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Neoliberalism Is a Political Project: An Interview with David Harvey



Neoliberalism is a widely used term today. However, it is often unclear what people refer to when they use it. In its most systematic usage it might refer to a theory, a set of ideas, a political strategy, or a historical period. Could you begin by explaining how you understand neoliberalism?

Editor's Note

Eleven years ago, David Harvey published *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*, now one of the most cited books on the subject. The years since have seen new economic and financial crises, but also of new waves of resistance, which themselves often target 'neoliberalism' in their critique of contemporary society. Carol West speaks of the Black Lives Matter movement as 'an indictment of neoliberal power', the late Hugo Chávez called neoliberalism a 'path to hell', and labor leaders are increasingly using the term to describe the larger environment in which workplace struggles occur. The mainstream press has also picked up the term, if only to argue that neoliberalism doesn't actually exist. But what, exactly, are we talking about when we talk about neoliberalism? Is it a useful target for activists? And how has it changed since its genesis in the late twentieth century? *Byzler Skarland Ringe*, a PhD fellow at the Department of Philosophy and History of Ideas at Aarhus University, sat down with David Harvey to discuss the political nature of neoliberalism, how it has transformed modes of resistance, and why the Left still needs to be serious about ending capitalism.

From "Rank & File," *Jacobin Magazine*, Issue 22, Summer 2016. Reproduced with permission.

I've always treated neoliberalism as a political project carried out by the corporate capitalist class as they felt intensely threatened both politically and economically towards the end of the 1960s into the 1970s. They desperately wanted to launch a political project that would curb the power of labor.

In many respects the project was counterrevolutionary. It would strip in the end what, at that time, were revolutionary movements in much of the developing world — Mozambique, Angola, China etc. — but also a rising tide of communist influences in countries like Italy and France and, to a lesser degree, the threat of a revival of that in Spain.

Even in the United States, trade unions had produced a Democratic Congress that was quite radical in its intent. In the early 1970s they, along with other social movements, forced a slew of reforms and reformist initiatives which were anti-corporate: the Environmental Protection Agency, the Occupational Safety and Health Administration, consumer protections, and a whole set of things around empowering labor even more than it had been empowered before.

So in that situation there was, in effect, a global threat to the power of the corporate capitalist class and therefore the question was, "What to do?" The ruling class wasn't omniscient but they recognized that there were a number of fronts on which they had to struggle: the ideological front, the political front, and above

Title:

Precarity, gender and care in the neoliberal academy

Short title:

Precarity, gender, care

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Yaratıcı Yıkım Olarak Neoliberalizm

David Harvey^{1†}

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¹ Origin: Marx, 2007. "Neoliberalism as creative destruction," the ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 430, 21-41.
[†] David Harvey City University of New York (he collaborates periodically). *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*, *The New Geographies* (Oxford University Press, 2014), 2009. *Spaces of Hope* (Umin Mikulski, 2008), *The Limits to Capital* (Demeterios Stratis, 2012) *The Condition of Postmodernity* (Postmodernist/Demos, 1997), *doi:10.1017/cup01.kingman.yonahda*

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The primary Western Leftist intro on how capitalist power was reconstituted following the 1960-70's crises...The Essentials--(2022 Update): As you can see from the amount of reviews for a critical nonfiction on "Neoliberalism", this book is the go-to Western Leftist academic critique, whereas Naomi Klein's *The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism* (unpacked here: is for the general public). --While Harvey piles on a litany of structural issues on the primary Western Leftist intro on how capitalist power was reconstituted following the 1960-70's crises...The Essentials--(2022 Update): As you can see from the amount of reviews for a critical nonfiction on "Neoliberalism", this book is the go-to Western Leftist academic critique, whereas Naomi Klein's *The Shock Doctrine* (unpacked here: is for the general public). --While Harvey piles on a litany of structural issues and events, the central thesis is clear: following the 1960-70's crises in global capitalism, Neoliberalism was a response to rebuild capitalist class power. This claim is supported by listing actions/consequences in numerous global case studies ("unequal geographies") of workers' power/organization smashed, public services dismantled (shift from welfare state redistribution to the "Neoliberal State" of debt enforcement), private power restored via privatization/financialization/accumulation by dispossession", and new capitalist class formations. --In conjunction with real-world material conditions are the contradictions in ideas, i.e., mainstream economic theory/propaganda of Neoliberalism/market fundamentalism/corporate globalization (with useful reference to Karl Polanyi's positive vs. negative freedoms unleashed by the market). --Discontent is easy to misdirect given Neoliberalism's abstract global reach, where capital (esp. finance) freely floods into certain regions forming speculative bubbles/gentrification while fleeing other regions (capital flight) leaving behind rust belts and opioid crises. All of this is conveniently hidden from the public (even for experts, financial instruments are purposefully complex to hide systemic risk). The public only see surface changes like immigration/government spending and are well-conditioned to assume "supply and demand"/household budgeting Economics 101. See: global Neoliberalism's successes dismantling (national) organized labour/leftist movements/class consciousness, this leaves reactionary movements open to use misleading rhetoric against the "globalist" status quo while actually preserving the structures and scapegoating visible minorities (foreshadowing today's global Trumpism).The Missing/Questionable:1) The Geopolitical context of "Neoliberalism"--One risk with focusing on national case studies is losing the historical (esp. geopolitical) context, causing the concept to lose its form and relevance. To better situate Neoliberalism, consider--The preceding period is the rise and fall of US's post-WWII global plan, Bretton Woods, the "Golden Age of Capitalism" (end of WWII to end of 1960's). Prior to this was the global capitalist crisis of the Great Depression (following an escalating series of crashes that plagued the boom/bust history of capitalism). This latest-and-greatest crash in scope was endless, as capitalists foresaw no future profits and thus refused to revive production; the capitalist exception was fascism, which temporarily revived private enterprise with militarism and beat down leftist alternatives (i.e. workers' control, socialism). --However, the Great Depression was only truly alleviated by the creative destruction of WWII, the greatest war in human history which destroyed stagnant capital and re-invented new markets for the mass production of destruction, resulting in the US

