• Gramsci
• (1891-1937)
Introduction

• Second greatest philosopher in Marxism after Marx
• He is known as father of neo Marxism.
Neo-Marxism

- 20th century term that most loosely may be applied to a variety of scholars, whose work has been influenced by classical Marxist
- They share a common point of departure and subject matter in Marx’s social theory and the social order of 20th century Capitalism.
- They are concerned more with culture and ideology rather than, economics.
Neo-Marxism

- Neo-Marxism calls into question the predominance of the economic system and the relationship between owners and workers
- Neo-Marxism pays greater attention to culture (and, therefore, the media)
  - System maintenance through hegemony
What is his contribution to Marxism

1. He rescued Marxism from being crude economic determinism.

2. He has modified Marx theory of revolution.

3. Gramsci was the leader of communist party of Italy. He was contemporary of Benito Mussolini. He was great organizer of masses.

4. Benito Mussolini was extremely fearful of Gramsci.

5. Benito Mussolini has put Gramsci behind bars. He died in prison.

6. Gramsci's ideas have been published in the form of prison notebooks.
Economic Determinism

Social and political arrangements in society are based of economic relationships.

As well as our social status, money also determines ideas and thoughts.

This belief is ECONOMIC DETERMINISM.

Rich people get more respect in society.

This is how money determines our status in society.
Contribution of Gramsci

- Concept of soft power (Hegemony)
- Hegemony means controlling the mind
- Role of intellectuals.
Concerns of gramsci.

• Gramsci wanted to understand, why communist revolution didn't happen in countries where capitalism has been developed.

• Gramsci came to the conclusion that we need to critically examine Marx understanding of history.

• There may be some faults in Marx understanding of history and there is a need to understand history more deeply.
Gramsci looked at other explanations of history. He was influenced by thoughts of Benedetto Croce, an Italian scholar, who has shown the role of external factors in shaping history. Gramsci concluded that Marx has undermined the role of culture, superstructures in shaping history. Gramsci suggested that we have to understand the role of superstructure more deeply. Hence Gramsci is also known as "theoretician of super structures".
Marx model of society.

- Base and superstructure
- Model
Subaltern Classes

Subaltern classes may include peasants, workers and other groups denied access to ‘hegemonic’ power. Since the history of the ruling classes is realized in the state, history being the history of states and dominant groups, Gramsci was interested in the historiography of the subaltern classes.

http://histheory.tripod.com/subaltern.html
Description of Marx model

• 1. Economic structures is the basic structure
• 2. Super structures are grounded in the base.
• Super structures are actually the reflection of the base they have no autonomous existence of their own.
Marx theory of revolution

- In Marx, there is only one revolution.
- In the single revolution working classes control the state and established their control over the economic structure.
- There is a single revolution which is violent.
- According to Karl Marx there is no need for separate revolution against superstructures.
- Once economic structure changes superstructure will change automatically.
GRAMSCI

- HEGEMONY = Force + Consent

- Economic Base
  - CLASS COORDINATION
  - War of Position

- Civil Society
  - War of Movement

- State
Gramsci's point of view

- It is wrong to think that superstructure is just the reflection of the base.
- Superstructure does not change automatically
- According to Gramsci, we need to fight at two levels
  1. War of position
  - features –
  - ideological war
  - passive revolution
  - protracted conflicts
  - war at level of civil society develop counter hegemony.
War of (man oeuvre)

- Direct action ➔ Action against the state
- This is over night and immediate in nature.
- Thus we find Gramsci revolution in two stages.
Gramsci's model of society

• Integral -state church educational institution media cultural institutions state of political society -civil society -economic structure base.

• According to Gramsci, superstructure is not just the reflection of the base rather is itself a structure.
Hegemony

**HEGEMONY**

Bourgeois class rule the society, their values became the 'common sense' values of all.

IDELOGY

- **Politic society**
  - brute force, forced

- **Civil society**
  - cultural hegemony

- **Organic intellectuals**

SUPERSTRUCTURE

- school
  - church
  - media

CONSENT-PERSUASION

- dominant class’s ideas and world view spreads to society
  - society accepts these values and make their own
What he means when he says superstructure is a structure itself.

