



## Papiers d'actualité / Current Affairs in Perspective

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pour l'histoire du temps présent

### Illiberal Democracy: The Return of the Authoritarian Spectre

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"This and no other is the root from which a tyrant springs; when he first appears he is a protector." – Plato, Republic

"Everything faded into mist. The past was erased, the erasure was forgotten, the lie became truth." Orwell, 1984

Illiberal Democracy has recently become a buzzword with a doomy overcast spreading anguish and concern among political analysts, policy makers and informed citizens alike. *Foreign Affairs* has dedicated an issue to the topic "Is Democracy Dying"<sup>1</sup> while recent conferences, interviews and publications on democracy have carried similarly pessimistic overtones: "Democratic Degeneration"<sup>2</sup>, "End-Times for Liberal Democracy?"<sup>3</sup>, "Democracy in Decline?"<sup>4</sup>, and "Democracy under Threat"<sup>5</sup>. The present paper is based on "Democracy at Risk" a publication by the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva<sup>6</sup> which articulates the three following assumptions: 1) illiberal democracy is a global phenomenon; 2) illiberal democracy is a process: a series of similar patterns or mechanisms are at play across democracies worldwide; 3) there is a continuum of illiberal democracy ranging from first worrying signs as in Trump's America to more full-fledged authoritarian regimes as in Putin's Russia – with many shades and nuances in between.

The present contribution aims to elaborate on these assumptions by further addressing the paradox of democratic success and liberal decline; proposing a more fine-grained analysis of the nature of illiberal democracy, its operational mechanisms and root causes; and concluding with a reflection on the likely persistence of illiberal democracy as a model of governance.

#### The paradox of democratic success and liberal decline

Democracy has been the exception for most of human history as it is empires and autocracy that have been the norm in the human past. Democracy first appeared in Ancient Greece where decisions were taken in popular assemblies by show of hands. Even though democracy in Ancient Greece already satisfied to core principles of democracy such as popular



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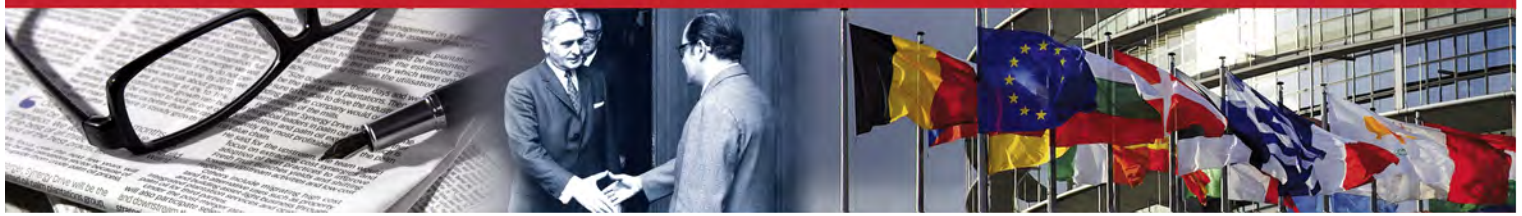
sovereignty, political participation and political contestation, it was no liberal affair, as there was no secret ballot and women, foreigners and slaves were excluded.

For thousands of years direct democracy remained the principal model of democracy. Direct democracy as defended by Jean-Jacques Rousseau in the *Contrat Social* (1762) had to be in accordance with the general will (*volonté générale*) on the assumption that the sovereignty of the people was one and indivisible. Assuming that the people as sovereign would meet collectively in the town square whenever a decision was to be taken, Rousseau ruled out political representation or elected parliaments and confined his vision of direct democracy to relatively homogenous and small city states such as Geneva.

It is only after the American and French Revolutions that the concept of representative democracy took on wider importance in the nineteenth century as elected parliaments were introduced to larger political entities such as nations. A first wave of democratization concerned mostly a few European countries and settler colonies such as Australia and Canada who progressively enlarged their suffrage and started to guarantee fundamental constitutional rights such as freedom of speech or assembly. The end of World War II and the ensuing decolonization led to a second wave of democratization, mostly in Africa and Asia. A third wave of democratization swept through Southern Europe with the end of Portugal, Spain and Greece's military dictatorships in the 1970's and culminating with the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991.