Mass production requires external markets to soak up its products, or else capitalism would spiral down another depression (oh, the irrationality!)
--While this "enlightened" Bretton Woods plan (paired with domestic "Keynesian" welfare state redistribution; we should note that the rise of the USSR was a major pressure in Western capitalists relenting to the welfare state compromise) did shift war production to mass consumerism for allied countries, this global plan unraveled due to US military spending in genocidal bombings of Korea and Vietnam depleting the US's gold reserves, leading to the 1971 Nixon Shock severing the exchange between the US dollar and gold: see Hudson's 1972 classic Super Imperialism - New Edition: The Origin and Fundamentals of U.S. World Dominance.-interview; take: The Global Minotaur: America, the True Origins of the Financial Crisis and the Future of the World Economy --Both Hudson and Varoufakis provide more context to the 1960-70's capitalist crises, and how US's solution of replacing Bretton Woods' global regulation in order to preserve US hegemony required unleashing Wall Street (thus, the "financialization" of "Neoliberalism") as the new regime controlling global monetary flows and preserving the US dollar as the global reserve currency. This geopolitical context is less in focus when Harvey dives into national case studies. ...At least Harvey recognizes that Klein's popular presentation of "Disaster Capitalism" Neoliberalism focuses on the Neoliberal ideology (i.e. Milton Friedman market fundamentalism), thus taking a more idealist approach lacking the materialist grounding of why such ideologies would take hold in the 1960-70's crises and not before. --Vijay Prashad, Utsa Patnaik, and Prabhat Patnaik take the next step in geopolitical context by re-focusing the challenge of Global South decolonization/Third World industrialization on Bretton Woods, symbolized by the proposal of the NIEO (New International Economic Order) challenging the imperialism of global capitalist trade, i.e. cheaply-priced raw materials extracted by foreign multinational corporations (one side of "free trade") as the inputs of global capitalism while advanced technologies are restricted by intellectual property (the other side, not so "free"), and the need for Global South protectionism (symbolized by the OPEC cartel, which triggered the major events of 1970's capitalist crises, i.e. the oil shocks). See: History/geopolitics of the Global South challenge (The Darker Nations: A People's History of the Third World) and the Neoliberal reaction, thus critiquing the scope of Harvey's Neoliberal origin story (New York City budget crisis 1974-75): The Poorer Nations: A Possible History of the Global South- Economic theories: Capital and Imperialism: Theory, History, and the Present-(more accessible) The Agrarian Question in the Neoliberal Era: Primitive Accumulation and the Peasantry-The Veins of the South Are Still Open: Debates Around the Imperialism of Our Time? On China:--The book's most-extensive case study, the chapter "Neoliberalism with Chinese Distinctions", unintentionally reveals the challenges with characterizing the contradictions of the Dengist reforms and China in geopolitics. The reforms have no doubt embedded China into the production processes of global capitalism, and such rapid industrialization has brought about troubling aspects of inequality, exploitation, displacements, class formations, and pollution. --However, when and where has long-term planning for economic development (from campaigns for poverty alleviation/literacy/public health to building public infrastructure to alternatives to imperialist trade/intellectual monopolies with technological transfers) been key features of Neoliberalism? Also, the Dengist reforms/aftermath should not be taken in isolation, but contextualized with the tumultuous history of modern China (Century of Humiliation, second most deaths in WWII, pre-Communist revolution life expectancy around 30-35 years old, massive social reforms/experiments amidst US embargo, etc.).--If we move beyond economizing the world as isolated nations and consider geopolitics (including violence): while Harvey mentions some of the overt militaristic violence coinciding with Neoliberalism (Pinochet in Chile, Bush Jr. invasion of Iraq), the geopolitics of the US military industrial complex somehow still seems like an "externality". Is this adequate, when US military threats/spending is so integral to enforcing the global "Washington Consensus" behind Neoliberalism, i.e. IMF/World Bank/US Treasury/WTO? It turns out Harvey has a messy take on "imperialism" and an ongoing debate with the Patnaiks/Prashad, which I unpack here: ... --We can now return to China's own geopolitical struggles as a post-colonial nation with a gigantic rural population ravaged by colonialism; during China's Century of Humiliation semi-colonization, the result of losing the Opium Wars was Britain flooding opium grown in colonial India to a deregulated China (free trade!). Imperialist violence, not "free market" competition, was how Britain finally resolved its trade imbalance with Asia, as without colonialism Britain had little to offer to the superior markets of China/India other than silver/gold looted from the Americas (wait, that is colonialism as well...).