

## Free Markets Under Attack from the Left and Right



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### *Introduction*

Can you name the Congresswoman who recently accused the opposing party of being anti-capitalist, anti-investor, anti-business, and anti-American? Believe it or not, the quote was from Congresswoman Maxine Waters (D-CA) referring to Republican attacks on Black Rock CEO Larry Fink for promoting ESG—environmental, social, and governance factors. ESG is one of the poster children for “woke” capitalism. Which, according to Jasper Goodman writing in Politico,<sup>1</sup> has led the major parties to change sides. Conservative Republicans are now championing increased government regulation of private businesses. And progressive Democrats like Maxine Waters are championing free markets.

There is something to the charge that the rise of “woke” capitalism has fueled the growth of the self-styled “post-liberal-right.”<sup>2</sup> The new right includes elected officials like Senators Josh Hawley, JD Vance, and Florida Governor Ron DeSantis. The post-liberal right consists of several factions, not all of whom agree with the agenda of the others. Some are nationalist conservatives, while others are traditionalists who seek to use government power to impose their version of a good society and sound moral order on the country. Others are old fashioned mercantilists in supporting free markets at home and protectionism and “fair trade” abroad. What all these factions have in common is a belief that the right will never achieve its goals—or stop the left from achieving its goals—as long as the right allows an outdated attachment to classical liberal principles to inhibit the right’s willingness to aggressively use government to both reshape society to their liking— and silence their ideological opponents.<sup>3</sup>

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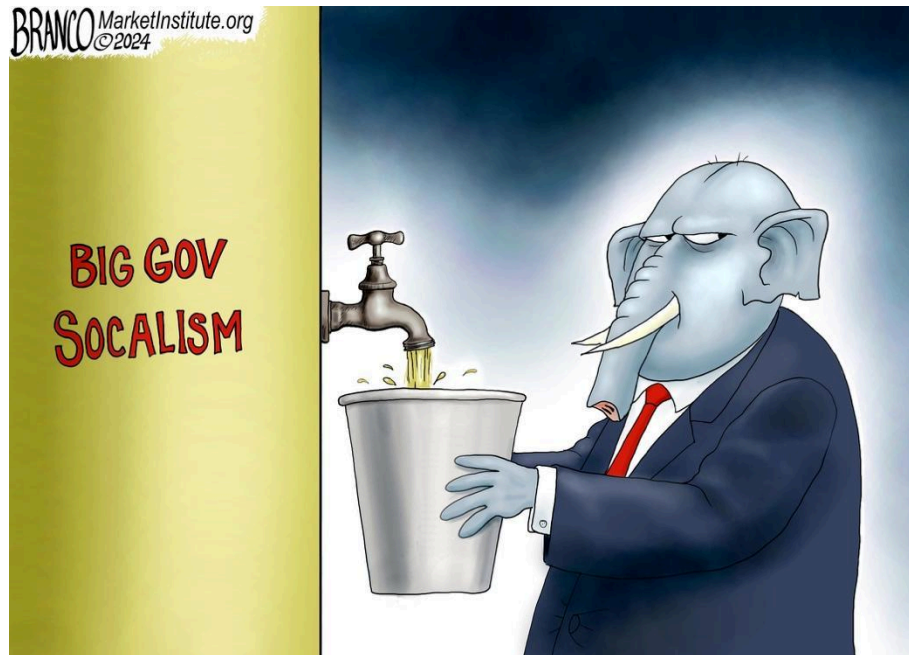
<sup>1</sup> [Democrats champion free markets as Republicans target Wall Street - POLITICO](#)

<sup>2</sup> Liberal in this instance means classical liberalism or libertarianism; opposed to modern liberalism. Classical liberals support free-markets, individual liberty, and limited government. Some of the post-liberal right claim that classical and modern liberals are in a de facto alliance against traditional society, overlooking that classical liberals and libertarians are staunch opponent of modern liberals and particularly the woke left because they left seeks to use state power to imposed its woke vision on the nation, For more on this see [Liberalism Isn't Rule by Elites \(reason.com\)](#)

<sup>3</sup> For more background: [In search of the common good: The postliberal project Left and Right - Stefan Borg, 2023 \(sagepub.com\)](#), [The Post-Liberal Right: The Good, the Bad, and the Perplexing - Public Discourse \(thepublicdiscourse.com\)](#), [From Conservatism to Post liberalism: The Right after 2020 - American Affairs Journal](#), [The Post-Liberal Right: The Good, the Bad, and the Perplexing - Public Discourse \(thepublicdiscourse.com\)](#)

For their part, Democrats may defend corporations from Republican attacks for “going woke.” However, that is more out of sympathy for the agenda pursued by the corporation than because of a newfound love of free markets. The fact is today’s Democratic party is well to the left of where the party was under the presidencies of Bill Clinton and Barack Obama.