Today, it can be argued that democracy remains perhaps the most successful political idea in modern history. According to Freedom House, in 2015, democracy was the most widespread form of government in the world, with largely "free and fair" electoral processes in place in 125 countries (i.e. 64 percent% of the world's sovereign states)<sup>7</sup>. Most surveys indicate that democracy continues to enjoy a near-universal appeal among the world's populations (Pew 2017)<sup>8</sup>. Even liberal democracy's detractors such as Recep Erdoğan, Narendra Modi, Viktor Orbán, Vladimir Putin and Rodrigo Duterte have all been elected by majorities and praise their own democratic credentials. To add to injury, outright autocratic regimes such as China, Cuba and North Korea also call themselves democratic.

A series of indicators, however, show that all is not so well with democracy. Rates of public participation and confidence in institutions and traditional parties have been plummeting (the Economist 2017)<sup>9</sup>. In what some have described as a "decade of decline" (2006–2016) for liberal democracy, freedom has been continuously eroding all over the world<sup>10</sup>. Strongmen in a series of countries have capitalized on nationalism and populism to engage in antidemocratic experiences.



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In 2015, Turkey has taken the last place among electoral democracies in Freedom House's (2016) measure of liberty<sup>11</sup>. With the exception of Tunisia, the Arab Spring has given way to widespread disillusion and a wave of violent reaction. In Latin America, democracies remain fragile and some, including Venezuela and Bolivia, have regressed on the slippery slope of authoritarianism. Asian democracies are facing trouble too, as illustrated by a regain in nationalist rhetoric (Japan), endemic corruption (South Korea) and outright illiberalism (the Philippines).

What is new, however, and equally alarming is that democracy is on the defensive in its Western heartland. The Economist's Democracy Index downgraded the United States, the beacon of democracy for much of the modern era, to a "flawed democracy" in 2016. Eastern and Central Europe are swept by deep disenchantment with democracy. Hungary and Poland, in particular, have attracted bad press for attacking constitutional rights, civil liberties, freedom of expression, and the independence of judges. Viktor Orbán's 2014 speech remains the founding call for proponents of illiberal democracy worldwide<sup>12</sup>. In Western Europe, populist leaders such as Nigel Farage, Marine Le Pen, Beppe Grillo, Geert Wilders, and Frauke Petry have followed suit by challenging well established democracies from the inside. With popular anger and anxiety on the rise, populism has made a spectacular (re)entry on the political scene. While until recently political scientists spent considerable time focusing on countries' democratic transitions they now face – in what could be described as "reverse transitology" – the complex task of explaining why democracies are sliding back into autocracy.

We thus face a paradox: while electoral democracy continues to be acclaimed everywhere, a series of indicators measuring political and civic freedom show it to be in deep trouble. It has hence become less clear today what democracy is and how it will evolve in the future as the lines between democracy and authoritarianism become increasingly blurred.

### The operational modus of illiberal democracy

The key to this paradox may well reside in the notion of "illiberal democracy", first coined by Fareed Zakaria in 1997<sup>13</sup>. For Zacharia, what is fundamentally at stake, is not democracy as such but *liberal* democracy which is characterized not only by free and fair elections (thin definition of democracy), but also by the rule of law, the separation of powers and the protection of basic civil liberties (thick definition of democracy). More than twenty years after Francis Fukuyama's triumphant celebration of the "end of history"<sup>14</sup>, liberalism, both in its economic and political variant, indeed seems in serious crisis.



