



GLOBALIZATION AND THE CHALLENGE OF POPULISM

Ph.D. Umair Pervez KHAN

Umair Pervez Khan is a scholar of International Relations, who is currently pursuing his PhD from Selçuk University, Turkey.

Ph.D. Aabid Majeed SHEIKH

Ph.D. Candidate, Department of International Relations, Selçuk University, Konya/Turkey.

ORCID ID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8118-4582>



ABSTRACT

Globalization has been the most debated phenomenon in last three decades. In the post-cold war era, right after dismemberment of Soviet Union, globalization process, led by the US, swept the states with liberal norms, integration of markets and democratic values. However, since 2008, after the global financial crisis, the populist's movements across the world has seen a surge. The gains of globalization are somehow challenged by the increase of populist parties and policies across the globe. The Brexit vote, Trump's election, and nation-states response towards the unprecedented pandemic (COVID-19) has contributed populist narrative to breed. The protectionist economic policies, along with emphasis on the national identities and growing intolerance towards immigrants, in different countries including America, India, France, Brazil, Turkey, Hungary, Philippines, Indonesia and the UK is symbolizing the rise of populism. Furthermore, the emergence of right-wing populism has started to be counted as the anti-globalization movement. Nevertheless, this article tries to examine the reasons for this rise in populism, its implications on the project of globalization and possible realignments in international politics shaping the world order in coming future. The methodology of the paper is qualitative and analytical in nature.

Keywords: Globalization, Populism, Democracy, Liberal International Order.

ÖZET

Küreselleşme, geçtiğimiz 30 yılın en tartışılan olgusudur. Soğuk savaş sonrası dönemde, Sovyetler Birliği'nin dağılmasından hemen sonra, ABD'nin önderlik ettiği küreselleşme süreci, liberal normlarla, piyasaların entegrasyonu ve demokratik değerlerle devletlere hızla yayıldı. Ancak, 2008'den bu yana, küresel mali krizden sonra dünya çapında popülist hareketler bir yükseliş gösterdi. Küreselleşmenin kazanımları, dünya genelinde popülist partilerin ve politikaların artmasıyla bir şekilde zorlanmaktadır. Brexit oylaması, Trump'ın seçilmesi ve ulus devletlerin daha önce eşi görülmemiş bir pandemiye (COVID-19) verdikleri tepki popülist yaklaşımın artışına katkıda bulundu. Amerika, Hindistan, Fransa, Brezilya, Türkiye, Macaristan, Filipinler, Endonezya ve İngiltere gibi farklı ülkelerdeki korumacı ekonomik politikalar, ulusal kimliklere yapılan vurgu ve göçmenlere karşı artan tahammülsüzlük ile birlikte popülizmin yükselişini simgeliyor. Buna ek olarak, sağcı popülizmin ortaya çıkışı küreselleşme karşıtı bir hareket olarak sayılmaya başlanmıştır. Bunlarla birlikte, bu makale popülizmdeki bu yükselişin nedenlerini, küreselleşme projesi üzerindeki etkilerini ve önümüzdeki dönemde dünya düzenini şekillendiren uluslararası politikadaki olası kaymaları incelemeye çalışmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Küreselleşme, Popülizm, Demokrasi, Liberal Uluslararası Düzen.

1. INTRODUCTION

American Political scientist, Francis Fukuyama, in his famous work, 'End of History' argued that the world had reached "the end point of mankind's ideological evolution and the universalization of Western liberal democracy as the final form of human government" (Fukuyama, 1989). Fukuyama's point of view was that the increase of western liberal democracies and free-market capitalism as dominating ideology in international arena, could be the last stage of human's socio-cultural evolution. The thesis gained wide attention right after the dismemberment of Soviet Union and as no ideological competitor was left to challenge the western ideas of Neoliberalism. It was further strengthened in coming decades as in 2008 the rise in democratic governments across the world reached to all time high (Berman, 2021, p. 71-88).

However, in the same year (2008), the global financial crisis shook the world. This gave another blow to the illusion of 'End of History' as previously the 9/11 attacks had already challenged the neoliberal (unipolar) world of 1990's. The said financial crisis invited mass protests in Arab world, followed by Europe and lastly resentment erupted in the United States, representing ongoing anti- Neoliberal struggles in Global North (Soborski, 2020, p. 298). Since then, a visible decline in democratic norms is evident in different parts of the globe.

Along with the economic reasons, on individual or on national level, the cultural backlash in reaction to globalization, in various regions has increased the support of populist movements, particularly right-wing populism, which is perceived as a threat to the globalization project and democratic values across the globe. The election of Trump in 2016 and his succeeding policies, Brexit in the same year, right wing ideologue Modi becoming second time Prime Minister of so-called largest democracy of the world, India, Hungary being ruled by the populist Orban, who started his career as an anti-dictatorship leader, now believes that 'era of liberal democracy is over' (Berman, 2021, p. 71-88), Erdogan shaping Turkey's politics in his own way, along with parallel political changes observed in Brazil, Philippines and rise of China-Russia axis in the last decade, specifically in this ongoing pandemic, has all contributed in initiating a serious debate regarding success of populism and bleak future of liberal democracies.