This paper will examine and critique the new tendency on the right to embrace the use of state power to achieve political, economic, and social goals. It will then provide analysis on the Democrats. The paper hopes to show that Goodman is correct— that an anti-market faction is on the rise in the conservative movement and within the Republican Party. However, Goodman is wrong to assert the Democrats’ defense of some businesses from GOP attacks means they are embracing free-markets. The paper will conclude by looking at the challenges to the post-liberal right within the Republican Party and the conservative movement—and the rise of a new movement that could challenge the progressive dominance of the Democratic Party.



*The Rise of Anti-liberal Conservatives*

Ideological is one the few adjectives that one might have a hard time applying to Donald Trump. In fact, part of Trump’s appeal is that, unlike Ronald Reagan, Trump does not offer a coherent ideological vision. Instead, he uses whatever policies he thinks will help him achieve his goals of creating good jobs at good wages for the American people (Make America Great Again). Thus,

Trump combined tax cuts and regulatory reform<sup>4</sup> with increased tariffs<sup>5</sup> and support for using antitrust and other federal laws against businesses that he saw as enemies of the MAGA agenda.<sup>6</sup>

Trump's mixture of traditional Republican economics with support for tariffs and antitrust prosecutions, as well as his rhetoric suggesting he was open to using government power to "punish political opponents", gave aid and comfort to a group of intellectuals, activists, and politicians who want to reshape conservatism from a movement devoted to limiting federal power to one willing to use government power to achieve its goals, reward its friends, and punish its enemies.

The post-liberal right's complaint is that the conservative movement's continued commitment to "fusionism," which combines support for free-market limited constitutional government with support for traditional values and culture has caused conservatives to disarm themselves in the battle with the left—and ignore the possibility of using government power to achieve conservative policy goals. As Heritage Foundation President Kevin Roberts put it, "this is our moment to demand that our politicians use the power they have. This is the moment for us to demand of companies, whether they're Google, or Facebook, or Disney, that you listen to us, rather than ram down our throats and into our own families all the garbage that you've been pushing on us. This is our time to demand that you do what we say. And it's glorious."<sup>7</sup>

As Robert's quote makes clear, it is not just the rise of Trump that has brought post-liberalism into the mainstream of American right, to the point where the head of one of, if not the leading conservative institution in America is endorsing it. The new movement has also been fueled by the need to counter "woke capitalism." The new willingness to use state power against businesses that embrace wokeness has manifested itself not just in the House Republicans' attacks on ESG, but in Ron DeSantis's battles<sup>8</sup> with Disney and other businesses. Of course, the main target is "big tech." Conservatives have allowed their anger over big tech's "deplatforming" of anyone dissenting from the "woke" agenda or presenting facts that contradict their nation's preferred narratives to lead them to support legislation<sup>9</sup> giving government new powers over tech companies. These conservatives (more accurately named Khanservatives<sup>10</sup> because they have more in common with radical leftist FTC Chair Lina Khan than with traditional conservatives) seem to have forgotten that no matter how well-intentioned government regulations may be, they inevitably have unintended consequences that often harm the very people they intended to help.

Missouri Senator Josh Hawley and Ohio Senator JD Vance may be the leading political proponents of the new conservatism. In 2019, Hawley took to the Senate floor to declare that "we must put aside the tired orthodoxies of years past. We need not just a bigger economy, but a

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<sup>4</sup> [Top Trump adviser praises recent tax cuts, regulatory reforms, and trade policy | Harvard Kennedy School](#)

<sup>5</sup> [Trump Tariffs & Trade War: Details & Analysis of Economic Impact \(taxfoundation.org\)](#)

<sup>6</sup> [What to expect from a second Trump-Pence term on regulation, antitrust, online hate, and China | Brookings](#)

<sup>7</sup> [DeSantis Confirms \(Again\) That Attack on Disney Was Political Retribution \(reason.com\)](#), for Moore on Heritage's turn toward the postliberal right see [Et Tu, Heritage? | The Libertarian Institute](#)