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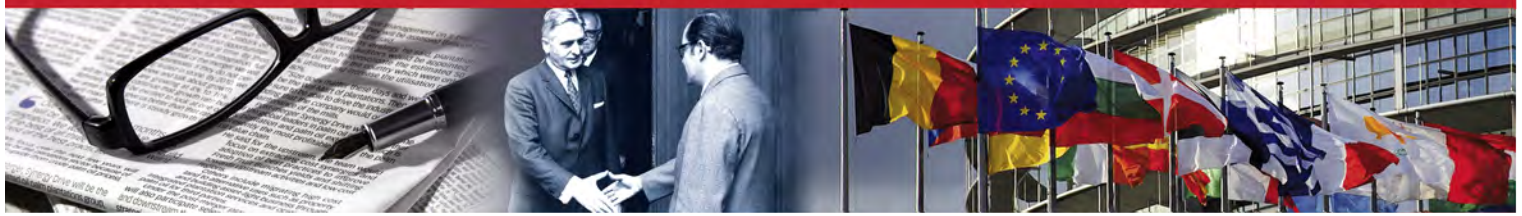
Illiberal democracies can be characterized as regimes that have been elected by popular majorities but strive to undermine constitutional safeguards, the rule of law and civil liberties. In the words of Fareed Zakaria illiberal democracies are "democratically elected regimes, often ones that have been reelected or reaffirmed through referenda, [but] are routinely ignoring constitutional limits on their power and depriving their citizens of basic rights and freedoms"<sup>15</sup>.

Illiberal democracies come to power legally elected thriving on populist rhetoric and a rough set of – usually conservative and/or nationalistic – values hailed as a vigorous alternative to the supposedly anemic liberal-cosmopolitan model. They are best characterized by the generalization of the authoritarian traits of an elected government with a concentration of power in the executive and the popular backing of a majority. Illiberal democracies advocate for placing the judiciary under guardianship, openly attack or stack constitutional courts, curtail the freedom of the press, rewrite historical narratives on a nationalist (or religious) basis and discriminate against ethnic, religious and sexual minorities. Adopting a winner takes-it-all approach illiberal leaders aim to establish a tyranny of the majority by entertaining the myth of a sacred unity between themselves and their "nation" and defining, by the same token, what, for instance, a "true" Pole or a "true" Hungarian is<sup>16</sup>.

Illiberal democracies tend to undergo a general four-step process as their leaders revert to a set of shared "authoritarian best practices"<sup>17</sup> 1) a populist party or leader gets elected with the support of a popular majority; 2) power is consolidated in the executive branch of government in a process of constitutional re-engineering co-opting or corroding the judiciary (Poland), the legislative (Venezuela) or both (Russia); 3) the leader and his/her entourage set about eroding the liberal safeguards and the rule of law, harnessing civil society and the opposition with new, often purposefully indeterminate and/or arbitrary laws such as antiterror legislation; 4) these new rules and policies are then acclaimed through propaganda, the tools of direct democracy (referenda, plebiscites) and re-elections in a sort of ritual self-celebration of the regime as representing the people's will.

Presidential systems are particularly prone to illiberalism as presidents may intervene in the appointment of judges and civil servants (including academics) along lines of partisan or other forms of loyalty; a phenomenon illustrated by the inflation of executive power in countries such as Hungary, Poland, Venezuela, the Philippines or Russia. In Hungary, Victor Orban has been waging "lawfare", first by enacting a new constitution that weakened all checks on majoritarianism and, second, by introducing a new system for nominating judges to the Constitutional Court<sup>18</sup>. In Venezuela, Maduro holds on to power through the wholesale distribution of weapons to civilian supporters and placing the army in control of the





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nation's food distribution and oil reserves. In January 2017, the Venezuelan government-dominated Supreme Court ruled all decisions by the elected Parliament null and void and put in place a new constitutional assembly manned exclusively by Chavistas.

Illiberal democracies harness civil society and monitor public discourse through censorship of traditional and electronic media, the spread of state propaganda (including via fake news and sophisticated entertainment programs such as Russia's RT) and the censorship or rewriting of educational curricula. They forge external enemies – often by reverting to a rhetoric of hostile encirclement – and stigmatize internal minorities such as migrants and opponents by describing them as traitors to the national cause or agents of hostile foreign forces (Georges Soros in Hungary is a point in case).