--Upon independence, China would fight for the other side of the US's genocidal bombings in Korea, which meant a US trade embargo from 1950 to 1972; this coincides with the Bretton Woods "Golden Age of Capitalism" period. Meanwhile, the US empire's plan for the post-colonial Global South was to monopolize world food supply via the World Bank, by enforcing the Global South to export cash crops (for World Bank loans etc.) while becoming dependent on the US's heavily industrialized/subsidized/patent-protected corporate agriculture for staple crops (see the World Bank chapters in Hudson's "Super Imperialism"). This is either the better-hidden "economic" side, although the details of the militaristic side are easily forgotten as well--Washington Bullets-The Jakarta Method: Washington's Anticommunist Crusade and the Mass Murder Program that Shaped Our World-The Management of Savagery: How America's National Security State Fueled the Rise of Al Qaeda, ISIS, and Donald Trump-Killing Hope: U.S. Military and C.I.A. Interventions Since World War II--Simply put, China's 20th century conditions are unimaginable by Western standards; luckily, there is a strong comparison to be made with the other Asian giant, who conveniently took a capitalist path for colonial independence: India: ... --Given Harvey's avoidance of using "imperialism" in terms of economic theory (preferring "shifting hegemonies"/"uneven geographical development"), he does stay consistent with only one mention of "the revival of certain strains of imperialism" regarding China. Is "imperialism" just an economized description of asymmetrical economic productivity, which is such a basic condition that can be diluted to even regional levels (city vs. rural, California vs. Nevada, etc.)? For deeper theory, see the Patnaiks references above. ...Early 20th century critics of imperialism (Vladimir Lenin, W.E.B. Du Bois, Rosa Luxemburg), etc. recognized the militaristic expansionism of imperialist rivalries, in particular Du Bois' "The African Roots of War" on how WWI's origins stem from the imperialist "Scramble for Africa"; see: ... --Harvey actually tries to use the militarism definition in The New Imperialism (War on Terror), but it seems like a rather shallow effort to describe the US Military Industrial Complex as "new". Compare this with Drums of War, Drums of Development: The Formation of a Pacific Ruling Class and Industrial Transformation in East and Southeast Asia, 1945-1980...Varoufakis' response to an American's concern about China colonizing Africa: ♣️ Marxist analysis of China: ... 3) Writing style (or lack thereof):--It's nonfiction, so content matters most, right? But consider the spirit of Marx's "The philosophers have only interpreted the world, in various ways. The point, however, is to change it.". This topic deserves the greatest reach into public discourse and consciousness and must not be siloed in academic obscurity, and while this book has reached a relatively impressive readership it still lacks the writing craft of Klein, let alone Varoufakis, Graeber, etc. While Harvey's prose is clear enough (compared to the inferno of ivory tower social science meditations), I still cannot fathom how he made topics of class war, financial crisis, the global division of labor, and the fate of nations rather dry and spiritless. Sure, this was not intended to be a Marx/Engels pamphlet stirring up the working class, and not everyone can conjure up nonfiction epics like Varoufakis, but even chalkboard-eraser Chomsky still injects some sarcasm into his political nonfiction. Heck, I prefer Harvey talking than his writings, especially his Marx's Capital companion lectures! ... - What came after?:-- Since this book was published in 2007, everything from the 2008 Financial Crisis, Obama's Neoliberal-with-a-progressive-face response, and the global Trumpism backlash are not included. --We can turn again to Prashad, whom I find a much more dynamic presenter of big-picture syntheses (today's Michael Parenti?); there is a clarity in Prashad's depictions of capital's freedom of movement while labor is restrained by borders, global unemployment and reactionary scapegoating, etc. - //youtu.be/HXhngt3Zq9c ...more