<sup>8</sup> [DeSantis is fighting Disney. Here are some of his other feuds with big business. - POLITICO](#)

<sup>9</sup> [Beware GOP: Regulation Is Wrong Even When You Support It | RealClearMarkets](#)

<sup>10</sup> [The Wrath of Lina Khan and Josh Hawley | RealClearMarkets](#)

better society.”<sup>112</sup> Among the other things Hawley wants to put aside is sound economic thinking when it comes to areas like antitrust policy. In 2021, Hawley introduced the “Trust-Busting for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century Act.”<sup>13</sup> The bill gives new powers to the federal government to block any merger or acquisition by companies with an annual capitalization of over \$100 billion dollars—regardless of how the proposal could benefit consumers and the businesses’ workers and investors. Hawley’s bill singles out big tech by empowering the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) to dismantle businesses that qualify as “dominate digital platforms” as well as forbidding them from acquiring any new companies that compete in the same market. This provision ignores the fact that one way new tech start-ups attract capital is because investors hope that if the startup is successful, they can have a big payday when the company is sold to a large company. Thus, Hawley’s proposal would stifle innovation in the technology sector. Like all of the new right, Hawley’s motivations to punish big tech for deplatforming conservatives and others whose posts challenge the “official narrative.”

Hawley also wants to ban “preferencing.”<sup>14</sup> This is the practice where tech companies allegedly manipulate their business model and algorithms to give their products an advantage. Hawley is one of several Republicans supporting Minnesota Democratic Senator Amy Klobuchar’s American Innovation and Choice Online Act.<sup>15</sup> This bill imposes new regulations on how big tech platforms treat smaller businesses they allow to use their platform, including outlawing preferencing. Klobuchar’s bill would destroy Amazon Prime’s business model, which relies on requiring small businesses that use Amazon’s Prime service to use Amazon’s shipping and warehousing services. This ensures the third-party vendors can meet Prime’s delivery standards. If Amazon cannot require small businesses to use Amazon’s shipping and warehousing services, they may not allow small businesses to use the Prime designation. This may cost Amazon some revenue, but the real victims will be the small businesses deprived of a means to reach new customers, and consumers who will be unable to discover new businesses to patronize.

Hawley has also proposed legislation giving single parents a payment of \$500 and married parents \$1,000 per month.<sup>16</sup> Hawley calls the payment a “tax credit”, but the credit is “refundable.” This means that individuals can still receive the credit even if they paid less than \$500 or \$1,000 in federal taxes—so it is another federal entitlement disguised as a tax credit.

Another representative of this authoritarian tendency is Ohio Senator JD Vance. In a 2019 article in First Things Magazine titled “Beyond Libertarianism”,<sup>17</sup> Vance argued that the right was unable to address the economic needs of the people because they had “outsourced their economic policy to libertarianism.” Vance defines libertarianism as a forbidden criticism of individual choices—even ones that are unwise or destructive like drugs, alcohol, and pornography. This is a

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<sup>12</sup> [Is There a Future for Fusionism? \(reason.com\)](https://reason.com)

<sup>13</sup> [Senator Hawley Introduces The 'Trust-Busting for the Twenty-First Century Act': A Plan to Bust Up Anti-Competitive Big Businesses | Senator Josh Hawley \(senate.gov\)](https://senate.gov)

<sup>14</sup> For more on preferencing see Footnote 9

<sup>15</sup> [Will Republicans Make Lina Khan a Free-Market Czarina? | RealClearMarkets](https://RealClearMarkets)

<sup>16</sup> [Senator Hawley Introduces Parent Tax Credit—Historic Relief for Working Families | Senator Josh Hawley \(senate.gov\)](https://senate.gov)

<sup>17</sup> [Beyond Libertarianism | J. D. Vance | First Things](https://FirstThings)

distortion of libertarianism which is a political philosophy based on the idea that all individuals have natural rights that government must respect. This means government cannot use force to stop people from doing unwise or destructive things if they do not violate the rights of others. However, libertarians defend the right of individuals to use peaceful means to persuade individuals to refrain from making poor choices or imposing non-violent sanctions, such as loss of a job or divorce, on individuals who make those choices. In fact, since libertarians want to abolish the government welfare state, a libertarian society would force individuals to face the consequences of their actions, instead of waiting for the government to bail them out.

