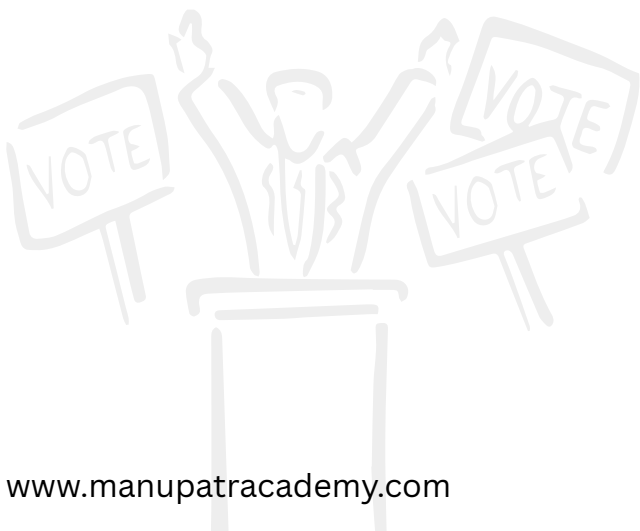


DEMOCRACY

MODULE 5

POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES

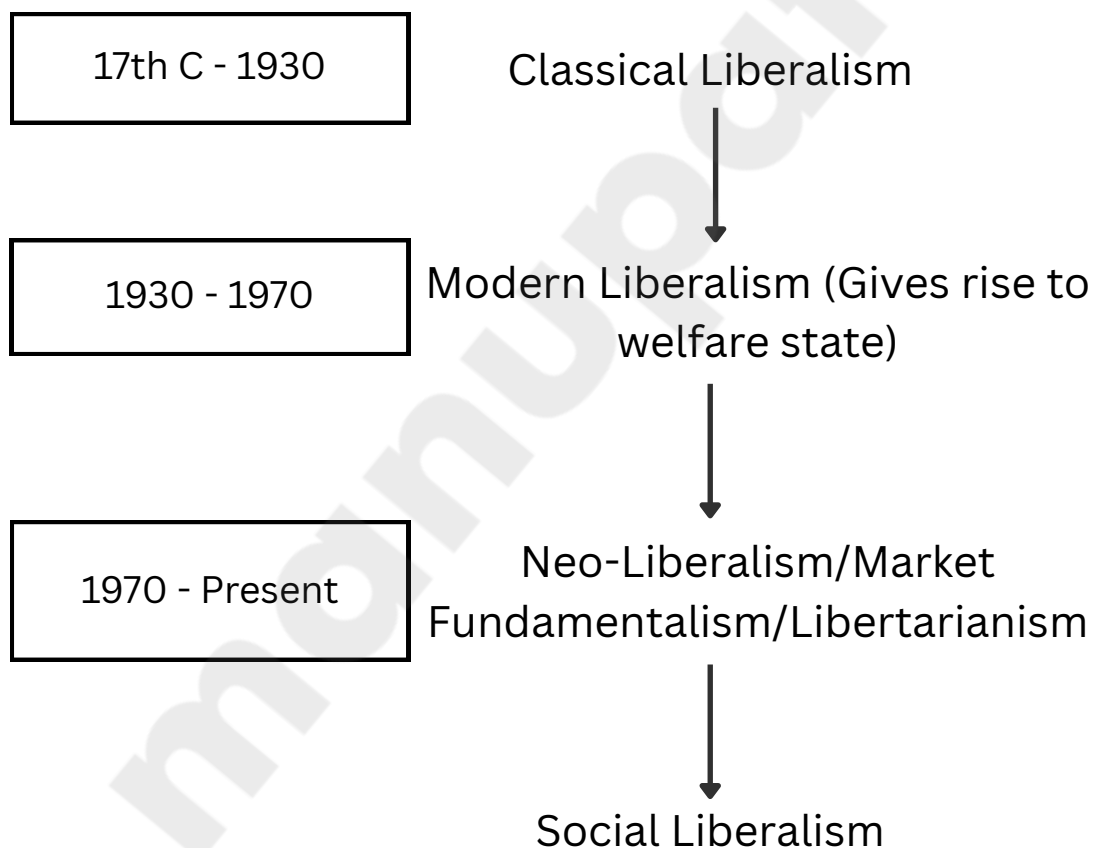


POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES

1. Liberalism
2. Socialism
3. Marxism
4. Fascism
5. Gandhism (Refer Indian Political Thought Notes)
6. Feminism

LIBERALISM

Every Theory/Ideology represents interest of a particular class. Liberalism is an ideology of emerging capitalist class.