This article is divided into three sections. The first half of the article focuses on defining the term populism. Second portion sheds light on the reasons for surge in the populist movements around the world and last section aims to discuss the implications of ongoing populist movements on the globalization process and possible realignments in international politics, shaping the world order in coming future. The approach used for the said study includes qualitative and analytical method while primary and secondary data is extracted from available books, journals, opinions of experts, newspapers, official websites, and other relevant material.

2. DEFINING POPULISM

The term 'populism' has been used since late 19th century in different fields. Being an interdisciplinary term, the meaning of the populism differs according to the practitioners own understanding and interpretation. The use of term is so frequent in media, academia, and other literature that it is difficult to define it in a single manner, as one of the scholars is of the point of view that populism can be defined, "as an ideology, a doctrine, a mentality, a system of ideas and a political style, also a rhetoric, demagoguery, and discourse, or as a number of concrete historical movements" (Peri, 2008).

In recent times, it is also observed that the phenomenon of populism is also not static. It is changing as per time and domestic conditions of a particular state or region. For example, what populism means for America is not the same for Europe. The European populism has been stressing about the historical fight for the people whereas the modern American populism means the struggle for direct elections for all government bodies (Müller, 2016). Similarly, in Latin America the populist groups have been demanding the justice and equality for all and had been promoting the values of inclusiveness while in India the populism is defined by right-wing Hindu Nationalism based on the ideology of Hindutva calling for exclusion of Muslim and Christian communities (Calléja, 2020).

Nevertheless, literary speaking, according to Cambridge dictionary, populism is defined as, "The political ideas and activities that are intended to get the support of ordinary people by giving them what they want". Moreover, in general understanding of political science, the populists mean the 'real people' who stand against the dishonest 'elite' (Mudde & Kaltwasser, 2017). In other words, the populist leaders/parties show their aversion for the so-called establishment and mainstream parties. They play with the sentiments of the people thus claiming to become the only sole representatives of the 'real people' (Müller, 2016). This was observed in the left-wing Venezuelan President, late Hugo Chávez, who once said: "I am not an individual. I am the people" (Molloy, 2018). Such approach helps them to become authoritative as they are already not very much fond of complicated democratic processes rather, they prefer less democratic methods like referendum.

Keeping in view the above discussion, we may agree for the sake of the current article, populism would be interpreted according to its most common understanding of 'Us vs Them' taking few other characteristics into consideration. The 'us vs them' version of the populism is mostly attributed as right-wing populism as the parties/individuals claiming this sort of the populism refers 'us' as the 'people' and 'them' as the 'liberal elites' in political or economic manner (Berman, 2021). This claim of the populist leaders/parties of representing the "true, common people" against the corrupt "elites," thus separates society into two apparently homogeneous and antagonistic groups (Funke et al., 2020).

Political populism refers to taking the people into confidence and rallying against the antiestablishment rhetoric to get into the power to bring the real change which would benefit the people (Peri, 2008). One of the examples of this sort of populism could be traced into the colonial times when the local leaders rallied against the colonial rule and built their popular support based on the idea of liberation from the 'outsiders' (Calléja, 2020). Today

the populists demand the protection of their culture, values, and local ideologies against the idea of global culture or in other sense Americanization.

On the other hand, economic populists argue that with the advent of the technology (Internet, Mobiles, Artificial intelligence etc.), the gap between 'have and have nots' has increased (Pastor & Veronesi, 2018). The neoliberal values and globalization have not only created discontent among the middle class but has also made life difficult and insecure as compared to the privileged and elites. This discrepancy between the elites and the ordinary people must be minimized so economic populists gather such groups which share their view of distributing the wealth in all by making sure the participation of all in the economic cycle (Mudde, 2000). The next section sheds light on the political, social, and economic reasons for the surge of the populism in Europe, Asia, Latin America, and the US itself.

3. REASONS FOR THE RISE IN POPULISM

Populism has been on rise in the last two decades in different regions of the world. The reasons for such increase in the notion of populism includes political, financial, as well as socio cultural factors. Moreover, according to Francis Fukuyama, the populist narrative revolves around couple of tenets: identity and resentment. Though the right-wing populists underscore the traditional understanding of national identity, diluted, and misinterpreted by (un)cultural 'others' (migrants, newcomers, foreigners), the progressive left is contesting the very concept of identity as intolerant. The other precept of the populist narrative, the politics of resentment, appeals to 'the people' who fear that their way of life will be destroyed, they will be deprived of dignity, and, finally, their religion or tradition will be disrespected. They are more susceptible to the narrative of populist leaders playing on emotions (Rewizorski, 2020). We can analyze these factors on two levels: i.e. Individual and on the state level.

