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INTRODUCTION

Beyond the Neoliberal Heartlands

Quinn Slobodian & Dieter Plehwe

Let's begin with three anecdotes.

Anecdote 1: In 1979, the economist Hernando de Soto, born in Peru, but raised and educated in Switzerland, hosted the recent grantee of the Nobel Prize in Economic Science, F.A. Hayek, at a workshop in Lima called “Democracy and the Market Economy.” Also invited were a group of people with biographies very different from the patrician Viennese professor's: they were what the Nobel laureate poet Mario Vargas Llosa, also in attendance, called “black market entrepreneurs”—unlicensed street hawkers, called in Spanish *ambulantes*.¹ With the help of a textile magnate, de Soto founded a think tank after the meeting—the Institute for Liberty and Development—that framed its project as empowering the denizens of the rapidly swelling slums of Latin America through deregulation, even though, as a journalist noted, the hawkers in attendance expressed preferences for more robust welfare programs and sympathy for the Marxist candidate in the upcoming elections.²

De Soto's message was pitched perfectly to the moment. After the publication of two best-selling books, *The Other Path* and *The Mystery of Capital*, he became the best-known advocate for a new development approach at the United States Agency for International Development and the World Bank in the 1990s based on formalizing property rights.³ In the preface to the reissue of *The Other Path*, with a post-9/11 subtitle, “The Economic Answer to Terrorism,” de Soto shared what he

believed was the secret of his success: “You cannot sell expanded markets and capitalism to the poor outside the West using Western paradigms. . . . You have to represent progress to people using case histories that come from their own social environment.”⁴

Another co-organizer of the 1979 meeting was the Guatemalan policy entrepreneur Manuel Ayau. At that time, he was working closely with the military government in his own country to establish a university as a neoliberal outpost. To date, its recipients of honorary doctorates include dozens of members of the flagship organization of the neoliberal intellectual movement, the Mont Pelerin Society, including the former Czech prime minister Václav Klaus, controversial social scientist and think tanker Charles Murray, and Hayek himself.⁵ When Milton Friedman, another honorary PhD, showed up for an interview with later white nationalist Peter Brimelow in 1992, he wore a baseball cap reading “Ayau Presidente.”⁶

Anecdote 2: In 1997, the economist Parth Shah returned to India after finishing a doctorate at Auburn University in Alabama, where he worked with the Ludwig von Mises Institute, the think tank established in 1982 as a more radical alternative to the Cato Institute and the Heritage Foundation. Reflecting on his efforts at “awakening a slumbering elephant,” as Shah called his project building a neoliberal think tank on the subcontinent, he said, “It was clear to me that in India the message of liberty would need to be framed differently to how it is framed in the USA—within the historical and cultural context of India.”⁷ Like de Soto, he worked with street hawkers, declaring that it was “the regulatory burden of government that is the real cause of the general plight of the working poor.”⁸ He denounced the “license-permit-quota raj,” implying that the era of empire had not ended after 1947, when the British departed—it had simply transformed into post-colonial statism. Shah’s use of the term harked back to a phrase coined in the 1950s by C. Rajagopalachari, whose chief economic adviser, B. R. Shenoy, was a friend of Friedman and Hayek and who sought to combine traditional and free-market principles with an argument that

the *dharma* of traditional Hindu society entailed a “minimum state” and that caste had “advantages of comparative cost and maximum production from a given social complex of human aptitudes and talent.”⁹

Presenting alongside Shah at a Mont Pelerin Society meeting in Bali in 1999, the UCLA economist Deepak Lal similarly turned to tradition when he asked: “Is liberty a Western concept?” and answered: No.¹⁰ In 2005, he followed up one book praising empires by publishing another titled *The Hindu Equilibrium*.¹¹ He developed a theory that the West was degenerating in two ways. First, the “sexual and cultural revolutions” of the 1960s were returning Westerners to the mores of “their hunter-gatherer ancestors.” Second, what remained of Christian monotheism had undergone a “secular mutation” into “ecofundamentalism.”¹² Meanwhile, he said, “traditional cosmological beliefs” in China and India had endured. “They are modernizing without Westernizing,” he wrote.¹³ As the “social cement” of the West came unstuck, the East was poised to take its place. As the chapters below show, many free-market intellectuals in Japan and China agreed.