Basic Assumptions/Principles in Liberalism:

1. About human nature:

- Rational (Reason dominates and doesn't need guidance or authority);
- Equal and born free ;
- Atomistic man ; (Man is individualist)
- Man prior to society

2. About society

- Market model of society
- Aggregative view
- Society no role in man's achievement (Possessive Individualism)

3. Views on State:

- State necessary evil –Minimal, Police, Night watchman

4. Social / Public policy of state:

- Survival of fittest (If you fit you will survive else you will perish), Drunkard in gutter (Man is responsible on his actions), Laissez faire (Let me be free);

5. Liberal concept of Equality:

- Equality before Law and equality of Opportunity;

6. Liberty in Liberalism:

- Negative (absence of external impediments) and Positive Liberty

Emergence of Modern Liberalism aka Positive Liberalism aka Welfare State: (1930s -40s till 1970s)

Journey of Liberalism:

- Progressive start of Liberalism — freedom from coercion and authority
- Initial revolutionary fervour lost after Capitalists established themselves in power;
- Liberty overshadowed by Utility — Pig's doctrine;
- Liberalism and Utilitarianism became justification for exploitation of workers which led to protests and emergence of Socialist ideas. It will force Liberals to change;
- Signs of change in JS Mill who brought Idealism in Liberalism;

T H GREEN [FATHER OF POSITIVE LIBERTY]

- Philosophical origins of Modern Liberalism are found in work of T H Green. He redefined Liberty as capacity of doing something worth doing i.e; doing something according to law of our being. It means law of Human beings. We are Humans and not animals and therefore our actions should be like Humans. According to Green, Liberty consists of capacity to do something worth doing as humans.
- *"Human Consciousness postulates Liberty, Liberty involves Rights, Rights demand State."*
- This statement sums up entire philosophy of positive Liberalism, Concept of Human Rights and State.
- **Human Consciousness postulates Liberty** – Like other Liberal Scholars Green considers Liberty as core value of Liberalism. If we are born as humans, It is natural for us to desire liberty. Thus, Neither Utility nor Equality can take the central stage.

- **Liberty involves Rights** – This statement explains link between individual liberties and society. Positive Liberals highlight the importance of society. Society is important because until and unless society gives recognition to our liberties in form of rights, we cannot enjoy our Liberties.
- **Rights demand State** – State is not an evil as believed by Classical Liberals. On the contrary state protects rights. It is a source of virtue. A state hinders the hindrances.

Basic Assumptions of Modern/Positive Liberals:

1. **Human Nature** – Man is social as well as moral by nature. They take a progressive (or) developmental view of Human Nature.
2. **Society** – Society is Natural. We cannot deny existence of common good.
3. **Liberty** – Emphasis on positive Liberty. Liberty as capacity building and not just absence of external impediments
4. **Equality** – Equality before Law and Equality of opportunity are not sufficient because there is no level playing field in society
5. **Social Policy** – Not just physical security but state has to look after social and economic security also.

Neo-Liberalism:

- 1970s – till date ;
- Rolling back of state ;
- Revival of classical liberalism ;
- aka market fundamentalism ;
- Started as Thatcherism and Reaganism ,Shock therapy(Eastern Europe), Structural Adjustment Programme (Illrd world) ;

WHY ROLL BACK OF STATE ?

- Because welfare state became unsustainable – high fiscal deficit Balance of payment crisis, etc
- State became too big, bureaucratic, expected to take care of people from cradle to grave (nanny state)
- Welfare state gave rise to new despots – corruption and black money

WHAT IS NEO-LIBERAL APPROACH FOR POVERTY ALLEVIATION?