• Like Karl Marx, Gramsci is also structuralist. However Marx has given importance to only one structure that is economic structure as a factor of shaping history.
• Gramsci has given three layers model of the society and according to Gramsci, we cannot treat superstructure as superficial.
• we have to analysis even the role of superstructure in shaping history.
• It would be a mistake if we take superstructure for granted.
• Hence it would not be sufficient, if we fight only at economic structure and assume that superstructure will change automatically.
• Hence it is appropriate to say that Gramsci made Superstructure an important variable.
• He has rescued Marxism from being known as economic determinism.
• This is the reason is known as theoretician of superstructure.
Analysis of superstructure.

- Superstructure comprise of:
  1. civil society
  2. state or political society
Concept of integral state

• In Marxism state is considered as instrument of the dominant class.
• Marx inspired workers to revolt against state and capture state.
Gramsci's approach

• According to Gramsci, even civil society acts as an instrument of the dominant class.
• Hence, it is not enough for workers to capture state capturing state (war of man oeuvre).
• It is also important for working classes to capture civil society (war of position).
Gramsci classified state into two types:

• **Transparent state** - state where civil society is absent.
  • Since civil society is absent which means does not have right we can easily understand the true nature of the state.
  • Hence it is easy to bring revolution.
  • Example Russia under czars

• **Opaque states** → Civil society comes in between.
  • Hence we are unable to understand the true nature of the state.
  • Hence revolution are different in opaque states
  • Example western countries USA, UK
• 1. Civil society is also playing the role for maintaining the domination of bourgeoisie class.

• 2. CS acts like cushion or shock absorber that protect State and economic system.
3. CS is much closer to base.
4. It means CS is more linked to base. In comparison to Civil Society, State appears to be relatively autonomous of base.
5. For most of the time civil society play the role of maintaining the Hegemony.
6. Only when civil society fails and breaks down of Hegemony takes plays, the “role of State” comes into picture.
Civil society is the site or location for manufacturing consent/Hegemoney in favour of the dominant class.

Hegemony and domination are the two facets of power.
Domination

1. It symbolize power of coercion or hard power.
2. Domination is one way
3. Ruler or Master has entire power. Masses are passive they are Coerced to update the master
4. Fear is the basic of power or domination.
1. It is more sophisticated phase of power.

2. The term Hegemony implies leadership. Leadership generates feeling of love or attraction.

3. Leadership is controlling hearts and minds of the people.
   - People obey the leader willingly, people think that there will is being followed by leaders.
   - However in reality they do, what leader wants.
   - It is a two dimensional process.

4. In Hegemony masses are not passive participants they are active participants.
Gramsci suggested that working class should understand how to understand the domination from bourgeois class. Bourgeois class is rule by

1. “Manufacturing consent or establishing Hegemony”.
   - In order to rule over the minds of people, the bourgeois class has to take into consideration some of the interest of the class over which they rule.

2. By building coalition.
   - They bring all those who may not have identical aims yet having common aims.
   - Gramsci gives the term historical class for the coalition.
   - Thus bourgeoisie class make the historical bloc.
| Who are in coalition of bourgeoisie class?. | • Bourgeoisie class forms coalition with different classes but most prominently the intellectual class. |
| What is role of intellectual?. | • They play the major role in creation of Hegemony. |
What working classes should do?

• They have to establish counter Hegemony, war of position.
• Thus hegemony belongs to dominant class and countering Hegemony to exploited class.

• For example; In India Brahmanism is a Hegemony and Dalit is counter Hegemony.

• Working classes have to provide leadership to other subaltern classes. It means depressed classes, Gramsci even suggest working classes should have their own “Organic Intellectuals” and should try to gain “traditional intellectuals” to their side.
All persons are intellectual but every person does not have the status and function of intellectual.

All persons are intellectuals because there is no work which is clearly intellectual.

Or no work which is purely manual even workers are intellectuals though they do not have the status of intellectuals.
Gramsci has Classified intellectuals into Two Types:

1. Organic Intellectuals.
2. Traditional Intellectual.
1. Whether a person is intellectual or not depends upon the productive requirements of economy.

2. According to Gramsci whenever any new Class emerges, it brings a group of intellectuals along with it, Gramsci calls this Set of Intellectuals which emerge with the new dominant class as organic intellectual.
Why their origin is organically linked to the new dominant class?

Example - In case of capitalism, Gramsci mentions the rise of groups of intellectuals which includes technician, engineer, doctor, manager and civil servants.