Anecdote 3: In the streets of Brazil in 2015, amid the protests against the president, Dilma Rousseff, a sign appeared reading: “Less Marx, More Mises.”¹⁴ Mises Brazil, founded in 2008 by the investment banker Helio Beltrão as a franchise of the Alabama original, played a role in the mobilization.¹⁵ In 2016, the businessman and policy entrepreneur Winston Ling put a politician named Jair Bolsonaro in touch with the University of Chicago-trained economist Paulo Guedes, who would become the future president’s minister of the economy.¹⁶ In July 2018, Bolsonaro posed smiling with copies of Mises’s books and ushered an economic freedom clause into the constitution.¹⁷ One of Bolsonaro’s sons lists the study of Austrian economics at the Mises Institute as “post-graduate study” on his résumé.¹⁸

The Brazilian front against leftism was hardly seamless. “In order to fight the common enemy,” Ling described how he “worked hard to maintain unity between the different factions: conservative Christians, anarcho-capitalists, classical liberals, objectivists, etc.”¹⁹ The partners

included followers of Olavo de Carvalho, the mystic conspiracist living in rural Virginia, where he spoke to his one million YouTube subscribers about the plots of the globalists. Beltrão boasts that he and Carvalho were among the first to warn of the supposed evils of “cultural Marxism.”²⁰ Brazil’s “ultraliberalism,” as one chapter in this book calls it, has scrambled the conventional political compass in a way repeated around the world in the early 2020s. Egged on by right-wing media, grassroots antagonism has turned against the supposedly interlocked schemes of global elites to push through climate policy, tax expansion, and capitalist reform at the expense of individual freedoms.

How do these diverse stories of neoliberalism “going local” fit into the histories of neoliberalism we have so far?²¹ Not particularly well. As Bob Jessop observed, existing histories tend to work from the “heartlands of neoliberalism” outward and often imply a “core-periphery” relationship with ideas developed in the Global North and West traveling to the Global East and South.²² At other times, the narrative of neoliberalism can swamp geographical distinctions. In 1995, Stephen Gill wrote an influential article arguing that the world had entered a new historical epoch that he called “market civilization” in which “the structure and language of social relations is now more conditioned by the long-term commodity logic of capital.”²³ Gill argued that this universal civilization—what Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri would call a few years later “Empire”—is both anchored and propelled not only by private market actors, but by a set of international actors, including the post-World War II Bretton Woods institutions the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, created to help rebuild the shattered postwar economy and to promote international economic cooperation, and newly created entities such as the World Trade Organization, the European Union, and the North American Free Trade Agreement, NAFTA.²⁴ Gill noted that the extension of commodification entailed social disintegration, exclusion, and hierarchy, but that there was also an implication of homogenization—a shared human fate as the planet entered a new paradigm.

The first round of scholarship on neoliberalism in the 1990s relied heavily on a language of “market fundamentalism,” with its implication of a single world faith extending its tentacles globally and smothering particularity. In the 2000s, a new wave of scholarship emerged to introduce individuals, names, and faces into historical narratives of “neoliberalization,” which in previous accounts had often unfolded in the passive tense or with only the unitary actor of “capital.”²⁵ A new body of work on the neoliberal intellectual movement around the Mont Pelerin Society allowed for closer study of the relationship between ideas, interests, and institutions.²⁶

Yet even as this literature brought neoliberalism down to earth, it tended to reproduce a perspective that saw the world from Europe and the United States outward. With the notable exception of Augusto Pinochet’s Chile, long seen as a laboratory of neoliberalism, the new literature followed a story of diffusion as ideas migrated outward.²⁷ Criticizing this tendency in 2014, Raewyn Connell and Nour Dados asked: “Where in the world does neoliberalism come from?” They suggested that the story line of neoliberalism offered by scholars was broadly the same, in both the personalized Mont Pelerin Society version and the more abstract political economy account: “A system of ideas generated in the global North gains political influence in the North and is then imposed on the global South.”²⁸ Neoliberalism, they countered, “is not a projection of Northern ideology or policy, but a reweaving of worldwide economic and social relationships.”²⁹

It is correct to insist, as Jamie Peck has, that “there is no ground-zero location—at Mont Pelerin, in the White House, or in the Chilean Treasury—from which to evaluate all subsequent ‘versions’ of neoliberalism. There are only unruly historical geographies of an evolving, interconnected project.”³⁰ Yet writing histories that live up to this standard is easier said than done. Since Connell and Dados’s article, more scholars have written situated histories of neoliberalism, especially of Latin America and Eastern Europe.³¹ But to write persuasively about the reception of the transnational spread of neoliberal ideas, or the

domestic production of ideas independently, requires deep knowledge of local histories, including competency in the language, fluency with the inevitably vast relevant literatures, and enough of an awareness of each place's tangled political and economic pasts to locate neoliberal ideology within them.