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David Harvey (2007) 感谢 42A、刘祥 录入及校对。新自由主义简史（美）大卫·哈维（2007）译者：王牧 上海译文出版社2010年12月版。 导论：第一章 自由只是个代名词；第二章 建立赞同；第三章 新自由主义国家；第四章 不均衡地理发展 A Brief History of Neoliberalism. David Harvey (2007) 感谢 42A、刘祥 录入及校对。新自由主义简史（美）大卫·哈维（2007）译者：王牧 上海译文出版社2010年12月版。 导论：第一章 自由只是个代名词；第二章 建立赞同；第三章 新自由主义国家；第四章 不均衡地理发展 Poverty in Canada refers to the state or condition in which a person or household lacks essential resources—financial or otherwise—to maintain a modest standard of living in their community.. Researchers and governments have used different metrics to measure poverty in Canada including Low-Income Cut-Off (LICO), Low Income Measure (LIM), and Market Basket Measure ... 15/08/2022 · Neoliberalism is a broad-term ideology that is considered to be economically centrist to right-wing (depends on how much they support/oppose government interventionism, spending and welfare), inspired by monetarist/Friedmanite policies, culturally variable but nowadays usually left leaning. It also commonly supports atlanticist foreign policy and ... David Harvey (31 de octubre de 1935 en Gillingham, Kent, Inglaterra) ... Uno de sus trabajos más recientes es A Brief History of Neoliberalism , donde examina histórica y geográficamente la teoría y la práctica del neoliberalismo desde mediados de los años setenta. Considera que el neoliberalismo fue una respuesta a la crisis de ... 21/03/2015 · These authors argue that "[t]here has everywhere been an emphatic turn towards neoliberalism in political-economic practices and thinking since the 1970s" (Harvey 2005:2-3) and that neoliberalism has "become hegemonic as a mode of discourse [...] to the point where it has become incorporated into the commonsense way we [...] understand ... デヴィッド・ハーヴェイ (David Harvey, 1935年10月31日 -)は、イギリスの地理学者である。 専門は人文地理学・社会理論・政治経済学・批判地理学。 経歴、イギリス・ケント州 シリンガム生まれ。 ケンブリッジ大学より博士号取得。 プリストル大学講師。 ジョンズ・ホプキンス大学 ... 05/08/2022 · The word 'neoliberal' gets thrown around a lot, often with differing and even contradictory meanings. Here, a political economist explains the origins and evolution of this complex concept. 21/03/2015 · These authors argue that "[t]here has everywhere been an emphatic turn towards neoliberalism in political-economic practices and thinking since the 1970s" (Harvey 2005:2-3) and that neoliberalism has "become hegemonic as a mode of discourse [...] to the point where it has become incorporated into the commonsense way we [...] understand ... In February 1985, journalists at the New Zealand Listener coined the term Rogernomics, a portmanteau of "Roger" and "economics" (by analogy with "Reaganomics"), to describe the neoliberal economic policies followed by Roger Douglas.Douglas served as Minister of Finance (1984-1988) in the Fourth Labour Government of New Zealand of 26 July 1984 to 2 November ... 「ネオリベリズム」(en:neoliberalism)。1930年以降、社会的市場経済に対して個人の自由や市場原理を再評価し、政府による個人や市場への介入は最低限とすべきと提唱する。1970年代以降の日本では主にこの意味で使用される場合が多い。 David Harvey (Gillingham, Kent, 7 de dezembro de 1935) é um teórico da Geografia britânico formado na Universidade de Cambridge. É professor da City University of New York e trabalha com diversas questões ligadas à geografia urbana Em 2007 foi classificado como o décimo oitavo teórico vivo mais citado nas ciências humanas. [1]Seu primeiro livro, Explanation in ... 05/08/2022 · The word 'neoliberal' gets thrown around a lot, often with differing and even contradictory meanings. Here, a political economist explains the origins and evolution of this complex concept. 15/08/2022 · Neoliberalism is a broad-term ideology that is considered to be economically centrist to right-wing (depends on how much they support/oppose government interventionism, spending and welfare), inspired by monetarist/Friedmanite policies, culturally variable but nowadays usually left leaning, it also commonly supports atlanticist foreign policy and ... 07/05/2019 · As China continues to transition to a market-driven economy, the country's state-owned companies - in their role as deliverers of reform and policy - are becoming more important, even as their shortcomings become ever more apparent.

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