What role they perform?

- They perform the role of generating those values and way of life which plays role in maintaining the domination of the new dominant class.
He gives example of Church Father, Artist, authors who represented the interest of the previously dominant class.

In the new historical context their position become weak.

They also appear comparatively neutral.

Gramsci suggests that the dominant class and the organic intellectuals of dominant class establish nexus even with traditional intellectual.
• According to Gramsci there is no organization without intellectuals, similarly there is no intellectual who does not have organizational skill and Hence, working class have to establish the counter Hegemony they have to have their own organic intellectuals.

• It is also important for organic intellectual that they should participation in struggle of the worker.
Who can be organic intellectuals for working class.

- According to Gramsci technician, supervisors can play rule of organic intellectual for workers.
- they are naturally suited because they emerge from working class and have better understanding of working of bourgeois class.
- Besides technician and supervisors other workers can also act as a organic intellectual.
- Gramsci even suggest workers to make coalition even with traditional intellectuals.
Gramsci is not the first person to use term Hegemony. Even in Marxism, he was not the first person.

Before Gramsci, Lenin has established that Revolution will not come on its own there is a need of communist party.

Which can provide leadership.

However it was Gramsci who has dealt with concept of Hegemony in Marxism at length.
• As per Gramsci, social power is not simply “a Matter of Domination” and subordination.
• Hegemony is the ability of ruling class and power of there cultural values to live in the mind and life of subalterns as spontaneous expectation of there own interest.
• Exercise of power should be such that the ruling class is able to live in the minds of the people.
• In democratic society the dominant class generally govern with good degree of Consent from the people they rule.
• To developed the consent, Ruling class should be sensitive about the aspiration of the subaltern.

• They should be flexible to respond to the new circumstances and in Accordance to the changing wishes of subalterns.

• Ruling collision will have to adopt some values of those whom they attempt to lead hegemony is insistent activity cannot be achieved once regular for all.

• In the words of Gramsci, Hegemony is the power which is actively lived by oppressed as a form of common sense.
• It constitutes the substance and the limit of the common sense for most of people and constitute the reality of their social existence.

• Gramsci rejects simplistic opposition between “dominant class and subaltern class”.

• He recast “Ideological domination” as Hegemony the process of transaction, negotiation and compromise which continuously takes place between the dominant class and subaltern is established cultural and political leadership of dominant class.
Karl Popper in his book- “open society and its Enemies” has called Plato Hegel and Karl Marx as Enemies of open society

Why Marx, an enemy of open society

Pauper considers Marx as a Reason behind establishment of Totalitarianism in former East European communist States.
1. Holism in Marx;

- Karl Popper is a supporter for piecemeal social engineering.
- He believes that the Holistic changes are dangerous because they do not provide scope for course correction.
- Holistic changes have resulted into the establishment of totalitarian societies.
2. HISTORICISM

- Marx has committed the guilt of historicism.
- Historicism Implies the ideological use of history instead of giving the scientific explanation of history.
- Marx has serve the political purpose by giving laws of history.
3. DETERMINISTIC.

- Though Marx claim himself to be scientific and Marxism as science.
- However Marx theory is not open for falsification.
- Falsification is a condition for considered a theory scientific.
Hannah Arendt (1906-1975)

Hannah Arendt (Confused Thinker)
INTRODUCTION

• She belongs to Germany.
• She was German Jew contemporary of Hitler.
• Her community has suffered at the hands of Hitler.
• Hannah moved out of Germany and finally settled in USA.
• Hannah Arendt is a very controversial thinker and at times described as Cold War intellectual.
Why Hannah Arendt is difficult to understand.

1. It is easy to understand a thinker if we know school of thoughts. She describes her thinking as thinking without barriers.

2. According to her, she is writing for her own understanding rather than for readers that make comprehension difficult.
3. Hannah Arendt coins new words and gives her own meanings to establish Notion.

4. Her methodologies is “phenomanology” which means feeling.
1. On Totalitarianism.
2. On human condition, Major philosophical work.
3. On revolution.
4. Eichmann of Jerusalem.
• Her analysis of Modernity
• Her analysis of Totalitarian
• Her analysis of Power
• Concept of banality of Evil
• Views on Revolution
Though her thinking is without barriers. yet there is one common thread connecting of all her works that is “concern for people's participation in Civic affairs”.