Ans: Trickle-Down Effect

F.A.Hayek (Father of Neo-liberalism) ;

- Against planning- called it road to serfdom
- No planner as intelligent as Market — a central nervous system
- Doesn't support progressive taxation
- Charity is better approach

Robert Nozick :

- Book – “Anarchy, State and Utopia”
- He also believes in non-aggression
- Minimal state is inspiring

Milton Friedman :

- Book – “Capitalism and Freedom : - Nobel prize -1970s
- Reversed the order – Freedom through market rather than freedom for market

Murray Rothbard :

- Rothbard compared bureaucrats and politicians with Gang of Thieves and robbers
- Central bank is a Legislative Fraud

Social Liberalism :

- Aka Liberal Egalitarians
- Revival of Positive liberalism in modern times
- Gained prominence when Amartya Sen was given Nobel prize
- John Rawls –Father of Social Liberalism
- Rawls, Sen, Dworkin, Joseph Stiglitz
- Global Financial Crisis -a blow to Neo-liberalism –it showed if states can fail ,market also can fail.
- After end of Cold war , Neo-liberalism became dominant ideology But soon resentment against Neo-liberalism – rising inequalities, adverse impact on developing countries ; concentration of wealth ;

Philosophical basis of Social Liberalism

- Philosophical origin of Social Liberalism is in works of John Rawls
- Rawls – Theory of Justice called for need to help least advantaged
- Rawls influenced Liberal egalitarians like Dworkin
- Dworkin – called for Equality of Resources

Difference between economic policy of Modern Liberals & Social Liberals :

- Difference : no difference in philosophical basis but only policies
- Modern Liberals – State to play welfare role , nationalisation , PSUs ,employment generation ;
- Social Liberals – don't support PSUs and employment generation by State , State should perform capacity building role , partnership between private sector ,civil society and government

SOCIALISM

- A hat that has lost its shape because everyone wears it (although you can still recognize that it is a hat)
- Difficult to define — endless varieties.
- Origins – In modern West in reaction to exploitation by capitalist system
- Socialists believe that modern industrial society can be based on social/collective ownership over means of production and not necessarily capitalist mode of production i.e, private ownership
- Core value : Equality

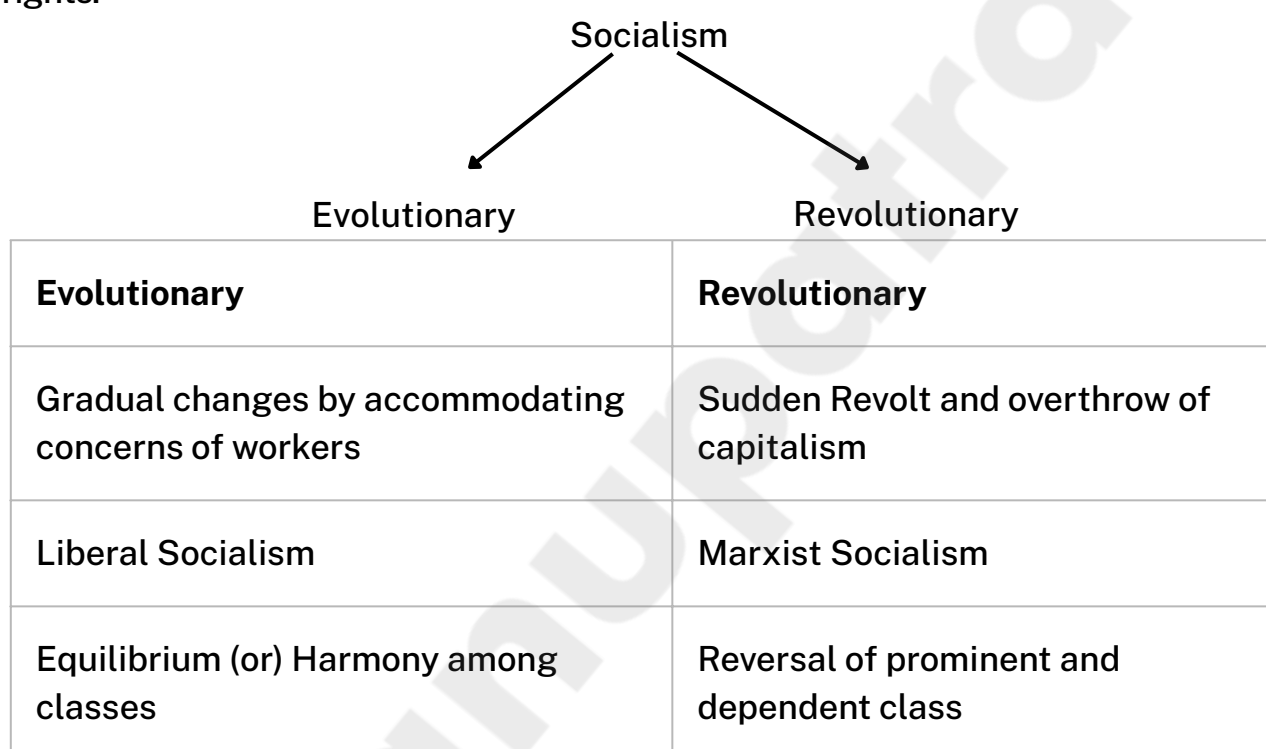
Equality in Liberalism v/s Socialism:

Equality in Liberalism v/s Socialism:	Equality in Socialism
Formal and Procedural	Substantive (Real)
Focus on Legal Equality	Socio-Economic Equality
Equality of opportunity	Equality of outcome
Proportionate Equality	Absolute Equality

Basic Assumptions of Socialists:

- **About Human Nature** – They reject the Liberal view of atomistic man. They support social nature of man. According to Socialists, No man is an island, Each is a part of continent. Socialists emphasize on Fraternity. They prefer to use the term “Comrade”
- **About Society** – They reject the Liberal view of aggregative and market model of society. They believe that society is natural and whole is prior to part.
- **About State** – There is a major disagreement among socialists about the role of state in socialism. Some favour socialism led by state (Fabian Socialism and Nehruvian Socialism) & other believe in state-less socialism (Marxian Socialism, Gandhian Socialism)
- **About Freedom** – Socialists believe Liberal concept of Liberty as alienation, isolation and false-consciousness. Real Liberty means Freedom from Hunger, Freedom from deprivation, Freedom from needs.

- **Method of Bringing Socialism** – Socialists are also divided w.r.t method of establishing socialism. Some believe in peaceful and constitutional methods while others believe in revolutionary methods.
- **About Equality** - Substantive (Real), Socio-Economic Equality, Equality of outcome, Absolute Equality.
- **About Justice** – Just society is where equality in absolute sense exists, where there is no inequality of income and status.
- **About Rights** – According to Socialists, Rights belong to philosophy of Liberalism. In Liberalism, Man means rights. To protect his rights from society and state. In Socialism, there is no conflict of interest between man and society and therefore no requirement of rights.



Socialism before Karl Marx and after Karl Marx

- Before Marx
- **Saint Simon , Charles Fourier , Robert Owen**
- Early Socialists believed appealing to conscience of capitalist class
- Marx said They Lacked strategy and scientific understanding, So they got a little achievement. Marx called them Utopians.

Socialism after Marx

- Eduard Bernstein & Karl Kautsky
- The above are Contemporaries of Lenin
- They Developed differences with Lenin(who believed in Revolution to bring Socialism)
- Revolution has become irrelevant because :
 - 1.Extreme exploitation didn't happen because of wealth from colonies. Therefore stage of true consciousness didn't arise.
 - 2.Workers got Right to Vote and therefore have majority in Legislatures.

Fabianism/Fabian Socialism:

- Socialism through Peaceful form and constitutional methods
- Socialism by/through middle classes unlike other types of socialism by Working classes
- Inspired from policy of Roman general Fabius – strike when iron is hot
- Socialism is possible only when it becomes “common sense “ and “Logical”
- Strategy of Permeation – diffusion of socialist ideas

Who will play role ?