The individual factors responsible for the surge in the populist ideology include the discontent of the natives of the states regarding the damage to the original culture through immigration policies opted by the respective states. If we take the example of the flagship project of Globalization, i.e. EU, we observe that there is growing dissatisfaction in the individuals of EU. According to one of the studies, conducted in the year 2017, it is concluded that one of every five EU citizens, referred immigration as one of the most confronted challenges to EU (Tarek Hassan Semul, 2018). The citizens see immigrants as an extra burden on the domestic economy and held outsiders as a liability than an opportunity as the immigrants take natives share of jobs and income (June, 2020). Secondly, the flow of the immigrants is taken as a threat to the local identity which has contributed a lot in shaping the narrative against the migration. This perspective is weakening the concepts of free movement across the globe thus challenging the very creation of EU.

Furthermore, immigration caused by the crisis like Arab Spring, is also not well received in European countries. The only country to host the most (approximately 3.6 M) Syrian refugees is Turkey (Acik, Ozdemir, & San, 2021). EU countries like Germany, France, Greece, Austria, and others considers the migration from Middle Eastern countries as a threat to security. The individuals of the countries for the very reason are anti-immigration. The terrorist attacks in Paris, in 2015 and incidents of violence and assaults that happened in Germany, the same year, fueled the sentiments of the locals against the immigrants as both the incidents involved the immigrants (June, 2020).

Similarly, the individuals of different states feel left over as the gap between the peripheral communities and urban communities is increasing (Aiginger, 2020, p. 38-42). The economic activity in the urban centers is escalating while the rural areas observe stagnation in their growth. This disparity fuels the sense of 'us' vs 'them' notion because the globalization project benefits certain groups of individuals creating the 'elite' of the society which exploit the poorer segment. The projects of welfare announced by EU after the recession of 2008 could not deliver properly due to certain reasons including the diversion of the funds to large political elites and due to the fact that population of rural areas couldn't cope with the red tape culture. The poor population of underdeveloped or developing countries in Asia and Africa also feel the gap and perceive that globalization has only benefited the elite instead of delivering to the ordinary population. This sense of deprivation and uneven distribution of income internationally, as well as domestically, also instigates the resentment against elites, thus 'people' fell prey to the populist rhetoric.

Moreover, analyzing the rise of populism on state level, we see that states have reasserted themselves as the main players of international politics. With the advent of the globalization project, the role of the state was undermined in the world politics as the hyper globalists predicted that in coming time the state will just be an

entity with no actual power in its hand. Nevertheless, with the populist leaders coming into the power across the globe like, Trump in USA (2016), Johnson in UK (2019), Modi for the second time in India (2019), Orban in Hungary (2010), Bolsonaro in Brazil (2018), Joko Widodo in Indonesia (2014) and other populist leaders/parties, those who emerged in power in France, Spain, Italy, Turkey and much of Eastern Europe have undermined the liberal democratic values (Mounk & Kyle, 2018). These leaders mostly came into the power by pushing the nationalistic rhetoric of securing national economy through protectionist policies, and by safeguarding the cultural identity, and state sovereignty in the age of globalization.

The global financial crisis in the year 2008 acted as a watershed event in giving the pretext to populist leaders across the world to exploit the weaknesses of the liberal economic system being installed after World War II and specifically post-cold war values of free trade and free economy. The Bush administration in the year 2008, though tried to manage the global crisis and signed “Troubled Assets Relief Program” (TARP) of amount as heavy as of \$700 Billion (Best, 2018), for the revival of the global economy but still the damage done by the financial crisis provided ample reasons for populists to campaign against the globalization. According to an estimate 9 million families lost their homes, and in UK every household faced the loss of \$50,000 (Canadian) due to sudden drop in pension funds and housing prices (Economist, 2018). The crisis also influenced the developing countries paving the way for the anti-globalist narrative in the regions which didn’t gain much in the globalization process.

Nevertheless, election of Trump fueled the populist narrative throughout the world as during his tenure, he openly propagated the nationalistic approach by reiterating his idea of “Making America great again” (Brandt, 2020, p. 305). This slogan implied the nationalistic rhetoric, appealing the ‘people’ to support him so that with the help of the ‘pure people’ America could be made great again. This version echoed throughout his term in office rather he used this slogan to get into White House. This strategy clearly stated “Americanization” as on the top priority instead of the project “Globalization” (Anna, 2017, p. 33-46). Trump right after taking the oath changed the foreign policy outlook of the US. He, during his term, unilaterally withdrew America from Paris Climate agreement (McGrath, 2020) giving an impression as if American economy could boast up after withdrawing from the agreement. Secondly, he called the NATO as an “obsolete” alliance and criticized it in the following words, “We will no longer surrender this country or its people to the false song of globalism. The nation-state remains the true foundation for happiness and harmony. I am skeptical of international unions that tie us up and bring America down” (Hirsh, 2016). Similarly, he talked about the low financial contributions made by the EU and other member states for running the alliance. His anti-globalization narrative compelled EU to introduce the concept of ‘Strategic Autonomy’ so that EU’s reliance on the alliance is reduced in defense (European Parliament, 2021).