Hence, She can be categorised with the school of Civic republicanism in political affairs and of deliberative democracy the others Scholars of “Civic republicanism” are Aristotle, Machiavelli Rousseau, J.S Mill.
ANALYSIS OF TOTALITARIANISM

• Her book on “Origins of Totalitarianism” was published in 1951.
• Book become controversial because he has targeted Stalinism in USA along with Nazism.
• Hannah Arendt was criticized as cold war intellectual.
ANALYSIS OF TOTALITARIANISM

• Which Totalitarianism Hannah Arendt discussed.

• She discussed Totalitarianism of 20th century.

• She includes Stalinism and Nazism.
• Her community suffered the atrocities under Nazi regime.
• Hence, she tries to understand Totalitarianism and its essence.
• According to her Totalitarianism is “Totalitarianism”, there is no other word that can capture the entire essence of Totalitarianism.

• Only those who suffered Totalitarianism understand Totalitarianism.

• There is no other example in history which can be equated with Totalitarianism of the 20th century that is Nazism and Stalinism.
Totalitarianism

a form of rule in which the government attempts to maintain 'total' control over society, including all aspects of the public and private lives of its citizens.
These totalitarian regimes reflected the unprecedented scale of violence.

The difference in earlier regimes and 20th century Totalitarianism is that for earlier tyrannies violence was “means to an end”.

However in this regime “violence was end in itself”.

What is Totalitarianism According to Hannah Arendt?
According to Hannah Arendt, terror and ideology (myths, fictions, propaganda) are the tools of Totalitarianism. Totalitarian Regime killed real persons for the sake of fiction or myths. They even produced theories like myth of racial superiority to justify the action and to gain mass support for their action.
• Though atrocities were **Systematic** and **Bureaucratically organized** yet make no sense except adhering to an ideology for its adherence so that Million had to die for the sake of ideology. Ideology become the rational.
• Ideologies like the laws of nature survival of the fittest left no scope for human will.
• She links Totalitarianism with the rise of modernity.
She is critic of “Modernity” because modernity has resulted into a situation where we give importance to the economic sphere of our life and we have neglected the political sphere of life which creates conditions for Totalitarianism.

Hannah Arendt describes modernity as “the loss of the world”. Modernity has resulted into the rise of social and economic over the political.
• It has resulted into victory of animal ‘Laboran’ over “Zoon Politicon” man as Labour over man as political animal.

• Modernity is an age of Administration and an many anonymous, Labour, Elite domination, Homogeneity and manipulation of public opinion.
• It is a situation where Homogeneity (एकरूपता) and conformation replace plurality and freedom.
• It is a situation where human solidarity has come to an end.
• Modernity is an age where past no longer carries evaluation of values.
• It has rendered many moral and political categories meaningless.
• It is given rise to Totalitarianism.
• It has broken our tradition and history {European history}.
• It force us to look for new values.
Hannah Arendt has described the features of Totalitarianism, State and politics.

1. In other forms of autocracies or tyrannies State attempts to control action and speech. whereas Totalitarianism aims to control not only our body but also our conscience.

2. Totalitarianism is end of class politics and it is the phenomena of “mass politics”.
Who are Masses?

- According to H. Arendt masses are “superfluous entities” the emergence of mass society is linked to the rise of modernity.

- Masses represents those sections of society which have suffered from the social and economic upheaval of that time.

- They are automise, isolated, separated from reality suffering from the feelings of worthlessness.
Who are Masses?

- They were ready to devote themselves to any organization or any leader who can give essence of self respect, sense of worth and reason for existence.

- Fascist leaders manipulated the weakness of masses by the use of propaganda like “The Myth of superior Race”.

- It has given sense of superiority to otherwise helpless masses.
- thus fascism is a product of the emergence of masses society.
- Nazi leaders develop their power by creating ideological fictions.
• Totalitarian Regime go for politics of majority and look for soft targets minorities and soft target minorities or soft target because they do not have numerical advantages.

• Jews in Germany become the soft targets for the myth of racial superiority.

• She discuss the relationship between Racism and Trivalism, Imperialism and Modernity. Hannah had explained the organization of totalitarian parties. they are multi layered institution onion like structure the core is made up of elites and the outer most layer the superfluous masses.
She favour active participation in the political sphere and believe this is the only way to check the rise of Totalitarianism.