NGOs are particularly popular targets of illiberal democracies as illustrated by the numerous new laws restricting their operations and funding. In 2012, Russia adopted the so-called foreign agents law, which requires NGOs that receive foreign funding to register as "foreign agents". By the end of 2016, the Justice Ministry had included 154 Russian organizations on this list<sup>19</sup>. Journalists, academics and political opponents may be put under surveillance, intimidated, prosecuted, and denigrated by campaigns of public vilification (lock-her-upism). In Turkey, the repression of the July 2017 coup attempt resulted in the arrest of nearly 40'000 civilians, the imprisonment of dozens of journalists, the shuttering of hundreds of media outlets and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), the jailing of the leaders from the third-largest party in the parliament, the closure of 15 universities and the firing of more than a hundred thousand civil servants.<sup>20</sup>

On the economic level, illiberal democracies tend to engage into manipulation and misuse of state resources concentrating wealth and power in the hands of small coteries. Illiberal leaders award contracts and other favours to their allies, friends and supporters. Leaders of illiberal democracies also seek to alter constitutions in order to extend or multiply their own mandates with the ultimate aim of becoming "rulers for life". Most famously, Putin prolonged the Russian presidential term from four to six years and engaged in a "castling" arrangement with Dmitry Medvedev as puppet President which has allowed him to stay in power since 2000 and with no end in sight.

The final step in consolidating illiberal democracies consists in emasculating the electoral process: not by rigging the elections per se – which usually remain free and fair – but by loading the dices long in advance, for instance by imprisoning opponents, fragmenting the opposition, manipulating the media, unevenly distributing airtime to political



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campaigns, and the outright buying of votes with electoral gifts (e.g. Erdogan's distribution refrigerators and washing machines to his constituencies).

It is important to point out, however, that illiberal democracies are fundamentally different from more full-blown authoritarian regimes as they are not yearning for the total control of society and are only selectively repressive<sup>21</sup>. Illiberal democracies should thus not be confounded with the totalitarian systems of the past as they do not subscribe "to the transformative power of violence; and they are not nearly as repressive as the fascists were"<sup>22</sup>. Instead, illiberal democrats pursue a more pragmatic course of action — often devoid of a coherent ideological programme — adopting flexible and ingenious forms of authoritarian governance and dedicating a lot of resources to maintain an illusion of pluralism.

### At the roots of illiberal democracy

After having discussed the nature and mechanisms of illiberal democracy we will now turn to the factors that may account for its current success.

Firstly, a feeling of growing disempowerment of the people has led to political cynicism and a disconnection of the general public from the body politic. As a result of what is perceived as poor governance (corruption), the "failure to deliver" or the impotence of national politics in face of international issues such as climate change or migration people seem to have grown wary of their political and cultural elites.

Second, the steady rise in economic inequality has fractured the social body in many places and led to a generalized sentiment of insecurity. The shock of the 2007 financial crisis together with the rise of terrorist attacks after September 11, 2001, have plunged people into a permanent state of distress. The real income of working classes has been declining in many industrialized nations while, concomitantly, extreme wealth has concentrated in a tiny fraction of the population<sup>23</sup>. Artificial intelligence and digital automation constitute a Damocles sword over blue and white-collar workers alike. Austerity politics have been eroding the welfare state, weakening the middle classes and stiling social mobility. In the words of political analysts Mounk and Foa liberal democracies "have become worse at improving their citizen's living standards"<sup>24</sup>. Illiberal regimes, on the other hand propose certitudes, simplistic explanations of complex phenomena and straightforward solutions. They vow to rehabilitate the efficiency of politics by putting the people back in charge, to



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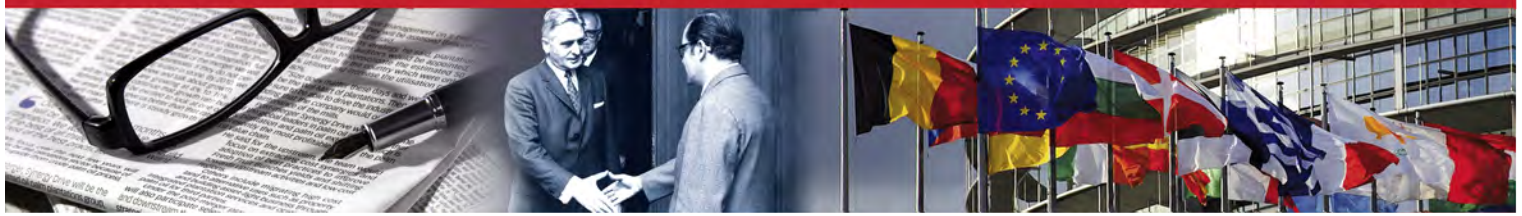
prioritize national agendas — Trump's America First — and to privilege the sedentary over the mobile both socially and geographically.