Moreover, Trump built a fear within the American population for the immigrants. The anti-immigration campaign exploited the populist notion of migration threatening the unique cultural values of the American society. On this pretext, he introduced several laws of tightening the border security for the immigrants coming to America from Mexico. He didn’t hesitate to bluntly call them the “Enemies of America” as according to him immigrants were being involved in crimes like rapes, assaults, and drug trade (Béland, 2018). Other measures that he took to preserve the so-called American values include the controversial law, famously known as the ‘Muslim ban’, by issuing an executive order, banning the citizens of seven countries (mostly Muslims) to enter America for period of 90 days and imposing permanent ban to the refugees of Syria (Amnesty, 2017). This was criticized by the leftist lobby and international NGO’s but to of little avail. All these steps during his presidency undermined the liberal values and weakened the American democratic institutions which was seen in the riots staged by the Trump supporters in the aftermath of the results of the elections in January 2021 (Mounk, 2021). Trump successfully manipulated the populist idea of the leader representing the will of the people and he considered himself as the true representator of the “patriotic people of America”. He convinced his supporters to storm the Capitol Hill, symbolizing the preparedness of American population to absorb the populist notions in the future.

Furthermore, the trade war between China and the US in the last year in his office also symbolized the close-up policy of his administration regarding economy. The other steps to appease the populist sentiments included the withdrawal from the Iran Nuclear deal and taking a step back from the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action, negotiated in Obama’s tenure with Iran and other major powers (Robinson, 2017). This decision led to large criticism of Trump’s isolationist policy, but Trump continued to take steps according to right-wing populist ideology. Additionally, in the end of the Trump’s presidency, the COVID-19 virus broke out. In post COVID-19 outbreak the diplomatic tensions rouse between two competing world powers: China and America. After

the outburst of virus from Wuhan and later being called as a ‘Chinese Virus’ (Cillizza, 2020) by Donald Trump clearly depicted the political intentions of the President to malign the image of China internationally. The US officials also reiterated at different occasions that China is responsible for this pandemic due to its irresponsible behavior towards the said virus earlier in Dec, 2019. They accused Chinese authorities of punishing the doctors reporting the early cases of the COVID-19 and for suppressing the facts. President Xi Jinping was being directly blamed for taking repressive measures against the media outlets as well as other concerned departments for not reporting the threat internationally (Myers, 2020). Despite of WHO disagreeing with use of the territory of its origin to identify the virus, the series of statements are the part to build the populist narrative against the global competitor and satisfy the domestic sentiment. Consequently, the Trump’s era is a classic example of the populist regime, exploiting the anti-establishment narrative, introducing protectionist economic policies, and using threat of cultural values being undermined, as its tool for winning the mandate and then staying in the White House. The newly elected president, Joe Biden, is trying to reverse the damage done by the populist Trump, not only to the liberal institutions of America but also to the democratic liberal values across the globe.

The reasons of Brexit also included the populist version of “Take back control” of economy, sovereignty, and freedom to make policies regarding immigration. (Henley, Rankin, & O’Carroll, 2020). This all had started at the beginning of the last decade but finally UK was able to come out from the European Union in 2020. This has implications for the EU as it lost its second largest economy. The decision of UK leaving EU after almost five decades has raised serious questions regarding the future of liberal international order, being in place after the end of cold war.

Moreover, the global south is no exception to follow the suit of the populist wave that struck most of the Europe and the west. India, the so-called largest democracy of the world has now elected right-wing ultranationalist, Narendra Modi of *BJP*, for the second time as the Prime Minister. He had gained popularity by using the same technique of using populist sentiments of the people for securing the unique cultural identity of the Indian nation. He is a lifetime member of the right-wing Hindu militant organization, *Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh* (RSS), a group banned thrice in India (1948, 1975, and 1992) for its ultra conservative views and its involvement in terrorism and communal violence (Iqbal, 2020, p.46). The right-wing approach of Modi is based on his religious views and appealing most of the people of the Hindu religion to be the safeguard of their Hindu ideology. For this purpose, Modi has used religion as the tool for garnering popular support in the masses. Few of the incidents that occurred under the patronage of right-wing Modi, to pursue the *Hindutva* ideology, i.e. the land of Hindustan (India) is for Hindus, include the genocide of Muslims in the state of Gujrat in 2002. The estimated Muslims killed in the riots are recorded as 2000 and 150,000 being displaced (Iqbal: 43-63). Modi has recently in August 2019, unilaterally abrogated the special status of Muslim majority disputed region of Jammu and Kashmir and is now busy in making demographic shifts in the region by allotting domiciles to the Hindus (Khan, 2019). Similarly, the right-wing extremist government of *BJP* passed the controversial law called as Citizenship Amendment Bill (BBC, 2019) also referred to as “Anti-Muslim” law. These undemocratic steps along with patronizing the violence on state level by running 20,000 schools of *Hindutva*, with 2.5 million students, and total 4.5 million registered members of the extremist organizations have seriously undermined the democratic and secular values of the Indian constitution. Modi has used the technique of the populist leaders to amend the constitution of the states thus institutionalizing the far-right *Hindutva* ideology in the Indian society. This is posing a serious challenge to the regional security. Modi has also been able to exploit the poor economic conditions of the Indian state and has frequently used the anti-establishment rhetoric in his speeches.