Her theory of power and her conception of political can be understood from her theory of action which she discussed in her work “Human Condition” (Human condition is the major philosophical work.)
Theory of action is influenced by the ideas of Aristotle.

Aristotle classifies human action into three types:

1. Theoria
2. Poeisis
3. Parxis
1. Theoria - Knowledge seeking Action.
2. Poeisis – Economic Action
   Production Related.
3. Parxis – Participation in Politics.
Aristotle's Division of Knowledge (Episteme)

Knowledge

Non-Theoretical

Productive
- Rhetoric
- Art
- Ethics

Practical
- Politics
- Metaphysics
- Natural Philosophy
- Mathematics

Theoretical

FIGURE 1
Aristotelian notions of human action

In Theory

Theoria ⇒ Theoretical Activity promotes Scientific Skills ⇒ Episteme

In Practice

Poiesis ⇒ Making promotes Skillfulness and Proficiency ⇒ Techne
Praxis ⇒ Acting promotes Wisdom and Judgment ⇒ Phronesis

Source: Ramírez (1995: 8)
Hannah Arendt also makes difference between “Action and Fabrication”.

According to Hannah Arendt human action can be categorized into two basic Types:

- **Human Action**
  - 1. Vita Active (Action)
  - 2. Vita Contemplative (Thinking)

**Vita Active (Action)** is more important than thinking in this context. She comes near to Marx.
VITA Active is of Three Types.

1. Labour
2. Work
3. Action
• Labour means fulfillment of basic needs
• man has no freedom.
• He is compared to do so lowest category of action because even animals perform.
Work -

- Profession economics fair
- man is the builder of the world means making world fit for human use, here man has partial freedom.

Action -

- Participation in politics for Civic affairs, this is the true human action.
- This is “human condition” means only human perform this action because man is zoon politikon.
- Action is the basis of Differential specifica means the action which differentiates human from the other species like God or animals.
What is the importance of the Actions?

1. Disclose the identity of Agent.
2. Actualize the capacity for Freedom.
3. Reaffirm the reality of the World.
Components of Action

1. Freedom
2. Plurality
• Capacity to do something new.
• She gives the concept of “Natality” means capacity to do something new.
• According to her, every birth is a possibility of new beginning.
• Hence people should have freedom to express themselves.
Plurality

It has two components -

1. Equality.
2. Diversity distinction.

What is Equality?

“Equality means Sameness”.

Every person is a human being so all are equal.
Every human being is different.
It means, everybody has importance and nobody is irreplaceable. Everyone has some unique things.

What is Distinction?

- Every human being is different.
- It means, everybody has importance and nobody is irreplaceable. Everyone has some unique things.
To realize freedom, we need plurality. We can experience our freedom only in the company of others just like ‘an Artist need Audience similarly we need others’.

“Actions without audience” carries no significance.

The fact is ‘men and not man’ live in this world.

The capacity to introduce “Novum” cannot be exercise in isolation.
What is Freedom According to Hannah Arendt.

- According to her- “Action is speech and speech is action” there should be no difference in action and speech.
- If there is a difference in what we say and what we do; ‘either action is irrelevant or speech is irrelevant’.
- “Only where words and deeds have not parted company, where words and deeds are not brutal where words are not used to veil intentions but to reveal the reality” H. Arendt
• The most important sphere of human life because the most important action is human action.
• The new aspect in H. Arendt is that for her politics does not belong to the elite class, it belongs to people.
• She does not talk about politics at the level of State, she talk about politics at level of civil society.
• Her “conception of power” is different from previously held conception of power.

• She makes difference between power and other concepts which are often misunderstood as power.

• For Example-
  • Force, Strength and Violence.
According to her force belong to the world of nature, power belongs to the world of humans.

Example - wind has Force, water has Force nature strength individual.

Difference in Power and Force.

- Strength belongs to the individual where as power belongs to the collectivity.
- Plurality - individual is strong or weak but individual alone is not powerful, thus power belongs to the community or totality.
- Violence is a characteristic of the State or authority whereas power is a characteristic of civil society.

- Thus for H. Arendt—“Power means people acting in a concert with each other.”
Difference between Power and Violence

- Power does not belong to political office, Bureaucracy neither money nor military is a source of power.