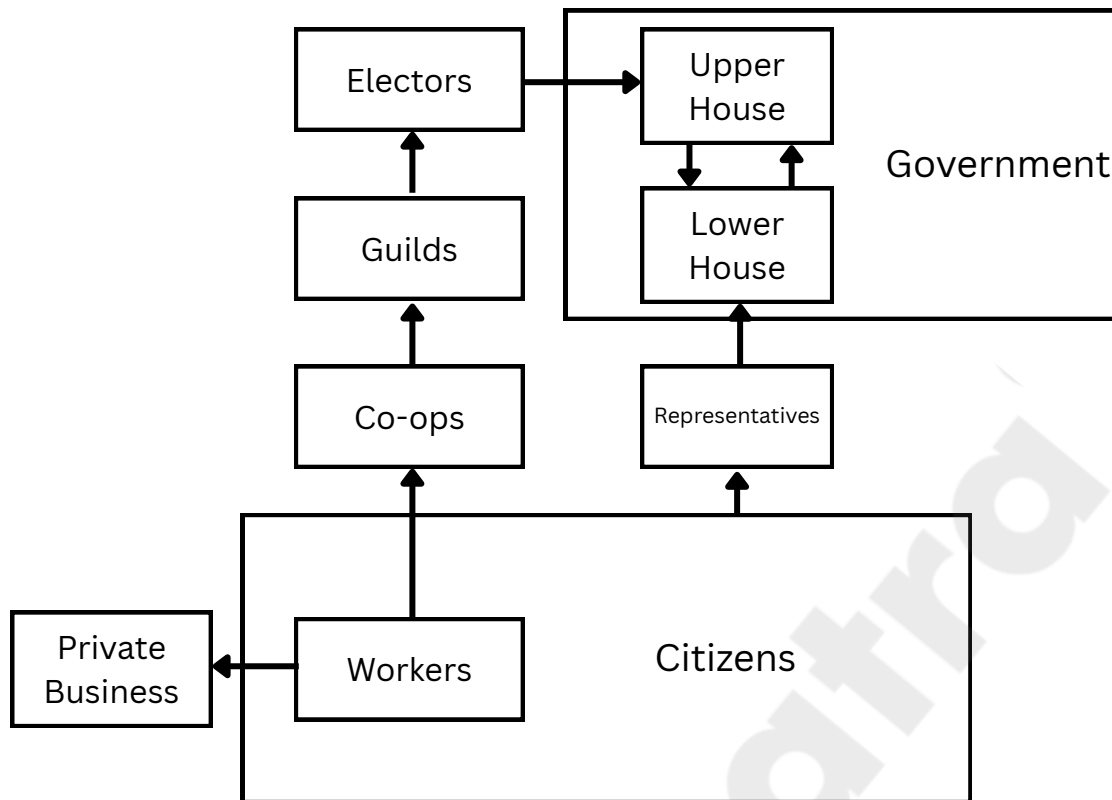
- Middle class intellectuals will generate consensus and awareness in favour of socialism

How ?

- They suggested to establish societies called Fabian societies dedicated for promotion of such ideas
- Middle class to work with State (unique feature) which makes Fabianism close to welfare state and farthest from Marxism.
- This makes it difficult to differentiate Fabianism with welfare state.

Guild Socialism

- British variety of socialism
- Peaceful constitutional methods [do not approve violent methods]
- Believe in class, class struggle and primacy of economic interest.
- Guild – concept of Medieval Europe
- GDH Cole suggested 3 ideas – Functional Representation , Functional Parliament & Industrial Democracy
- **Functional Representation:** Functional Representation denotes multi-member constituencies where people having different economic interests or professions elect their own representatives
- **Functional Parliament:** There may be 2 houses. One house may represent territorial generalist representation. While other may represent functional or economic interest.
- **Industrial Democracy:** It refers to participation of workers in management of industries



Syndicalism

- French variety of socialism
- Violent methods including strikes, lockouts, slowdown of work
- Syndicate is Workers' union unlike Guild which can be of anyone –Farmers' guild, traders' guild, capitalists' guild, etc. ;
- **Aim** – to establish dominance of working class
- Corresponds to state of dictatorship of proletariat (Marx not in favour of classes and domination of any class whatsoever)
- propose to abolish political State and establish Economic State

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