Third, younger generations show signs of historical amnesia as they are less cognizant of the totalitarian horrors of the 20th century. Cradled by the benefits of liberal democracy, millennials, in particular, seem to have forgotten the very fragility of the liberal democratic construct. In the words of the historian Niall Ferguson: "So much of liberalism in its classical sense is taken for granted in the West today and even disrespected. We take freedom for granted, and because of this we don't understand how incredibly vulnerable it is."<sup>25</sup> Instead, illiberal regimes offer manufactured narratives of the past ensconcing their national histories with founding myths and tales of racial or religious homogeneity.

Fourth, the social media revolution has ushered a new era of "post-truth politics" with little space for rational dialogue. Illiberals are thriving on fake news, equating opinions to truth claims, and on the pretense that power bears intellectual legitimacy. Social media instead of furthering the democratic process have led to increased polarization and the spread of racism and hatespeech. Politics are discussed in echo chambers as traditional media and gatekeepers are bypassed. The presumption that all arguments are commensurate whatever their rational validity or coherence has transformed Habermas' ideal of a rational public space into a farce. Tweets, personal attacks, slander and monological non-sequiturs as practiced by Trump have replaced rational exchange and constructive dialogue.

Others, such as Putin, have been waging "information wars" by entertaining armies of state sponsored trolls tasked to flood the medial space with a magma of disinformation and conspiracy theories designed to render sound information unintelligible. Surfing on the epistemic nihilism inherited from the postmodern era, illiberals heed power, status and group identity (i.e. loyalty) over any truth claims. The growing obsession with immediacy — what has been described as the tyranny of the present<sup>26</sup> — precludes both historical hindsight and political prognosis. Finally, the imperiousness of public visibility, self-branding and commodification has been steadily eroding the distinction between the private and the public, that other cornerstone of liberal society<sup>27</sup>.

Fifth, illiberal democracies have been thriving on the emotion-stirring and volatility of identitarian politics. In a general context of "moral panic about racial, gender and sexual identity"<sup>28</sup> politics has become increasingly sectarian, particularly so in the US. On the political right, tech-savvy movements such as the alt-right are driving the identitarian agenda from a racial perspective by defending cultural primacy and placing national interests over human rights. Denying the historical



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contingency and malleability of all identities, movements such as *Français de souche* or the *Identitarian bloc* are aiming to fix identities once and for all. On the political left, identitarian politics tend to translate into various forms of political correctness that risk pre-emptively silencing critical thought and irony through the erection of inviolable moral sanctuaries and safe spaces. Self-righteous communitarians aspire to an ever-expanding list of particularistic rights and condone the fragmentation of society into a myriad of incommensurable groups defined by racial, gender or religious criteria.

Sixth, and finally, shifts in the geopolitical constellation are also nurturing the spread of illiberal democracy. The retreat of the United States from its traditional role of global harbinger of democracy has left a vacuum promptly filled by other powers. China and Russia have been quick to put forth alternative models deemed more competitive, or morally righteous, than Western liberal democracy. China is claiming high and loud that liberal democracy is not needed to succeed economically. Russia has shown little restraint in intervening in European and American politics. Leaders of illiberal democracies, in turn, have professed solidarity with – and borrowed from – their more experienced authoritarian counterparts. Illiberal leaders aim to dismantle international cooperation and its normative framework by pushing through short-sighted policies bent on immediate and instantly marketable returns. Doing so they risk a race to the bottom characterized by permanent arm wrestling, conflict, and (trade) wars which can, ultimately, only rejoice a handful of hard-boiled realists.

### The future of democracy

The development of democracy has never been linear. Its evolution has always been windy, sometimes tortured, and it remains an open-ended process. As Zakaria puts it, "Western liberal democracy might prove to be not the final destination on the democratic road, but just one of the many possible exits." One of the questions we therefore face is whether the emerging illiberal democracies are here to stay and might become a permanent fixture of geopolitics?

Since its emergence in the Age of Enlightenment, liberalism has entertained a complex and tension-riddled relationship with democracy. As the twentieth century has shown, the combination of democracy (equality) and liberalism (freedom) is a very fragile, almost antinomic, construct. At heart, there is nothing inherently liberal in democracy as majoritarianism tends to collide with universal rights. Much of democratic thinking is indeed intuitively illiberal as illustrated, for instance, by the death sentence proffered by the Greek people against Socrates or Switzerland's recent ban on building new minarets.