- Power is Sui generis, it means Power emerges on its own.

- Whenever people are together.

- It disappears whenever people go back to their personal sphere.
Difference between Power and Violence

- Power cannot be exercised in isolation, power belong to Polis.

- Polis is not a place, Polis appears whenever people come together.
Hannah Arendt views on revolution are very different from that of Karl Marx.

Her theory of revolution can be considered as liberal view of revolution.

She has compared American Revolution and French Revolution.

She has praised American Revolution because American Revolution has resulted into the establishment of democracy.
In American Revolution, Prime question was Political freedom rather than socio economic well being.

She has criticized French Revolution.

French Revolution led to the establishment of authoritarianism.

It led to this because it has given primacy to social and economic justice. Thus giving lot of powers in the hands of the State in the name of welfare.
Revolution means “Creation of Something New” Freedom is a condition for Revolution.
Hannah Arendt On Revolution

- She makes difference between freedom from Tyranny but freedom is capacity to do something new.
- It is possible only when people participate in political sphere.
• Though, She appreciates American Revolution calls it “Tale of Freedom” and criticizes French Revolution and calls it “Tale of Necessity”.

• yet she is not completely satisfied with American Revolution.

• American Revolution established the representative democracy but has not created in a space for participation by people.
We are living in a society where certain acts which were once considered as evil to be taken seriously have become Banal or normal routine affairs.

H. Arendt tried to understand the process of evil becoming Banal.

Banality of Evil is a phrase she has used in her work "Eichmann in Jerusalem" she went to report the proceeding of trial of Eichmann.
EICHMANN IN JERUSALEM

- Eichmann was Nazi official accused of extermination of Jews.

- H. Arendt that Eichmann was not guilty in her concept of “Banality of Evil” she has tried to give following answer.
Where Evil comes From?

Why people commit Evil Act?

Who are these people, are they different from US?
• When Eichmann was asked whether he thinks that he has committed evil.
• He replied that he was doing his duty. He held that duty is duty. He said that he was given the order and it was his duty to implement the orders.
• It would have been crime had he not followed the duty or order given by State when asked what was the motivation whether Eichmann had hatred towards Jews his answers was that he had no hatred towards Jews. the soul motivation was promotion.
• According to H. Arendt, persons who commits evils are not Monsters or sociopaths. they are very normal persons.
• Eichmann was neither brilliant nor sociopath, He was just the bureaucrat.
• By suggesting that he was just by a product of society where culture of ‘obedience’ has been made the characteristic of cultural where questioning is not promoted, where conformism is a way of life.
The main fault of Eichmann was that he lost "Imaginative Capacities". He could not understand the “Moral Consequences” of his action.

He didn't exercise his capacity to think. He was “Innocent Man” operated without thinking, incapable of moral judgments.
• In the words of H. Arendt, Evil become ‘banal’ when it acquires Unthinking, systematic character, it become banel when ordinary people participate in it, build distance from it, justify it in countless ways.
• There are no moral conundrum, no revulsions in this situation.
• Evil does not look like evil.
• It becomes faceless.
1. Political theory meaning and approaches
2. Theories of the state: Liberal, Neoliberal, Marxist, Pluralist, Post-colonial and feminist.
4. Equality: Social, political and economic; relationship between equality and freedom; Affirmative action.
5. Rights: Meaning and theories; different kinds of rights; concept of Human Rights.
6. Democracy: Classical and contemporary theories; different models of democracy - representative, participatory and deliberative.
7. Concept of power, hegemony, ideology and legitimacy.
8. Political Ideologies: Liberalism, Socialism, Marxism, Fascism, Gandhism and Feminism.
Ideology as a set of Ideas

Ideology as science of Ideas
Dimensions of Ideology

Ideology

Set of Ideas (on best form of society and government)
- A matter of faith
- Characterized by Closed Mind
- Interested Search for Better Society
- Instrument of Politics
- Demands Subordination to Authority

Science of ideas (on how ideas are formed and distorted)
- A matter of critical examination
- Characterized by Open Mind
- Disinterested Search for Better Society
- Instrument of Political Theory
- Allows Individual to Question Authority
Idealism
• Oldest ideology which has its origin in ancient Greece in thoughts of Socrates and Plato.