Vance openly calls for government intervention in the economy to correct what he believes are market failures.<sup>18</sup> For example, he objects to the fact that more is spent by big tech companies developing new algorithms than is spent finding a cure for Alzheimer's. Thus, he wants the government to increase federal spending on Alzheimer's research. Vance ignores the fact that federal spending on medical research has regularly been increased with bipartisan support. He also does not see a problem with further politicizing the allocation of research dollars, which is the inevitable result of increasing federal funding for research.

Vance has expressed "sympathy" for the libertarian-constitutional conservatives' project of dismantling the administrative state, but also says that,

"another option is that we should just seize the administrative state for our own purposes. We should fire all the people. I think Trump is going to run again in 2024. I think he'll probably win again in 2024, and he'll win by a margin such that he'll be the president of the United States in January of 2025. I think what Trump should do, if I was giving him one piece of advice: fire every single mid-level bureaucrat. Every civil servant in the administrative state. Replace them with our people, and when the courts—because you will get taken to court—and when the courts stop you, stand before the country like Andrew Jackson did and say, 'the chief justice has made his ruling. Now let him enforce it.'"<sup>19</sup>

In other words, Vance wants a conservative President to act as a virtual dictator by firing all government professionals and replacing them with his political cronies. Thus, turning the US into a Banana Republic. Like most of the post liberal right, and many other Republicans, conservatives, and libertarians, Vance has animosity toward big tech. Vance has called for breaking up "big tech companies." Once again, Vance and his fellow post liberal conservatives think government bureaucrats know better than consumers, whose choice to patronize these companies is what made them big. Vance has endorsed the taxing power to seize the assets of woke leftists, nonprofits and universities. As Stephanie Slade of Reason Magazine pointed out<sup>20</sup>, Vance is not only calling for a massive seizure of private property but doing so to punish these institutions for their political and/or social views. This is a flagrant violation of the First Amendment, which was intended to protect citizens from suffering government retribution for their political views.

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<sup>18</sup> [JD Vance's 'Common-Good' Conservatism Is a Recipe for Failure | RealClearMarkets](#)

<sup>19</sup> [U.S. Senate Candidate J.D. Vance Offers Ohio New Authoritarian Style \(reason.com\)](#)

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*

In 2023 at a forum honoring Vance's fellow post-liberal conservative Patrick Deneen's new book,<sup>21</sup> Vance gave an interesting justification for using government power against private businesses. He said, "there is no meaningful distinction between the public and the private sector in the American regime."<sup>22</sup> Now, many libertarians would agree with, or at least sympathize, with that statement given that almost every business in America is either regulated, subsidized—or both by the federal government. The difference is libertarians (and traditional free-market and constitutional conservatives) seek to end to this system of crony capitalism. Whereas Vance and his allies seek to control the system to benefit their cronies and punish the other side's cronies.

Vance, like others post liberal conservatives, use cronyism as an excuse to convince conservatives to embrace the progressive notion that the government has a duty to protect Americans from private coercion. This ignores the fact that private businesses acutely lack the power to coerce anyone to work for them or buy their products—unless coercion is redefined to include refusing to offer someone a job or product at the worker's preferred wage or the consumer's preferred price. Post-liberals, like their leftist counterparts, would say business's greater bargaining power gives them an unfair advantage over workers and consumers. However, their definition requires redefining coercion from the use of force or fraud to compel someone to act in ways they otherwise would not freely choose—to taking advantage of one's superior bargaining power to get a better desk.

### *The Flawed Arguments for Abandoning Libertarianism*

In a free society, individuals have the right to turn down unattractive offers of employment. And as consumers, they can choose which businesses patronize, or seek alternatives. Ironically, the government's interference with the market, done in the name of protecting people from private coercion, gives big business a greater ability to get consumers and the workers to agree to the business's terms. This is because government regulations make it more difficult for small businesses to grow and new businesses to emerge.

Politicians and intellectuals associated with the post-liberal right agree with Lina Khan that the traditional "rules" of the market do not apply to big tech. They claim that big tech has so much market power they are untouchable. Thus, they can do whatever they please, including undermining democracy itself.<sup>23</sup> This claim ignores the fact that big tech companies, like all companies, are vulnerable to losing market share, and thus value, to new competitors. For example, Meta (parent of Facebook and Instagram) is losing market share to Tik-Tok, which is more popular with young people.<sup>24</sup> Meta and Alphabet (parent company of Google and YouTube) are also facing competition from new companies like Rumble, which are marketing themselves to conservatives dissatisfied with big tech's treatment of those with right of center views.