Other populist leaders have also used the anti-religious sentiments especially against the Muslim community, after 9/11, across the world to gain the power. To quote few of the states with anti-Muslim laws include France, Netherland, Italy, Spain, and others. This is another type of populism known as ‘Exclusionary Populism’, which is used by the populist leaders to divert the attention from the actual problems in the state (Cervi, 2020, p.2). Consequently, populism is increasing throughout the globe in many forms and it has implications for globalization, which are discussed in coming paragraphs.

4. IMPLICATIONS FOR GLOBALIZATION

Globalization process has been historically led by the America and European countries. The EU model has been an epitome of regional integration and economic prosperity. The European countries that fought bloody wars with each other for most of their history exhibited exemplary cooperation and outstanding resilience to

forward the agenda of globalization by accepting and acting upon the values of liberal international order. Nevertheless, lately after the Brexit, the threat to regional integration model that was for some time taken as an exemplary model across the globe, has seen a serious blow.

UK voted in favor of Brexit on the populist notion of ‘taking UK’s decision in UK’ (John Mauldin, 2016) without any outside interference. Similarly, other EU states are now facing demands for such kind of approach, though only twenty-five per cent of the members of the European Parliament belong to far-right populist parties (Tarek Hassan Semul, 2018). They are mostly marginalized in the decision-making process but still, the indirect effect is substantial as the fear of the populist competitors’ prompts mainstream politicians to prioritize national interests and over Europe to adopt Eurosceptic stance.

The weakening of the EU solidarity by expulsion of United Kingdom and demands from other EU member states to have referenda on EU matters has not only challenged the globalization but has also given an option to other states for looking towards some other model of prosperity rather than relying on western values of free trade, economic integration and democracy. Furthermore, the rise of Populism has no doubt strengthened the illiberal values in the world and has provided more opportunities for right-wing governments to flourish and left to be undermined. This is a serious consequence for the prevailing liberal international order.

Furthermore, one of the most noticeably awful hit portions of the world are the European states by this continuous Pandemic. UK, Belgium, Italy, Spain, and different states needed to endure the worst part of this pandemic and some of them are yet battling. Europe, the world's most integrated area, has been fruitless in mounting a collective reaction to the ongoing pandemic. No European nation had the strength to react to Italy's call for provision of medical supplies and financial help. Also, the pattern shows that pandemic cases are high in profoundly globalized nations when contrasted with less globalized countries which is offering a genuine debate on the gains of supposed globalization in last few decades.

The world is still facing an unprecedented pandemic since COVID-19 first appeared in Wuhan province of China, where the first case was reported on 1st of December 2019. In the globalized world of interconnectedness, the virus travelled to almost every country of the world. The states responded to control the outbreak of the virus by taking rigid steps like tightening borders, cancelling international flights, minimizing free movements, and imposing lockdowns domestically. The world saw the period of isolation but still the damage done by the COVID-19 is unprecedented in the history as it has claimed more than 3,437,545 lives globally, as of May 2021 (WHO, 2021).

Moreover, precautionary measures like imposing travel bans, closing air and land routes, shutting economy, limiting trade, academic institutions switching to the online mode and cancellation of international conferences and seminars involving international travel have drastically impacted the global economy. The economic implications of COVID-19 are predicted to be deeper than the economic crisis of 2008 globally. (Shrestha, 2020, p. 2-7). Restrictions being introduced by states have affected the manufacturing capability of the states, thus resulting in unemployment. Tourism industry has been hit mostly that in return has pressurized domestic economic environment resulting in loss of jobs. This has initiated a serious debate in states and is encouraging them to go for the protectionist policies rather than focusing on the liberal economy.

Furthermore, all the states, irrespective of their evolved health infrastructure, are struggling to control the pandemic. Even the worldwide healthcare structure is not able to meet the unprecedented health challenge. This has uncovered the inability of the global health organizations to address such pandemics and states might be judged individually on their overall performances as soon as the COVID-19 is over. This is transforming the nation-state system, strengthening the populist’s narrative of state being the most important and responsible player of global politics, thus shaping the new realities viz a viz globalization.