"One of the remarkable features of neoliberalism is its ubiquity," Russell Prince writes, but "if neoliberalism is to remain a worthwhile analytical concept, then we need to square claims about its 'everywhereness' with its apparent spatial diversity."³² This is the goal of the collection of chapters in these pages. We find it helpful to think not of market civilization in the singular, but in the plural. In many cases, this is because neoliberal thinkers themselves contested the idea of a single universal *homo economicus* and advocated for hybrid versions of market rationality and tradition or liberalism and conservatism, in addition to genuinely novel ideas and concepts.

The first section of the book, titled "Greater Cultures," includes three examples of such recombinations of neoliberal thought: case studies of Japan, India, and Turkey. While recent work has emphasized how ideas of racial hierarchy in neoliberal thought projected pejorative traits onto nonwhite races, these chapters show the inverse: a claim of superiority for non-European cultural traditions. The neoliberal intellectuals considered here saw nation and race as assets resistant to emulation and able to be leveraged in market competition, varieties of what one of us has called elsewhere "Volk capital."³³

Reto Hofmann sheds light on two of the most influential Japanese neoliberals, Nishiyama Chiaki and Kiuchi Nobutane.³⁴ Nishiyama, a student of Hayek in Chicago, would be the first Japanese president of the Mont Pelerin Society. Focusing on Hayek's philosophical ideas of the purposeless character of free society, Nishiyama emphasized Japan's traditional negation of reason and limitations of intellect. Hofmann explains how Japanese neoliberals such as Kiuchi negotiated the tension between cultural identity and economic globalization. Refuting the calls of American neoliberals for global convergence, Japanese

neoliberals advanced their own kind of cultural supremacy, prefiguring contemporary varieties of neonationalism and socially conservative culturalism.

Through his example of India, Aditya Balasubramanian argues that studies of the non-Western world need to tackle the intersection of neoliberal ideology with other ideologies to explain how it becomes palatable in local contexts. While postindependence India was known as a stronghold of socialism, only to change rapidly since the 1990s, Balasubramanian shows there is a secret prehistory to that decade's reforms by examining the figure of B.R. Shenoy, mentioned above. Developing a close friendship with the leading neoliberal development economist Peter Bauer in the UK, Shenoy became a key informant on problems of Indian planning in international conferences. At home, he drafted the "Basic Economic Policy" document, a clear market agenda for the Swatantra Party, founded in 1959, which became the largest opposition to Nehru's Indian National Congress. Swatantra and Shenoy combined reactionary social conservatism and market-liberal ideas, prefiguring the concoction that some hoped would define Narendra Modi's mode of governance in the 2010s.

Turkey has been another fertile site of neoliberal culturalism in recent years. Esra Nartok shows how Turkish intellectuals employed religion in a deliberate effort of building support for a project of economic transformation. The creation and internalization of a neoliberal Islamic civilization was the task set by a small think tank, the Association for Liberal Thinking (ALT). Founded in 1992, ALT gained importance advising Turkey's conservative Justice and Development Party in the 2000s. ALT key figures Atilla Yayla and Mustafa Erdoğan—not to be confused with the Turkish president, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan—developed a dedicated neoliberal Islamic perspective that was juxtaposed both with Turkey's secular tradition of modernization and with competing state-driven Islamic petrostate projects fueled by Saudi Arabia, for example. Their project contributed both to the reconciliation of Turkish-Islamic identities and to the international conversation on the

need to reconcile neoliberalism and religion. Yayla's "magic formula" of Muslim democracy in Turkey so far plays a minor role compared with the political Islam of the Justice Party under President Erdoğan, but it offers a repertoire of thought and action from which business elites and opposition forces continue to draw.

The goal of global intellectual history is to study not only how concepts diffuse from point to point, but also how they emerge autochthonously, generated from formally similar structural conditions and conjunctures.³⁵ The second section of this book, titled "Other Paths," in a nod to Hernando de Soto's famous book, shows examples of this.

In the case of Russia, radical reforms such as price liberalization and privatization under President Boris Yeltsin are frequently attributed to foreign influence, particularly the American-dominated World Bank and International Monetary Fund. Tobias Rupprecht revises this story line through a history of domestic neoliberalism composed of different groups of dissidents and economists in Moscow, Leningrad, and Novosibirsk. These groups formed first with limited access to Western literature. They encountered the neoliberal classics of Hayek and Friedman only later and read them into and alongside local concerns and experiences. Local concerns such as Viktor Sokirko's worries about government benevolence, Yegor Gaidar's concern with bureaucratic resistance, and Vasily Selyunin's negative view of the role of the masses at the same time did resemble concerns voiced by ordoliberal, public-choice pundits, and José Ortega y Gasset, the Spanish participant at the famous birthplace of the neoliberal movement, the Walter Lippmann Colloquium in 1938. But the Russian strain still needs to be recognized as a specific local variety of neoliberalism that only later was connected to global neoliberal debates and groups. The irony and tragedy of Russian neoliberal efforts might primarily be considered in their reliance on certain wings of the *nomenklatura* and the authoritarian state to push reforms through in the transition, only to see market-liberal approaches and themselves dropped by the new regime of oligarchic rule advancing under President Putin.

The origins of neoliberal reforms in China are even more hotly debated than in Russia. Isabella Weber complicates the narrative that portrays the World Bank missions of the 1980s as the key drama in the liberalization of the Chinese economy.³⁶ She focuses instead on the role played by a selective invocation of West Germany's so-called "economic miracle" (*Wirtschaftswunder*) under the postwar economics minister and chancellor Ludwig Erhard in the discussion about how to combine public ownership and market economy in China's transition. High-ranking delegations from China visited Germany in the late 1970s to inquire about postwar economic policy. During Helmut Schmidt's tenure as head of a German government composed of Social Democrats and the liberal Free Democratic Party, several prominent ordoliberals were dispatched from Germany to discuss a wide range of issues related to the opening of the Chinese economy. Weber uses the backdrop of the German case study to show how the ordoliberal interlocutors carefully selected information and what they left out, for example, the hostile reactions to price liberalization by German trade unions exploding into a general strike in the late 1940s. Chinese realities were measured against German myths.

As with Russia and China, the full-fledged arrival of neoliberalism in South Africa is often seen as a phenomenon of the post-Cold War decade of the 1990s. Antina von Schnitzler challenges this interpretation. According to the dominant narrative, neoliberal ideas were imported from the outside, relying on links created between the global financial institutions and South Africa's economic authorities. Contrary to such an explanation, the author shows how neoliberal ideas had already been a part of the counterinsurgency deliberations following the Soweto uprising in 1976. South African intellectuals developed a domestic brand of neoliberal ideas in an effort to tackle urban problems resulting from the racial concepts of separate development (the segregation of Black homesteads and the exploitation of growing numbers of Black laborers in urban centers on a "temporary" basis). Schnitzler shows how these ideas sought to depoliticize and nominally

deracialize Black urban dwelling, drawing on neoliberal notions of market subjects and technical expertise. Racist theories of innate difference were transformed into ideas of the sameness of market subjects, and supposedly eternal concepts of white rule and segregation were discarded in favor of an allegedly transitory exclusion of subjects not yet ready to be fully groomed for the culture of market citizenship. By way of equating apartheid and state planning, ideas of economic freedom appeared to provide legitimacy for a new carrot-and-stick strategy: liberal carrots for those who were willing to submit to the vagaries of economic freedom, and the illiberal stick for the others.

While South Africa raises the issue of neoliberalism in light of labor and land, Australia brings to light the question of what has been called the “fossil capital” of natural resources.³⁷ Jeremy Walker takes us back to the origins of “fossil neoliberalism” in the 1930s, when links between the Australian economist Torleiv Hytten and the Australian members of the heavily thermoindustrial International Chamber of Commerce were developed. Hytten was invited to the first meeting of the Mont Pelerin Society and became the first Australian member in 1951. He worked closely with the first neoliberal Australian think tank, the Institute of Public Affairs, founded in 1943 to oppose the Labor Party agenda. Another global dimension is uncovered in the history of the Murdoch media empire, which also originated in Australia. Although not in agreement with neoliberal agendas from the beginning, Murdoch developed a close alliance with fossil capital in the 1970s to oppose the resource-nationalist agenda of the short-lived Whitlam Labor government. The extraordinary mobilization of resources to defeat strong ecological and nationalization agendas in the primary sector explains the number of neoliberal business activists, think tanks, and dedicated commercial consultancies organized from the 1970s onward in Australia. A self-described “greenhouse mafia” relies on old think tanks such as the Institute of Public Affairs and on new ones, such as the somewhat more conciliatory Centre for Independent Studies, which

emphasizes economic approaches to all policy questions, rather than denying climate change. Walker points to the dramatic increase of Australian vulnerability in the face of climate change–related fires and droughts, which at some point in the future may be considered indicators of the Pyrrhic victories won by fossil neoliberalism in Australia since the 1970s.

As the postcommunist reforms in Eastern Europe and libertarian adventures in “charter cities” and “special economic zones” in the Global South make clear, neoliberalism is often most radical when it travels farthest from the “heartland” of the industrialized North and West.³⁸ The last section of this book, “Radical Outposts,” examines examples of such places. It begins with Jimmy Casas Klausen and Paulo Chamon’s chapter on Brazil, which is currently at the bleeding edge of evolutions of neoliberal thought. It is likely that nowhere else has the neoliberal and libertarian intellectual movement enjoyed as much support from young people organized in social-movement fashion and splintered in factions, each more radical than the next, than in Latin America’s largest country. The authors show how the ecosystem of new neoliberal movements emerged and grew amid the crisis of Brazil’s left-wing party Partido Trabalhadores. Brazilian ultraliberals of the local Ludwig von Mises Institute led by Helio Beltrão managed to exploit popular dissatisfaction with the perceived “progressive neoliberalism” of former presidents Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva and Dilma Rousseff. Brazil may have been the first case in which neoliberalism was advanced via social media, relying on the now defunct social-networking site Orkut in the formative decade of the 2010s and now spreading via the widely used Mises Institute website. Aided by new think tanks such as the Instituto Millenium, founded in 2005, sprawling networks of college students and young professionals imbibed a strong antiestablishment ethos that cast them as a minoritarian opposition in civil society. The chapter tracks and traces the splintering of the movement, which paradoxically did not lead to its erosion, but helped to further dynamize and radicalize neoliberal circles in the

country under the wild coalitions supporting the government of Jair Bolsonaro.

The mixture of authoritarianism and liberal market principles was pioneered in Latin America in Chile. A less well-known example is Guatemala, which enjoyed a sunny reputation among neoliberals, even during its decades of military dictatorship.³⁹ While Manuel Ayau, the first president of the Mont Pelerin Society from Latin America (1978–1980), developed his activities dedicated to elite education because he did not trust repression and violence, the chapter shows how close he and his business allies were to authoritarian regimes at different times. In conjunction with partners such as the Foundation for Economic Education in the United States and partners in Spain and Germany, Guatemalan neoliberals went beyond traditional capacity building through think tanks and set up a major elite university in the country: Francisco Marroquín University. Fischer explains how the local confrontation with liberation theory and progressive movements led to the specific focus on education in economics, law, and theology from the single-minded neoliberal perspective of the Austrian school. Faculty are “free” to teach only neoliberal ideas, and each and every student has to take special classes with core readings from Hayek, Mises, and Murray Rothbard. Beyond academic teaching, the university has served as a human development department for a number of policy think tanks founded to direct Guatemala’s neoliberal transformation: privatizing state-owned enterprises in the 1990s, blocking tax reforms in the 2000s, and merging social-conservative and neoliberal values in family politics are important causes of Marroquín spin-off ventures in Guatemalan politics.

Although Ayau was somewhat disappointed in the overall accomplishments of his university, the efforts of his circles set an example of institution building that served as a beacon for similar neoliberal movements and has been copied in several countries. One such case is in the tiny Balkan nation of Montenegro. If asked to list ambitious and comprehensive attempts to turn a socialist country into a neoliberal

model state, few would think of the microstate born in the breakup of former Yugoslavia. Mila Jonjić and Nenad Pantelić demonstrate the legitimacy of Montenegro's claim to such a title and showcase the contradictions between neoliberal ideals and the resulting outcomes. The authors trace the diligent work of a group of dedicated neoliberals around Veselin Vukotić, a former government official and university professor. Supported by Yugoslavian intellectuals in exile in the United States, Vukotić started an impressive mission of neoliberal institution building as early as the late 1980s. His project University Tribune was followed in 1992 by a program of postgraduate studies in "Entrepreneurial Economy" at the University of Montenegro that attracted support from several neoliberal scholars abroad, including Leonard P. Liggio of the Atlas Economic Research Foundation (now the Atlas Network) and Steve Pejovich of Texas A&M. A think tank named the Institute for Entrepreneurship and Economic Development followed in 1993, as did the Institute for Strategic Studies and Prognoses set up in 1997–1998, which was instrumental in laying out the major reform agendas of privatization and monetarism. Neoliberal intellectuals in Montenegro were close to the majority of Montenegro's main governing party for decades, the formerly socialist party Democratic Party of Socialists (DPS), and held a solid position in the courtyard of power. The University Tribune neoliberals included a strong cohort of Mont Pelerin Society members who helped Vukotić stage his final prestige project: the University of Donja Gorica. This small private university opened its doors in 2007, built around a faculty of international economics and a faculty of law. Modeled to a certain extent on Francisco Marroquín University in Guatemala, the university faculty includes Mont Pelerin staff members, as well as local corporate and political elites.

The book ends with a country that has merely half the population of Montenegro, but has an outsized role in narratives of hyperglobalization: Iceland, a fishing outpost that became a deregulated financial wonderland. As the global financial crisis unfolded in 2008, the island

nation looked like one of its most morbid symptoms. Iceland's financial system collapsed. Journalists and filmmakers put the blame on U.S. economists and venal consultants from abroad. However, missing in that account are some of the key domestic figures involved in redirecting the development of Icelandic capitalism in support of globalized finance. Pride of place in Lars Mjølset's chapter on Icelandic neoliberalism is reserved for Hannes Hólmsteinn Gissurarson, a member of the Mont Pelerin Society since 1984. Gissurarson founded a group of young liberals in the youth association of Iceland's liberal-conservative party, the Independence Party. Named after their journal *Eimreiðin* (Locomotive), published from 1972 to 1975, the group included three later prime ministers: Þorsteinn Pálsson, David Oddsson, and Geir H. Haarde. Another member, Kjartan Gunnarsson, was the party secretary of the Independence Party for twenty-six years (1980–2006). Gissurarson also founded the Jón Þorláksson Institute in 1983, which was closed down in 1990 because the University of Iceland became a venue for meetings, including the 2005 Mont Pelerin Society meeting in Iceland. Gissurarson ran the Libertarian Alliance in Iceland from 1979 to 1989, which arranged the visits by the neoliberal founding fathers in Iceland (Hayek in 1980, James M. Buchanan in 1982, Friedman in 1984). Apart from his writing on neoliberal political philosophy, Gissurarson worked hard to demonize left-wing Icelandic writers such as Halldor Laxness and the alleged Communist influence on the history of the country.

Yet there is a twist in Mjølset's story as the country has moved in some ways closer to the Scandinavian model of welfare-state capitalism. As Mjølset shows, a national pact between labor, capital, and the state to end the cycle of devaluation and inflation existed prior to the neoliberal Oddsson government, major institutions that were developed to protect labor and natural resources (fish stocks) became subject to only moderate neoliberal reforms, and the financial collapse resulted from factors that were hardly influenced by self-declared neoliberal revolutionaries. Ironically, many of the efforts of the Independence

Party leadership to constrain new financial firms were unsuccessful and demonstrate the lack of regulatory state capacity once market forces had been unleashed. The role of the *Eimreiðin* group of Icelandic neoliberals in conjunction with Iceland's fisheries stakeholders and factions of commercial, financial, and media interests thus provides important lessons about the vagaries of neoliberal reformism in general and about the contradictions of neoliberal ideology in theory and neoliberal interest group politics in practice. All the turmoil did not destroy Icelandic neoliberalism, however. Oddsson was called to run the major newspaper *Morgunblaðið* to give the fishermen a voice in opposition to the EU. Lacking a university base, Gissurarson founded the Research Centre for Innovation and Economic Growth in 2012 to continue his quest for neoliberal revolution.

Since 2016, there has been another round of obituaries for neoliberalism. We have written elsewhere of the “nine lives of neoliberalism,” which seem to translate into new variants of market civilization emerging after every systemic crisis.⁴⁰ The COVID-19 epidemic of 2020 has generated yet more pronouncements of neoliberalism's demise, including from former cheerleaders of competition such as the World Economic Forum's Klaus Schwab.⁴¹ Yet even public health measures designed to protect populations during the pandemic have produced backlash movements that meld grassroots anger at corporate enrichment with the antisocialism of the right-wing media.⁴² The cosmic anarcho-capitalism of Brazil's “ultraliberalism” may be a grim foreshadowing of the hybrids of neoliberal thought that a media landscape, which is simultaneously hypernetworked and ever more siloed, will produce as it absorbs future inevitable Anthropocenic shocks.

NOTES

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