



# **Populism – A Threat to the Global Order?**

Talk at KAS Phnom Penh  
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# Agenda

1. New Global Landscapes
2. Populism
3. Shrinking Win-sets
4. Challenges for the EU
5. Global Risks: USA – EU – China



# 1.1 New Global Landscapes

Globalization offers both - opportunities, and risks.

Hundreds of millions have been lifted out of poverty.  
People are connected more than ever.

But also, hundreds of millions of people feel uprooted by  
global markets. Billions of people are experiencing more  
uncertainties.

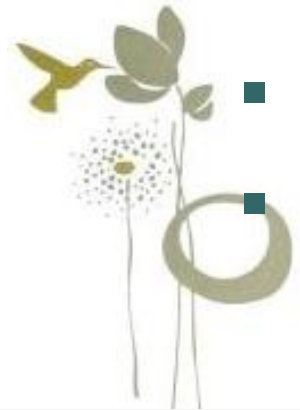
After the Cold War, the post-Cold War, and after 9/11, we  
are possibly facing something new:

The end of a rule-bound world order. A derailing world.



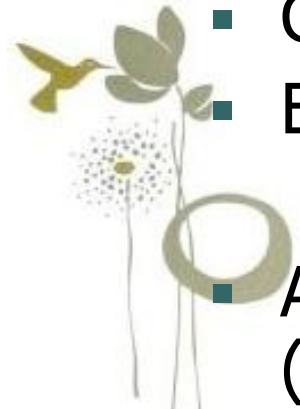
# 1.2 New Global Landscapes

- Important changes after 1990 are:
- strengthening of **global flows**;
- **decreasing performances** of national governments;
- **more global actors** than before;
- **no integrating narratives**;
- increasing **fragmentation and tribalization**.



# 2.1 What is the Problem?

- Trump? Brexit? AfD in D? Putin? China? Un-Civility?
- **We have to look for the triggers/ causes**, not so much for results.
- And here we are again:
  - Globalization, and uncertainties.
  - Economic and cultural challenges.
  - And popular anger, related to perceptions of (in)justice, and cultural entitlements.



## 2.2 Populism

Populism **correlates with** emerging **uncertainties**.

Its core (but delusional) promise is: **Simplifying answers** on complex challenges/ problems.

It is rather a **discursive style**, than an ideology.

There is **no** primary **difference between left** **right** populism.

**Broad phenomenon** - in the U.S., in Europe, Turkey, Russia, in the Philippines... China?

**Demand is growing** – the question is why?



## 2.3 Populism

- These are the core issues suggested by populists:
- **Elites** vs. 'real' people;
- **transnational trade** kills jobs;
- Traditional/ mainstream **media** are lying;
- **unregulated immigration** is detrimental;
- the **EU** is evil.
- **National borders have to be strengthened**, and everything will be fine.



## 2.4 Populism: What we know

Again: **Simplified answers on complex challenges.**

**Uncivility and rudeness** carry the day.

And **we all don't have short and convincing answers** on the populist allurements.

But we **know a few things** about what does NOT help:

**Complexities:** drive people's attention away;

**lies** (trade): rather, let's be frank;

**social networks** (amplifying populism): ignore?

**referenda:** populists can win elections;

**focus on economics:** culture matters (more).

**Liberals may lose,** on a global scale.





### 3 Win-sets revisited: P & IR

- The **relevance of domestic constellations:** Liberalism, Moravscik, and Putnam
- The **2 tables metaphor:** explaining ratification
- The role of win-sets
- **Populism** as the dominant feature of domestic landscapes **affects win-sets**
- Shrinking win-sets >>> **less flexibility abroad for governments**

# 4 EU - Challenges & Populism

- Eurocrisis, sovereign wealth, banks: ++
- Terrorism: +
- Unregulated immigration: +++
- EU/ Brexit, other possible exits 2017: +++
- Russian rule violations: +
- Transborder trade: ++



# 5 Global Risks related to Populism

- **Trade:** growing protectionism (D, China: extremely dependent);
- **Security:** erosion of Nato (D: quite dependent, PI/ Balt: very dependent, China: may be profiting, but... costly);
- **EU:** more exits to come?
- **US-China:** stumbling, sleepwalking into more serious conflicts?
- **Culture:** growing pressure on minorities;
- **Style:** rule violations; vulgarity, lies, uncivility, indecency, attacks on independent media – Undoing rules?