Nevertheless, the rise of right-wing nationalists like Modi, Orban, Macron, Bennet and others have contributed to poses a continuous threat of right-wing terrorism across the globe. The policy of Modi to target minorities like Muslims and Christians has raised serious concerns of depriving the basic human rights to the minorities. The internationally recognized dispute of Kashmir also faces severe repercussions of right-wing Hindu nationalist policies which are in direct contradiction to UN resolutions on the conflict and international law, thus undermining the liberal secular values in the South Asian region and on global level. The patronage given to RSS on state level also is the threat to regional security as India is involved in interfering in the domestic matters of smaller states like Nepal, Sri Lanka, and Bangladesh etc. This intolerance is giving rise to extremism, not only in India itself but it has transnational influence as well. The populist rhetoric based on

race was also seen in the US elections in 2020 as the Hindus campaigned on the ethno-religious lines for far-right Trump. This is posing serious threats to democratic values all over the world.

Moreover, the white nationalism is growing in West Europe due to the populist narrative against the migration and its implications are beyond imagination. The minorities are under attack and specifically the Muslims are being targeted in so-called liberal nations like France, Austria, Australia, the US, UK, and Canada. The threat of Islamophobia is increasing, which is also acknowledged by the Canadian Prime Minister, Justin Trudeau, after a recent terror attack on the Muslim family living in Canada (Lum, 2021). This intolerance could lead to serious consequences between the western civilization and Islamic civilization as was argued by Samuel P. Huntington in his famous thesis of Clash of Civilizations (Huntington, 1997).

The increase in right-wing populism in democracies like the US, UK and other western states has also shown signs of intolerance towards other races as well. The black people are targeted on the regular basis in different countries which symbolizes the decrease in the democratic attitudes towards minorities.

Populism has long term effects as well as it is transforming the power balance between nation-states and international institutions. The narrative has damaged the reputation of regional and global institutions like UN, WHO, NATO, OIC and EU and is responsible for weakening these multilateral organizations. The declining liberal values across the globe has undermined the efficiency of such institutions as UN has not been able to get its resolutions implemented regarding two oldest conflicts on its agenda i.e. Kashmir and Palestine. Similarly, the violations of its resolutions by so-called supporter of the liberal values, India, and Israel, have raised serious questions regarding its utility. The Turkey's populist president, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, Malaysian former premier Mahathir Muhammad, along with Pakistan's premier, Imran Khan, has criticized the role of UN at different forums (Aydin, 2020).

Similarly, the EU project has seen different hurdles in recent past which has weakened its position. The Organization of Islamic Countries, the largest organization consisting of 57 Muslim states, is practically obsolete in defending the Muslim causes over the world. WHO's response in the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic has not been satisfactory and now the provision of vaccine to all developed and under developed nations is a great challenge ahead of the organization but it seems as a failure to overcome it as the vaccines are not equally distributed among the nations. This is also giving the populist leaders a reason to rally against the global institutions.

The other impact of this populist wave is the weakening of internal institutional structures in the countries. As the populist leaders try to work authoritatively instead of being more democratic so the regime change in different countries of Latin America, Europe and South Asia will pose a serious challenge to governance structure of the countries. The overall challenge poised by the wave of populism is serious for the globalization project and liberal values of free trade, free movement, and free capital flow. The US and its allies will have to rethink about the globalization and will have to devise a strategy which can come over the populist narrative in west and global south.

5. A NEW WORLD ORDER?

As UN Secretary General Antonio Guterres said, 'we have gone from a bipolar to a unipolar and from unipolar to a no-polar world', where global powers, be they traditional friends or foes, are unable to work together. This lack of hegemony currently threatens any chance of a global solution. This power vacuum is shaping the new realities and it is evident that the surge in the populist ideas is hurting the present liberal international order. The two competing governance structures and the ideas are asking nation-states to take the sides which could define the future of new world order that is in making.

There has been a visible decline in the US's role as a global leader. Historically, it had taken swift actions in wake of crisis as was demonstrated by Trump's predecessor Obama in case of Ebola or in transforming the European world after the dismemberment of Soviet. This time America did not play any significant role to help other states of the world in fight against this pandemic nor has it been able to give any leading role in transforming the Middle Eastern region specifically after so called Arab Spring and Syrian Crisis. This symbolizes its decreasing ability to play a leading role in the world affairs.

On the contrary, apparently authoritative regimes like China and North Korea have been successful in managing the COVID-19 pandemic. The Chinese model of controlling the health crisis is even praised by WHO and UN (Rauhala, 2020). China after controlling the spread of virus at home exported millions of masks

and sent its medical teams worldwide to help prevent the losses due to the COVID-19 virus thus, in absence of the US in international diplomatic stage, emerged as a global responsible player. The vaccine diplomacy of China has also helped China to grow its influence across the world. North Korea as well, with already strict border management laws and authoritative style of governance has been able to deal with the pandemic more efficiently as compared to Western states. Similarly, New Zealand by imposing strict lockdowns and closing the borders made itself COVID-19 free country. This has initiated serious ideological debate in global discourse viz a viz better model of governance and future world order.