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Conversely, most Enlightenment figures and founding fathers of liberalism were no democrats. They fought for tolerance, the freedom of individuals and against the oppression of minorities, but, with the exception of a few radical voices, did not call for the rule of the people. Nevertheless, through its universalizing ambitions and insistence on the equality and rational nature of all human beings, liberalism – particularly in its Kantian variant – has an ingrained democratic *telos*. Eroding the power base of the old aristocratic elites, liberals designed an utopia in which their own arms (merit, entrepreneurship and intellect) would become the public good of the population at large. While liberal regimes thus have an ingrained tendency to become democratic as the liberal elites dissolve into a widening middle class boosted by education, the reverse is far from being true or necessary.

Populists want to turn their back on the liberal legacy of the Enlightenment project. In what could be amounted to a new class war, they seek to undo the social contract underlying liberal democracy. For illiberals like Trump, Erdogan or Orban the real enemy is the bourgeois middle class and the meritocratic mobile elites. They aim for a new feudal pact with themselves as rulers, their privileged clientele as a new aristocracy, and the majority they claim to defend as the rank and file. However, instead of providing solutions to address current issues, they are most likely to make them worse. Their policies are sectarian and antisocial and will, in the long run, contribute to stifle growth and lead to further conflict and inequality.

What then, if anything, can be done to counter the rise of illiberal democracy? First, constitutions should be strengthened. Parliamentary systems, proportional representation and federal structures should be preferred. Changes to constitutions should require the agreement of a supermajority and the oversight of a constitutional tribunal.

Second, the political class should stand up to its responsibility. It should: a) address the issue of social inequality with utmost urgency as without a healthy middle class liberal democracy is not viable; b) under no circumstances collude or bandwagon with the populists; and c) refrain from hypocrisy when dealing with illiberal regimes, for instance by cutting back solidarity funds to Poland and Hungary at the EU level or imposing sanctions on China for violating human rights. The European Union, in particular, needs to overcome its internal dissensions and uphold those values that are at the very core of its foundation.

Third, social media should be more tightly regulated. Organizations like Facebook need to be held accountable for racist content or hate speech. The concentration of data in the hands of a few powerful private companies should be curbed



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through regulation and taxation. Technical solutions and legislation are needed to render information intelligible and more transparent again. Rights to privacy and the rule of law should be defended both in the real and the digital world.

Fourth, democracy can only be as strong or free as its citizens. Democracy must be rooted on strong selves that are able to engage both into self-critical introspection and constructive debate with others. Total identity means the end of all progress. In the Lacanian sense, the self is — and needs be — always also another (*Moi est un Autre*). As the public space is threatened simultaneously by the overflow of information, the compartmentalization of identitarian politics and the ogre of state censorship, a solid education and critical sense in citizens is key to preserve the liberal democratic order. Education, indeed, is the crux in the liberal bet on mankind.

Fifth, and finally, illiberals need also be beaten with their own means. There is a need for countermobilization as well as for new visions and projects for an open and forward-looking society. New progressive coalitions are needed to reverse the illiberal trend and preserve the Enlightenment project<sup>29</sup>. More participatory and deliberative models of democracy should be encouraged to wrestle the public space back from the populists and transform it once more into a space for deliberative reason. Multiculturalism should be defended over ethnopluralism. Political rights should be granted to foreigners more generously. In the words of Christine Lutringer: "Creative imagination is thus required in order to (re)make democracies into vibrant spaces of participation but also objects of political desire".<sup>30</sup>

In conclusion it can be argued that democracy is not going to die as we are moving to new forms of "post-liberal democracy". But liberalism is in serious jeopardy indeed. Ideas and ideals, however, are key to human civilization and it is time for us to stand up in favour of those we find worth defending.

