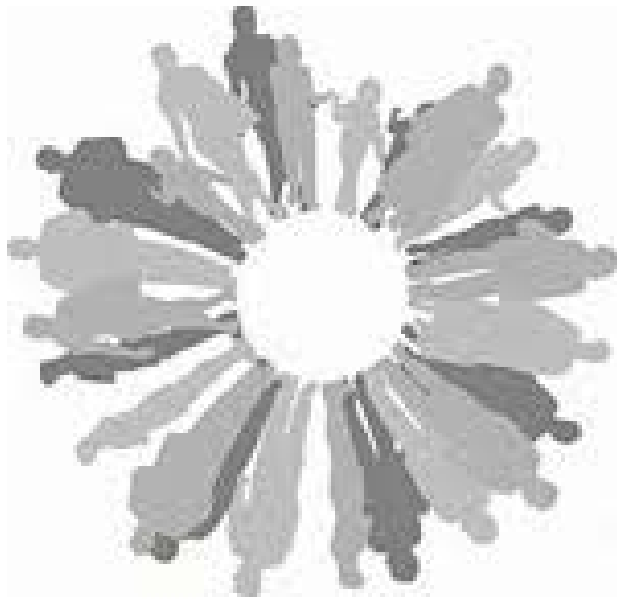
*face palm



Electric shortcut



- The shortcut between national democracy and hyperglobalisation
- The shortcut of global governance
- The shortcut between global elites and domestic non-elites
- The shortcut between mainstream politics and mainstream electorate
- The shortcut of trust and representation



populism

©Liam Gillick



Populism: 10 definitions

- 1. Populism is the substitution for the eroded Left/Right divide in politics, replacing it by the populist cleavage of 'the Establishment' versus 'the people', perceived as false unities.
- 2. Populism is a revolt against globalisation
- 3. Populism is a revolt against 'the Second Modernity' (individualisation, detraditionalisation)





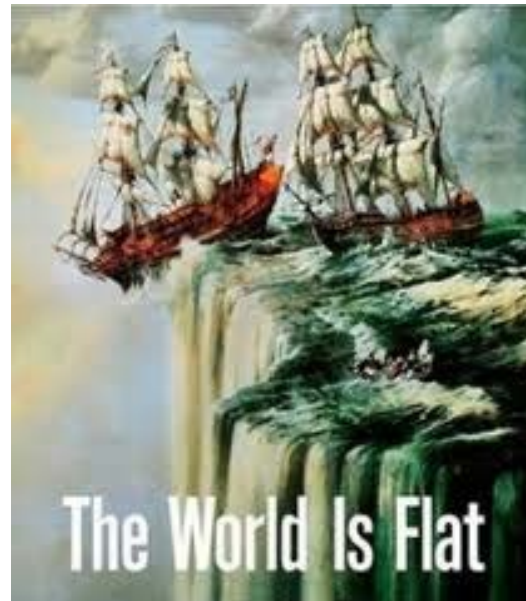
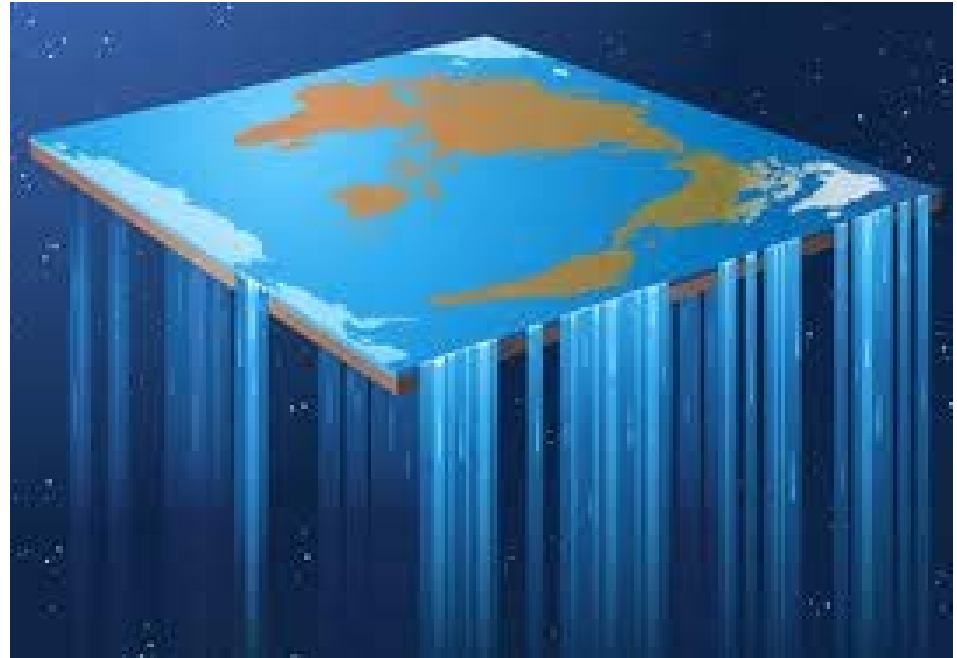
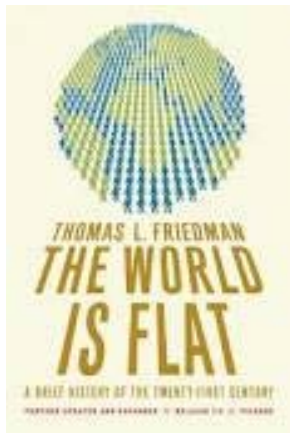
- 4. Populism is a revolt against expert-driven, technocratic policy making
- 5. Populism is the revolt of the working class and lower middle class against the dominance of academic professionals in society and public discourse
- 6. Populism is the revenge of the working class against the neoliberal betrayal (welfare state austerity) of the social-democratic parties



- 7. Populism is a dangerous, xenophobic revolt against ill-managed mass migration, that effects the lower end of society much more negatively than the upper end
- 8. Populism is a revolt against a world that is changing too rapidly, and where traditions, identities and securities are no longer respected



- 9. Where socialism and Christianity no longer act as moral and cultural restraints to the disrupting process of globalisation, populism has filled the vacuum: populism is a romantic, irrational, emotional revolt against the anti-human philosophy of efficiency in both the market and the state.
- 10. Populism is a revolt against the powerlessness of the political class, who seemingly lost all grip, giving control over to the anonymous forces of globalisation, the financial markets, the logics of EU technocracy



The liberal versus communitarian value divide

Middle-class liberals

- individual rights and cultural openness
- highly mobile, pro-diversity and pro-immigration
- softish on criminals and green on the environment
- benefit from globalisation both economically and culturally

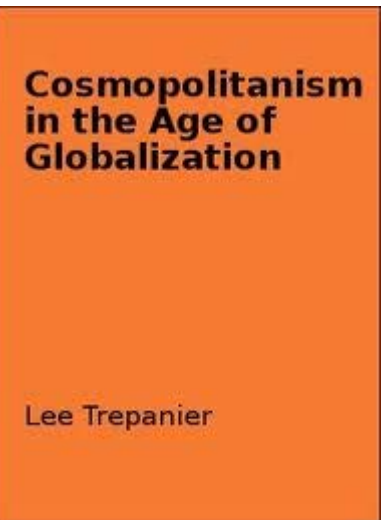
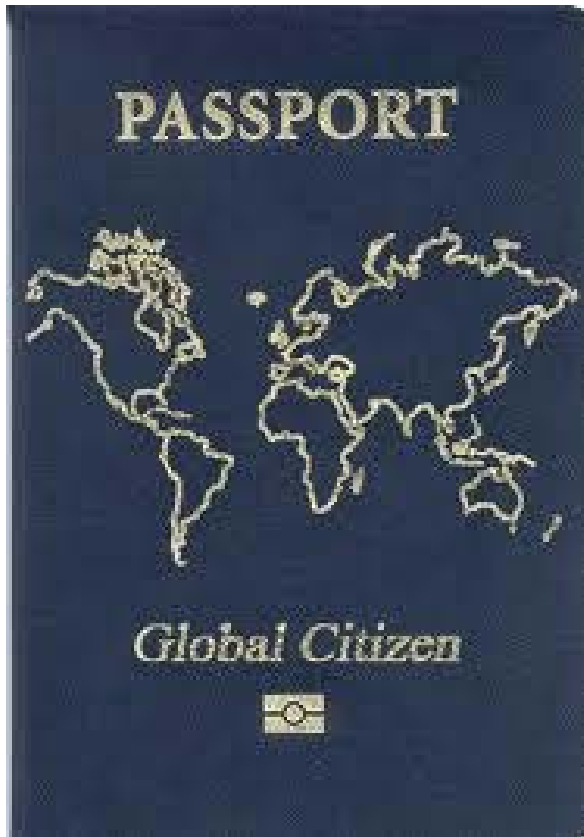
Lower middle-class communitarians

- collectivist view of rights, community membership
- against welfare free-riding. Value the familiar and the local
- sceptical about mobility and mass immigration
- hard on crime and soft on green
- uncomfortable with globalisation, tend not to benefit from it

TINA



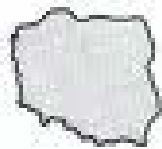
Cosmopolitanism



SHAPES OF STATES



ELONGATED
(Norway)



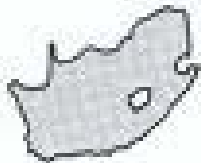
COMPACT
(Poland)



PROTRUDED
(Thailand)



FRAGMENTED
(Italy)



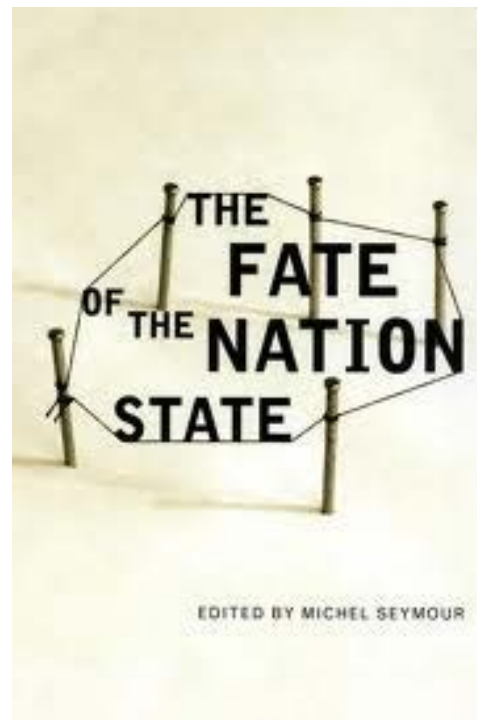
PERFORATED
(South Africa)

Globalization and the Nation State

2nd Edition



Robert J. Holton



Dani Rodrik

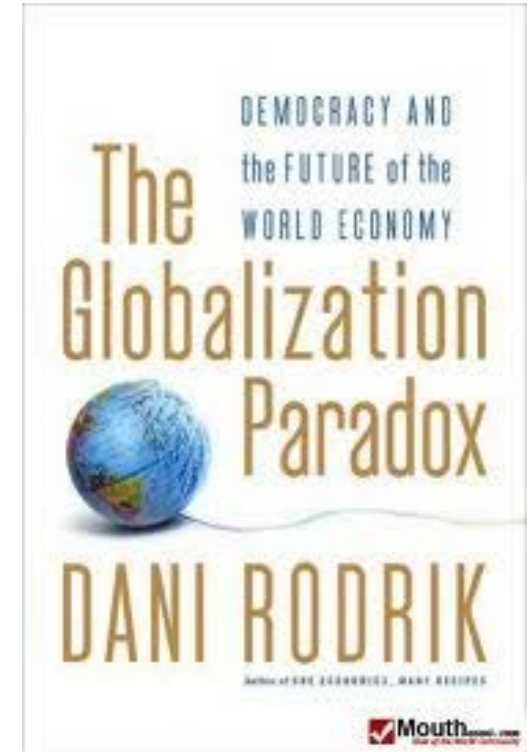
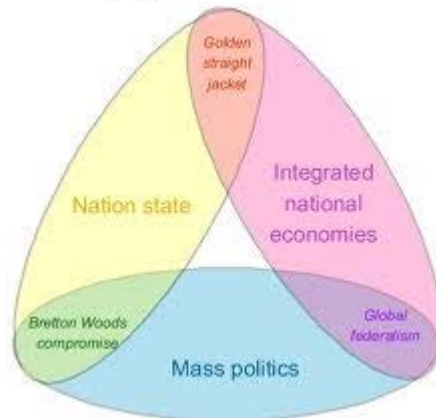
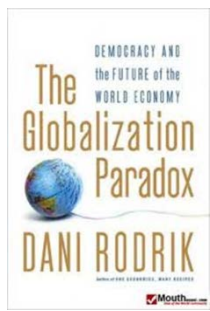


Figure 2(B) AUGMENTED TRILEMMA



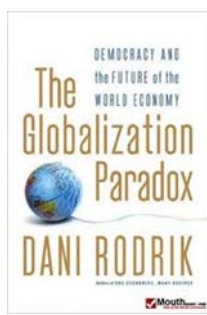


Dani Rodrik



The fundamental political trilemma of the world economy:

- We cannot simultaneously pursue democracy, national determination, and economic globalisation
- The great diversity that marks our current world renders hyperglobalisation incompatible with democracy



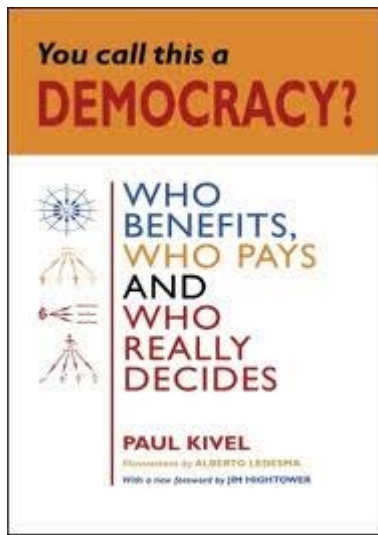
Dani Rodrik



What kind of multilateral regime would best enable nations around the world to pursue their own values and developmental objectives and prosper within their own social arrangements?

We have no choice but to settle for a 'thin' version of globalisation –to reinvent the Bretton Woods compromise for a different era

All Democratic Politics is Domestic Politics



DEMOCRACY
OF THE PEOPLE BY THE PEOPLE FOR THE PEOPLE

Thank you for your attention



**Society for
International Development**

Netherlands Chapter



VRIJE
UNIVERSITEIT
AMSTERDAM



UPCOMING EVENTS

Friday 23 March 2012, 14:00-17:15

'Environmental Studies Colloquium'

ISS - The Hague

Monday 26 March 2012, 18:00-19:30

SID Lecture by James Cameron 'The State and global common goods: the challenge of interdependency' VU University

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