Furthermore, China has also shown more signs of de-globalization in recent past. Strict media control along with the establishment of the State Immigration Administration agency responsible for tracking the inward flow of the passengers has contributed in making things difficult for outsiders specially westerns to do business within China. The flow of money to and from China is also comparatively difficult due to which companies are not at ease while trading with Chinese business giants. The dealing of Hong Kong protests and now the tone over the Taiwan conflict also reflects the surge in the nationalistic identity of the ancient state.

The US is trying to disengage from China and cut the share of global economy from China. This would create a sense of greater economic rivalry hence limiting the chance of free trade in coming times. Already the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic has exposed the high degree of dependence on global supply chains and stressed the importance of national strategic needs. This will encourage further 'de-globalization/selective globalization' process as economy could go from 'global' to regional. Russia and China's cooperation is building, and three regional economic blocks could be predicted in near future: The American block, European block, and Asian block with China as its leader. Countries like Pakistan, Vietnam, Cambodia, Bangladesh, and Malaysia are already engaged on top level in the field of trade with China.

6. CONCLUSION

The populism wave across the world has impacted the liberal international order. The liberal values are under pressure due to authoritative and populist style of governance gaining acceptance in the political arena. The protectionist economic policies along with resentment of ordinary people against the uneven distribution of globalization gains have caused surge in populist narrative. The ongoing pandemic is also shaping the new world order which is now somehow visible as it may evolve to a multipolar world. The China's rise and its strategy of "Development with peace" is gaining popularity across the globe and it has proved itself to be a global responsible player in the wake of this ongoing pandemic. On the other hand, the notion of the US "Development with Democracy" seems to lose its magnetism, even domestically, and needs serious rethinking on the values it has exported for so long. Moreover, the inability of global institutions to deliver across the globe on different fronts, though it be economic, security or health has undermined the trust of global citizens in them. The surge in illiberal values in both sides of the Atlantic has even caused deep concerns for the most celebrated scholar of liberal international order, Francis Fukuyama, as he is worried about fading away of the liberal movements in the west soon. Consequently, the rise in populism is causing serious implications for the globalization and needs comprehensive plans to tackle, else world order is on its way to transformation.

REFERENCES

- Acik, D., Ozdemir, I., & San, C. (2021, March 31). Turkey hosts over 3.6M Syrian refugees. *Anadolu Ajansi*. Retrieved from <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/turkey/turkey-hosts-over-36m-syrian-refugees/2194317>
- Aiginger, K. (2020). Populism: Root Causes, Power Grabbing and Counter Strategy. *Intereconomics*, 55(1), 38–42.
- Akkaş, H.H., Rashid, S., Sheikh, A.M. (2021). Covid-19 and the New World Order, *International Journal of Social, Humanities and Administrative Sciences*, 7 (41), 1184-1192.
- Amnesty. (2017, August 21). A licence to discriminate: Trump's Muslim & refugee ban. Retrieved from <https://www.amnesty.org.uk/licence-discriminate-trumps-muslim-refugee-ban>
- Anna, D. (2017). Trump's "America First" Foreign Policy: The Resurgence of the Jacksonian Tradition? *L'Europe en Formation*, 1, 33-46.
- Aydin, H. K. (2020, September 21). 'UN failed once again': Turkish president. Retrieved from <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/turkey/-un-failed-once-again-turkish-president/1980791>

- BBC. (2019, December 11). Citizenship Amendment Bill: India's new 'anti-Muslim' law explained. *BBC*. Retrieved from <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-50670393>
- Béland, D. (2018, November 28). Donald Trump's populism preys upon collective anxieties. Retrieved from <https://theconversation.com/donald-trumps-populism-preys-upon-collective-anxieties-107559>
- Berman, S. (2021). The Causes of Populism. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 24, 71-88.
- Best, J. (2018, October 1). How the 2008 financial crisis helped fuel today's right-wing populism. Retrieved from <https://theconversation.com/how-the-2008-financial-crisis-helped-fuel-todays-right-wing-populism-103979>
- Brandt, S. L. (2020). Donald Trump, the Reality Show: Populism as Performance and Spectacle. *Z Literaturwiss Linguistik*, 50, 303-321.
- Calléja, L. (2020, February 14). The rise of populism: A threat to civil society? Retrieved from <https://www.e-ir.info/2020/02/09/the-rise-of-populism-a-threat-to-civil-society/>
- Cervi, L. (2020). Exclusionary Populism and Islamophobia: A Comparative Analysis of Italy and Spain. *Religions*, 11(516), 1-21.
- Chiu, A. (2020, May 20). Trump has no qualms about calling coronavirus the 'Chinese Virus.' That's a dangerous attitude, experts say. *The Washington Post*.
- Cillizza, C. (2020, March 20). Trump's 'Chinese' Virus Is Part of a Long History of Blaming Other Countries for Disease. *Time*. Retrieved from <https://time.com/5807376/virus-name-foreign-history/>
- Communication* (p. 626). Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Economist. (2018, September 6). Lehman ten years on: More has changed than meets the eye. Retrieved from <https://www.economist.com/briefing/2018/09/06/lehman-ten-years-on-more-has-changed-than-meets-the-eye>
- European Parliament. (2021). *The EU strategic autonomy debate*. Retrieved from [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2021/690532/EPRS_BRI\(2021\)690532_EN.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2021/690532/EPRS_BRI(2021)690532_EN.pdf)
- Fukuyama, F. (1989). The End of History? *The National Interest*, 16, 3-18.
- Funke, M., Schularick, M., & Trebesch, C. (2020). *Populist leaders and the economy* (036). Bonn and Cologne: University of Bonn and University of Cologne, Reinhard Selten Institute.
- Henley, J., Rankin, J., & O'Carroll, L. (2020, January 27). Brexit explained: how it happened and what comes next. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/news/2020/jan/27/brexit-explained-how-it-happened-and-what-comes-next>
- Hirsh, M. (2016, May 5). Why George Washington would have agreed with Donald Trump. *Politico*. Retrieved from <https://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2016/05/founding-fathers-2016-donald-trump-america-first-foreign-policy-isolationist-213873/>
- Huntington, S. P. (1997). *The clash of civilizations and the remaking of world order*. New York: Touchstone.
- Iqbal, K. (2020). The Rise of Hindutva, Saffron Terrorism and South Asian Regional Security. *JSSA*, 5(1), 43-63.
- June, W. (2020, November 30). Explaining the main drivers of anti-immigration attitudes in Europe. Retrieved from <https://www.eyes-on-europe.eu/explaining-the-main-drivers-of-anti-immigration-attitudes-in-europe/>
- Khan, U. P. (2019, November 13). Article 370: resist to exist! *Daily Times*.
- Lum, Z. A. (2021, June 9). 'Islamophobia is real.' Trudeau attends vigil for Muslim family killed in targeted attack. *Politico*.
- McGrath, M. (2020, November 4). Climate change: US formally withdraws from Paris agreement. *BBC*.
- McMinn, J. B. (1960). Plato as a Philosophical Theologian. *Phronesis*, 5(1), 23-31.
- Molloy, D. (2018, March 6). What is populism, and what does the term actually mean? *BBC*. Retrieved from <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-43301423>

- Mouk, Y. (2021, January 14). *After Trump, is American democracy doomed by populism?*. Retrieved from Council on Foreign Relations website: <https://www.cfr.org/in-brief/after-trump-american-democracy-doomed-populism>
- Mouk, Y., & Kyle, J. (2018, December 26). What populists do to democracies. Retrieved from <https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2018/12/hard-data-populism-bolsonaro-trump/578878/>
- Mudde, C., & Kaltwasser, C. R. (2017). *Populism: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford University Press.
- Müller, J. W. (2017). *The Age of Perplexity: Rethinking the World we Knew. The Rise and Rise of Populism?*. Madrid: BBVA, OpenMind, Penguin Random House, Grupo Editorial.
- Myers, S. L. (2020, March 13). China Spins Tale That the U.S. Army Started the Coronavirus Epidemic. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/13/world/asia/coronavirus-china-conspiracy-theory.html>
- Peri, Y. (2008). Populism. In L. Lee Kaid, & C. Holtz-Bacha, *Encyclopedia of Political*
- Rauhala, E. (2020, February 8). Chinese officials note serious problems in coronavirus response. The World Health Organization keeps praising them. *The Washington Post*. Retrieved from https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/asia_pacific/chinese-officials-note-serious-problems-in-coronavirus-response-the-world-health-organization-keeps-praising-them/2020/02/08/b663dd7c-4834-11ea-91ab-ce439aa5c7c1_story.html
- Rewizorski, M. (2020). Backlash Against Globalisation and the Shadow of Phobos. *Fudan Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences*.
- Robinson, K. (2017, April 11). *What is the Iran nuclear deal?* Retrieved from Council on Foreign Relations website: <https://www.cfr.org/background/what-iran-nuclear-deal>
- Shrestha, N. (2020). The impact of COVID-19 on globalization, 11, (2020): 2-7. *One Health*, 11, 2-7.
- Soborski, R. (2020). From the End of History to the Populist Turn and Beyond: Ideology's Misfortunes in Globalization Theory and Global Activism. *International Critical Thought*, 10(2), 296-310.
- Tarek Hassan Semul, A. S. (2018). Countercurrent to Globalization: Rise of Right-wing Populism in the Global North. *BISS Journal*, 39(1), 83-100.