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- <sup>2</sup> Taylor Charles (2017), "Democratic Degeneration", Speech held at the Alfred Hirschmann Center on Democracy, Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, December 7, 2017.
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- <sup>4</sup> Diamond Larry and Plattner Marc F., eds., (2015), Democracy in Decline, Baltimore MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- <sup>5</sup> Munshi Surendra, ed. (2018), Democracy Under Threat, New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
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<http://globalchallenges.ch/issue/2/orbans-lawfare-liberal-democracy-hungary/>
- <sup>7</sup> Freedom House (2016), Freedom in the World 2016, New York: Freedom House,  
<https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/freedom-world-2016>.
- <sup>8</sup> Pew (2017), Globally, Broad Support for Representative and Direct Democracy. But many also endorse nondemocratic alternatives, Richard Wike, Katie Simmons, Bruce Stokes and Janell Fetterolf  
(<http://www.pewglobal.org/2017/10/16/globally-broad-support-for-representative-and-direct-democracy/>)
- <sup>9</sup> The Economist, "Declining Trust in Government is Denting Democracy", Jan 25, 2017.
- <sup>10</sup> Freedom House (2016), op.cit.
- <sup>11</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>12</sup> Viktor Orban (2014), Full text of Viktor Orbán's speech at Băile Tuşnad (Tusnádfürdő) of 26 July 2014  
<https://budapestbeacon.com/full-text-of-viktor-orbans-speech-at-baile-tusnad-tusnadfurdo-of-26-july-2014/>
- <sup>13</sup> Zakaria Fareed (1997), "The Rise of Illiberal Democracy", Foreign Affairs, 76(6), 22-43. Illiberal democracy as a concept has been criticized for its diffuse meaning and close proximity to semantic competitors such as: limited democracy, flawed democracy, dysfunctional democracy, deconsolidating democracy, defective democracy and electoral authoritarianism. According to Steven Levitsky and Lucan Way, the concept of illiberal democracy does not distinguish sharply enough between democracies which have, in fact, never been truly democratic but claim to be so, from regimes that actually have successfully transitioned toward genuine democracy but are backsliding toward autocracy ("The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism" Journal of Democracy, 13/ 2, 2002, pp. 51-65). Finally, it has also been contended that illiberal democracy is an unfortunate and potentially noxious misnomer since it offers the opportunity to populists and autocrats to promote illiberalism while preserving the veil of democracy.
- <sup>14</sup> Fukuyama Francis (1992), The End of History and The Last Man, New York: Free Press.
- <sup>15</sup> Zakaria (1997), op.cit., 22.
- <sup>16</sup> Krastev Ivan (2018), "Eastern Europe's Illiberal Revolution", Foreign Affairs, 97(3), 49-56: 52
- <sup>17</sup> Freedom House (2017), by Arch Puddington, Breaking Down Democracy: The Goals, Strategies, and Methods of Modern Authoritarians, <https://freedomhouse.org/report/special-reports/breaking-down-democracy-goals-strategies-and-methods-modern-authoritarians>
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- <sup>19</sup> Freedom House (2017), op. cit.
- <sup>20</sup> Amnesty International (2017), Turkey: Journalism is not a Crime,  
<https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/campaigns/2017/02/free-turkey-media/>
- <sup>21</sup> Freedom House (2017), op. cit.
- <sup>22</sup> Krastev, op. cit., 56.
- <sup>23</sup> Inglehart Ronald (2018), "The Age of Insecurity", Foreign Affairs, 97(3), 20-29: 28.
- <sup>24</sup> Mounk, Yascha, and Roberto Stefan Foa (2018), "The End of the Democratic Century", Foreign Affairs, 97(3), 29-36: 29
- <sup>25</sup> Niall Ferguson (2011), "Westerners don't understand how vulnerable freedom is", The Guardian, February 20, 2011.



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<sup>27</sup> Varoufakis Yanis (2018), "Liberal Totalitarianism", Project Syndicate, April 30, 2018, <https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/liberal-totalitarianism-no-autonomy-by-yanis-varoufakis-2018-04>

<sup>28</sup> Lilla Marc (2016), "The End of Identity Liberalism", The New York Times, Nov 18, 2016.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/20/opinion/sunday/the-end-of-identity-liberalism.html>

<sup>29</sup> Inglehart, op.cit., 28.

<sup>30</sup> Christine Lutringer (2017), "Democracy on the Brink. Four Key Insights", in *Democracy at Risk, Globalchallenges*, vol 2, Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies.