

## “DÉMOCRATIE ET NÉOLIBÉRALISME”

*A cura di Nathanaël Colin-Jaeger e Carolina Verlengia*

### Introduzione

p. 7 Nathanaël Colin-Jaeger et Carolina Verlengia, *Les définitions néolibérales de la démocratie, entre critique et recatégorisation*

**Abstract:** This introduction to the dossier offers an overview of the different relationships between neoliberalism and democracy. After defining the concept of neoliberalism we develop a typology of the relations between neoliberalism and democracy, highlighting (i) an opposition of neoliberals to a certain concept of democracy, understood as popular sovereignty, (ii) a defense of a limited and framed democracy, taking the form of a constitutional democracy, and finally (iii) a defense of the normative ideal of individual sovereignty realized in the market as converging with the concept of democracy. This introduction therefore proposes a survey of contemporary research in the field, but also contributes to clarifying the issues at stake. Finally, we present the dossier and how the contributions fit into our typology.

### Monografica

p. 25 Odile Tourneaux, *Deux conceptions néolibérales de la souveraineté et de la démocratie: aux origines de la gouvernance européenne*

**Abstract:** Neoliberal theories and European institutions have several things in common, including being regularly criticized for their lack of appreciation for democracy. The promotion of the motive of neoliberal governance to the rank of political principle would be done in opposition to the republican model of the general will. However, it seems to us that European public policies, and the theories on which they are based, are not so much based on a *negation* of democracy as on a deep *redefinition* of the republican model of popular sovereignty. Far from opposing democratic legitimacy, neoliberal governance builds on it, but by promoting a deeply renewed model of democracy. This article defends the idea that European neoliberal governance draws strength from the democratic conceptions it conveys. We will focus on two key textual sources of the community adventure: the works of Walter Lippmann and those of Wilhelm Röpke.

**Keywords:** European Union; Popular Sovereignty; Consumer Sovereignty; Ordoliberalism; Walter Lippmann; Jean Monnet; Wilhelm Röpke.

p. 47 Arnaud Milanese, *Les sources lippmanniennes du problème néolibéral de la démocratie: la démocratie "reconstruite" de 34*

**Abstract:** In the abundant literature on Lippmann's neoliberalism in 1937, several studies have already examined the democratic model of *The Good Society*. The literature is even more abundant on the conception of democracy that arises from the Dewey-Lippmann Debate. But surprisingly, few studies look at the relation between both, and at the importance of *The Method of Freedom* (1934) to understand it. Written in the early years of the New Deal, this text nevertheless offers an accurate view of the long-term Lippmannian thoughts on democracy (since the 10s) and the way Lippmann adjusted it to the new political and economic context of the 1930s. This study would like to help fill this gap. In fact, we discover, in 1934, the bases of a discourse on democracy which quickly permeated several neoliberal corpuses.

**Keywords:** Government; Laissez-faire; Economic Policy; Market; Crisis.

p. 69 Etienne Wiedemann, *La réalisation optimale de l'idéal démocratique par l'extension du marché selon Milton Friedman*

**Abstract:** In *Capitalism and Freedom*, Milton Friedman seeks to establish that free market can be thought of as the best possible device to realize the idea of democracy for it allows all individuals to directly decide of their own existence. In order to reach such a conclusion Friedman reduces first the idea of democracy to an ideal of maximum extension of individual freedom. This reduction is based on a strong individualism and on the idea that there is an irreducible diversity of individual preferences. These same elements allow him to criticize the representative form of democracy as necessarily involving phenomena of tyranny of the majority that the market could prevent. Democracy is defined by Friedman in a way that relies heavily on the values of autonomy and pluralism that could be optimally promoted by the market (according to him). This definition of the democratic ideal introduces the possibility to conceive the relation between economic experts and democracy as non-conflictual: the economic science is supposed to give value-neutral prescriptions to lawmakers in order to optimally frame the markets on which the individuals can govern themselves through their

choices. In this paper I intend to demonstrate that this interpretation of the idea of democracy as no more than an ideal of maximum extension of individual freedom is incomplete since it lacks determinacy, opening thus potential issues of arbitrage between economic freedom and political freedom. In addition, it is to be noted that the idea of equal power of citizens that is constitutive of democracy needs to be eliminated if one wants to present the free market as the ideal democratic device.

**Keywords:** Neoliberalism; Milton Friedman; Democracy; Market; Efficiency.

p. 97 Nathanaël Colin-Jaeger, *L'idéal démocratique contre la démocratie. Buchanan et l'économie politique constitutionnelle*

**Abstract:** Neoliberals are often accused of being anti-democratic theorists. Buchanan, among them, has been particularly targeted as one of the instigators of anti-democratic movements in the United-States. This article shows, through the specific example of Buchanan, how this narrative leads to a misinterpretation of the relationship between neoliberal theorists and democracy. Far from simply criticizing democracy as a tyranny of the majority or as leading to situations of negative cooperation, Buchanan proposed a new conception of liberal democracy as a Constitutional democracy. The democratic ideal of a political society respecting individual autonomy would thus be compatible only with a limited form of democracy, protecting the members of the political society from the inflation of Leviathan power. In this article, I thus show how a neoliberal conception of democracy emerges from a normative contractualist social and political philosophy that legitimizes the establishment of constitutional rules that limit democracy while remaining consistent with the democratic ideal.

**Keywords:** Neoliberalism; Buchanan; Democracy; Political Philosophy; Rules.

p. 133 Thibaut Rioufreyt, *Destituer les citoyens, contraindre les individus. Le néo-libéralisme contre la démocratie*

**Abstract:** This article proposes to question the relationship between neoliberalism and democracy from three angles. Neo-liberalism is an anti-democratic project in that it aims to restrict the principle and scope of popular sovereignty so that it does not call into question the spontaneous order of the market. Moreover, neoliberal hegemony reaches the very conditions of possibility of democracy by making the constitution of a demos much more

complicated. Neoliberalism constitutes in fact a regime of subjectivation, producing a neoliberal subject in tension with the figure of the citizen. Finally, neoliberalism is authoritarian as a governmentality that constrains individuals and seeks to shape/direct their behavior through policies of social control of the unemployed or the establishment of nudges.

**Keywords:** Neoliberalism; Democracy; Authoritarianism; Governmentality; Sovereignty.

p. 161 Stephen W. Sawyer, *From Histories of Liberalism to a History of the Demos: Toward a Democratic Critique of Neoliberalism*

**Abstract:** This article contributes to a genealogy and democratic critique of neoliberal and liberal thought. It recognizes that democracy was at least partially enrolled in a neoliberal project through histories of liberalism in the last decades of the twentieth century that made the history of liberalism and the history of democracy indistinguishable. The article suggests that a potent critique of neoliberalism thus requires us to craft a new history of democracy that is distinct from the history of liberalism. It therefore examines 1) three histories of liberalism by Pierre Rosanvallon, Michel Foucault and Friedrich Hayek in the 1960s-1970s; 2) the relationship between these histories of liberalism and democracy; 3) recent genealogical attempts by Wendy Brown to decouple neoliberalism, liberalism and democracy; and 4) a proposal for a history of democracy that would be distinct from the history of liberalism and civil society, grounded instead in a history of the demos.

**Keywords:** History of Liberalism; History of Democracy; Democratic Theory; Neoliberalism; Pierre Rosanvallon; Friedrich Hayek; Michel Foucault; Wendy Brown.

p. 187 Nathanaël Colin-Jaeger et Carolina Verlengia, *Entretien avec Christian Laval: Les métamorphoses du néolibéralisme. Retour sur une recherche*

## Varia

p. 199 Sofia Sandreschi, *L'arte come la scienza intuitiva. Attività, essenza, eternità fra Spinoza e Proust*

**Abstract:** This article aims at analysing together Spinoza's third kind of knowledge and Proust's art conception. Both intuitive science and art outline an existence characterised by full activity. Imagination has a fundamental role: in Spinoza, it links the affections following the order established by the intellect thanks to the adequate ideas it possesses; in Proust, it is imagination itself that, within the arts, presents the impressions to intelligence. Both intuitive science and art lead to the knowledge of essences: in order to deepen the meaning of Spinoza's *sub specie aeternitatis* vision, I will analyse the text of *Le temps retrouvé* that describes the big party at Guermantes Palace. Moreover, intuitive science and art correspond to an actual experience of eternity: in order to highlight some relevant and common traits of the two authors, I will consider the excerpt narrating Bergotte's death. Since the experience of eternity happens within temporality, this text is substantial as it allows to take into account the meaning of both eternity and caducity. In fact, for Spinoza and Proust, it is exclusively during the indefinite duration of bodily existence that it is possible to be active, exercise one's eternal essence and thus make experience of one's eternity.

**Keywords:** Activity; Art; Essence; Eternity; Third Kind of Knowledge.

## Recensioni e segnalazioni

p. 217 Gabriele Vissio, H. Bergson, *Storia dell'idea di tempo*, a cura di S. Guidi  
(*Mimesis, Milano-Udine 2019*)