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<sup>21</sup> For more on Deenan's book see footnote 2

<sup>22</sup> [Post-Liberal Authoritarians Want You to Forget That Private Companies Have Rights \(reason.com\)](https://reason.com)

<sup>23</sup> [Why Are Conservatives Intent On Cloning Lina Khan at the FTC? | RealClearMarkets](https://RealClearMarkets.com)

<sup>24</sup> [It's Probably Not TikTok. Why Facebook's Problems Are Local | RealClearMarkets](https://RealClearMarkets.com)



The new right justifies its embrace of activist government by saying that their opponents don't know what time it is. In other words, the right is no longer engaged in the contest of ideas with an opponent willing to play by the Marquis of Queensbury rules. Instead, the woke left is ruthlessly pursuing its goals, which include using the unholy alliance of wise bureaucracy and woke businesses to drive all dissent from their agenda out of the public square.<sup>25</sup> Countering this threat requires the right to put aside their hesitation about aggressively using government powers to drive the woke left out of the public square. The alternative is to sit back and watch as America is transformed into a woke paradise (or perhaps better put, hell).

This argument assumes that the methods that work to advance a progressive agenda can be used to defend traditional society. However, the institutions that conservatives (including the post-liberal right) and many libertarians want to protect from the woke federal government—such as families, churches, and community organizations—are ones that best reach their full potential as the bedrock of civil society when they are free from government interference. Use of government force, whether done in the name of making those institutions conform to the woke agendas or in the name of ensuring they maintain their traditional character, will change them for the worse by turning them into appendages of the central state.

Finally, the very premise of “what time it is” is questionable. While the woke left holds a powerful political and cultural force, it is not immune to challenges. “Go woke go broke” describes the fate of iconic businesses, such as Budweiser<sup>26</sup> and Disney,<sup>27</sup> who lost market share when they alienated customers by “going woke.” Attempts to put wokeness in government schools led many parents to start showing up at school board meetings to challenge the school administrations.<sup>28</sup> Many Democrats are distancing themselves from the woke agenda.<sup>29</sup>

The post-liberal right's rejection of libertarianism makes it, in many ways, the mirror image of the woke left. Whereas the woke left wants to use state power to restructure civil society in the name of equality or equity. The post-liberal right wants to use state power to force people to adhere to their idea of what constitutes a good and moral society. Neither side respects the right of the people to run their lives, their businesses, and their families as they choose, without seeking permission from the woke left or the post-liberal right.

### *Defending Woke Capitalism Is Not the Same as Defending Free Markets*

The abandonment of free-market economics by large parts of the Republican Party and the conservative movement does not mean that the Democrats have become Ron Paul rEVOLutionaries.<sup>30</sup> Democrats may (correctly) push back against Republican attacks on private corporations for promoting wokeness by, for example, hiring fake women to promote their fake beer. But Democrats also support schemes to “encourage” businesses,

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<sup>25</sup> [The Will to Power Was Front and Center at NetCom III \(reason.com\)](#)

<sup>26</sup> [Bud Light controversy cost AB InBev about \\$395 million in lost US sales | CNN Business](#)

<sup>27</sup> [Disney Admits Heavy Financial Losses Due to 'Woke' Content, DeSantis Lawsuit - Inside the Magic](#)

<sup>28</sup> [About – Moms for Liberty](#)

<sup>29</sup> [Rise of the anti-"woke" Democrat \(axios.com\)](#)

<sup>30</sup> [Ron Paul's rEVOLution: The Man and the Movement He Inspired: The Independent Review: The Independent Institute](#)

particularly social media companies, to adopt that agenda. That is why, after the extent to which government agents were “encouraging” private social media companies like Twitter and Meta to censor American citizens, Democrats not only sided with the government, but attacked<sup>31</sup> those who exposed the government’s role in silencing American citizens! A release of emails between Biden Administration officials and social media companies reveals the extent to which the government was involved in telling social media companies who to ban. The manner in which the Biden Administration officials conducted themselves was more like how an ill-tempered manager addresses a subordinate than how a government official is supposed to address a private citizen in a free society.<sup>32</sup>

For example, a Facebook post caused Deputy Assistant to the President Rob Flaherty to get in touch with his inner Shelia Jackson Lee<sup>33</sup> and send this email to the company, “Are you guys fucking serious? I want an answer on what happened here, and I want it today.”<sup>34</sup> Facebook was also told by White House COVID Advisor Andrew Slavitt that the Administration was “considering their options” on how to deal with Facebook’s refusal to try to “solve the problem” of free speech regarding COVID.<sup>35</sup> Flaherty also took the war against fake news to a new level when he told Twitter to take down a Biden grandchildren parody site. The site may have been in poor taste, but it is hard to see how it threatens public health, national security, or any of the other reasons government officials give for suppressing speech.<sup>36</sup>

Democrats also support imposing new regulations on big tech. The difference between anti-big tech Democrats and their Republican counterparts is that the Democrats want to use government power to make big tech more aggressive in silencing anyone whose political views are more than six feet to the right of Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez (AOC). Democrats have also not dropped their support for corporate welfare, especially for corporations whose products are compatible with the progressive agenda such as [green energy companies](#). Of course, Democrats are the party of Obamacare which mandated most Americans purchase a government-approved health care plan. To be fair there are a growing number of Democrats who want to repeal Obamacare and replace it with...a Canadian-style single payer health care system they are now calling Medicare for All! Those Democrats also remain committed to forcing private companies to adjust their hiring practices to comply with federal “equal opportunity” laws, and even favor using state power to force private businesses to participate in activities—like same sex marriage—that violate their deeply [held religious beliefs](#).

Imagine a major corporation coming out against the pro-abortion mandates popping up on state ballots in the wake of the Supreme Court’s overturning *Roe v. Wade*. Does anyone seriously think Republicans would cheer on left-wing governors’ attacks on those corporations or

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<sup>31</sup> [Democrats attack 'so-called journalists' at 'Twitter Files' hearing \(nypost.com\)](#)

<sup>32</sup> [Biden Administration Illegally Pressured Social Media Platforms, 5th Circuit Affirms \(reason.com\)](#)

<sup>33</sup> [Tony Ortiz \(Current Revolt\) on X: "LEAKED AUDIO: Congresswoman Shelia Jackson Lee Berates Staffer Full audio here: https://t.co/XCD3rlrCLn Audio we received today appears to be of Congresswoman Shelia Jackson Lee berating her staff. Sheila Jackson Lee • 0:01 - 0:09 Uh, you took a piece of paper from that... https://t.co/AOUKE4utJ9" / X \(twitter.com\)](#)

<sup>34</sup> See footnote 31

<sup>35</sup> See footnote 31

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*



that Democrats would defend the business's First Amendment rights? This hypothetical suggests a politician's willingness to defend free speech depends on whether the speaker shares their political views and agenda.

*Can Libertarians and Abundance Progressives Defeat the Authoritarians of Both Parties?*

Neither the Democrats nor the Republicans are consistent supporters of liberty. The “center” or establishment of both parties supports a mixed economy that is capitalist but where business is regulated and/or subsidized. These regulations are imposed in the name of protecting workers and/or consumers, but in fact benefit big business by cartelizing the industry and limiting competition. The establishment of both major parties are being pushed to move further in the direction of big government. However, while the liberty movement is no longer the subject of New York Times pieces wondering if we are in a “libertarian moment”<sup>37</sup>, libertarians are still a force within the GOP and the conservative movement.

Kentucky Senator Rand Paul is the most prominent libertarian Republican in the nation. Senator Paul has joined the critics of the big tech companies, but he has rejected the Hawley-Vance approach to dealing with big tech.<sup>38</sup> Instead, he has called on conservatives to adopt the free market approach by boycotting big tech and supporting the free speech-friendly alternatives. Not imposing new regulations on big tech. Senator Paul has also joined with House Judiciary Chairman (and former Chair and co-founder of the House Freedom Caucus) Jim Jordan to introduce the Free Speech Protection Act.<sup>39</sup>

This bill forbids federal employees or employees of a federal contractor from taking any action that violates an individual's First Amendment rights. Anyone found in violation of the bill will be fined at least \$10,000 and subject to suspension, demotion, or termination from federal employment, and a lifetime ban from working for the federal government. The bill also requires federal agencies to make publicly available reports on contacts their employees have had with social media companies. It also forbids organizations that “monitor” social media platforms to identify individuals that should be censored from receiving federal grants.

Passage of the Free Speech Protection Act shows that contrary to the claims of the post-liberal right, libertarians and constitutional conservatives do have solutions to the problems of government inspired censorship by private companies: the separation of tech and state.

While the far left has been ascending in the Democratic Party, a group of liberal journalists and policy advocates have launched a challenge to the big government forces currently dominating the Democratic Party in the name of the “abundance agenda.”<sup>40</sup> The abundance agenda seeks to put the material wellbeing of the people at the center of the Democrats' agenda—even when it requires them to admit that government policies like zoning, occupational licensing, and NIMBY

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<sup>37</sup> [The rise and fall and rise again of the libertarian moment | The Week](#)

<sup>38</sup> [Rand Paul Says YouTube Had the Right To Suspend Him, Admits 'Many on Right' Go Too Far In Big Tech Criticism \(msn.com\)](#)

<sup>39</sup> [Stand With Rand, Jim Jordan and the 1st Amendment | RealClearMarkets](#)

<sup>40</sup> [Is the Abundance Agenda a Progressive Vehicle for Libertarian Ideas? \(reason.com\)](#)

(Not in My Backyard) restrictions on development stifle economic growth. Thus, limiting the economic opportunities available to the working class and lower income American progressives claim to care about the most!

Liberal advocates of the abundance agenda remain committed to big government and the Democratic Party. They simply have recognized that government regulations can impede progress and benefit big businesses at the expense of smaller and newer businesses, workers, and consumers. This is not a new phenomenon. President Jimmy Carter deregulated the transportation industry with the help of Senator Edward Kennedy and Ralph Nader.<sup>41</sup> He recognized the existing federal regulatory structure helped cartelize the transportation industries, leading to higher prices and poor service.

President Bill Clinton not only supported the neoliberal agenda of free trade, balanced budgets, and welfare reform, he famously proclaimed, “the era of big government is over.”<sup>42</sup> All this while maintaining his commitment to progressive goals. Clinton was the most successful politician associated with the Democratic Leadership Council.<sup>43</sup> The Council was formed with the goal of revising the New Deal Great Society liberalism to meet the new challenges of the 80’s and 90’s, as well as respond to America’s right turn in the Reagan era. Abundance agenda advocates face a political landscape more challenging than that faced by the market-friendly liberals who changed the Democratic Party’s big government liberalism in the Carter and Clinton era. Unlike the Carter and Clinton eras, today the progressive wing is ascendant.<sup>44</sup> Whereas as recently a decade ago, even the most left-wing Democrats denied they were any form of socialist, yet today’s younger Democrats have no qualms about calling themselves Democratic Socialists.<sup>45</sup> Many of the new generation of Democratic Socialists have made repudiation of Clinton-era neoliberalism a centerpiece of their agenda.<sup>46</sup>

If the abundance agenda continues to attract support within Democratic ranks, and if they have the intellectual integrity and courage to follow their support for limiting regulations that impede growth, they will find themselves unable to avoid a direct challenge to the progressives that currently dominate the Democratic Party’s intellectual infrastructure. This mirrors of the unavoidable clash between libertarian and free-market conservatives in the Republican Party and conservative movement.

The outcome of this conflict will shape American policies for the next several decades. If the post-liberal right and the Democratic Socialist woke left prevail, the result could be a system where whether your First Amendment rights are respected by the government will depend on whether your candidate won the last election. It is also possible the world’s economy will be wrecked by trade wars, while the American administrative state grows larger, exerting ever more influence on the domestic economy until overspending causes an economic crisis potentially dwarfing the Great Depression. This is why it is vital that every supporter of limited government

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<sup>41</sup> [Joe Biden Should Learn From Jimmy Carter's Greatest Economic Triumph | RealClearMarkets](#)

<sup>42</sup> [Why Clinton, Reagan and Carter all embraced neoliberalism : Throughline : NPR](#)

<sup>43</sup> [Requiem for the Democratic Leadership Council | The New Republic](#)

<sup>44</sup> [The United States has shifted left politically over the past decades. Here's how. - The Washington Post](#)

<sup>45</sup> [Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez Explains What Democratic Socialism Means \(businessinsider.com\)](#)

<sup>46</sup> [Bill Clinton Did More to Sell Neoliberalism than Milton Friedman - In These Times](#)

and free markets challenge the new post-liberal right, and support the abundance agenda advocates in their quest to dismantle the big government orthodoxy dominating the Democratic Party.