• Man is a social By Nature, for them man is moral by nature.

• For Idealist, society has priority over individual or “whole is prior to self”. Society is natural it means ‘organic’ view.
Two Types of Cultures

Individualistic Cultures
- Cultures that stress the needs of the individual over the needs of the group.
  - Individual Rights
  - Independence
  - Being dependent is seen as a negative.
  - Self-Reliant
- Generally “Western” Cultures

Collectivistic Cultures
- Cultures that stress the needs of the group over the needs of the individual.
  - Social rules promoting unity.
  - Work as a group is seen as a positive
  - Do what is best for society
  - Families and communities are at the center of lives.
- Generally “Non-Western”: Africa, Latin America, Asia, Indigenous
Views on State

- State is prior to man and State is a source of virtue, State is natural which means ‘organic’ view of the State.

Rights

- No conception of ‘Rights’, only conception of ‘Duties’.

Why conception of rights does not exist in Idealism?

- Rights are protection which man has against the society.
- According to Idealists there is no conflict of interest between man and society.
Concept of Freedom

• Metaphysical view (listening to soul or conscience)
• Freedom lies in acting as per real will.
• This concept is known as Moral Freedom.
Idealism develops into two traditions:

1. Hegelian
2. Kantian
Idolism develops into two Traditions

1. Hegelian

- This tradition gives lot of powers to the State and results into the justification of Totalitarianism like “Fascism”.

2. Kantian

- Immanuel Kant gives primacy to the society but not to the state. Kantian tradition led to the emergence of Oxford School of Idealism represented by T H Green which led to the development of positive liberalism and welfare State.
2. Divine Rights of the King

Prominent in medieval Times.

Justify absolute powers of the King on the ground that King are representative of God, even bad kings should be obeyed as will of God.
Liberalism is a philosophy of Modern Times.
Liberalism is the longest surviving ideology, it emerged in 17th Century.

- John Locke is considered as father of liberalism.
- Every ideology represent the interest of particular class.
- Liberalism is an ideology of bourgeoise class, against the medieval theory of divine rights of king and Lords.
- Liberal gave the theory of natural rights of man.
- Thus liberalism means “theory of Limited State”.
LIBERALISM

• Liberalism is known as metaideology means when ideology has different school within and there are internal debates like “Classical Liberalism” “Positive Liberalism”.
• it is said that liberalism has won the “historic Battle of ideologies”
Liberalism

“Classical Liberalism”

“Positive Liberalism”
Francis Fukuyama in his thesis of “End of History” has suggested that liberalism is the end point of man's ideological evolution.

He suggested that what we are witnessing is not just the end of cold war but the end of history.

He held that there is a Universal recognition that there is no better way of life than liberal democracy.
Schools of thought in Liberalism

1. Original Liberalism
2. Modern Liberalism or Positive Liberalism
3. Contemporary Liberalism
1. Original Liberalism

Now known as Classical Liberalism.

Also known as theory of "Night watchman State".
2. Modern Liberalism or Positive Liberalism

2. Modern Liberalism

• It means theory of “Welfare State”.
3. Contemporary Liberalism

- Neoliberalism.
- Libertarianism.
- Social Liberalism.
Man is individualistic by nature.

Conception on Human Nature.

For Mills, Locke, Bentham man is utilitarian by nature. Atomistic man means man is independent of society, it means man as an “island not a part of continent”.

This view of man is not real but abstract. Liberals believe that man is rational. Since man is rational.

Man can be given rights man can challenge the authority of Church, customs and even State.
They do not consider “Society Prior to Man”. Society is the result of contract on convention.

Society is not natural, liberals, support the view of “Possessive Individualism” and do not recognize the contribution of society. Their view of society is called as “Market Model”.

It means society is the place where people come for achievement of their interest.
• Their view of society is called as “Aggregative” society (collection of individuals) as found in Bentham.

• It means society represent the sum of individual goods. there is nothing called collective goods, this view of society is based on concept of capitalism. They reject the organic view of society.
Conception of Rights of Man-

- First school of thought which recognize the natural rights of man against the divine rights of king. Rights of man limit the authority of the State.
Concept of Liberty-

- It is defined as absence of interference by society or states.
- This conception is now known as negative Liberty.
Concept of Equality-

- Liberals were the first to talk about equality between man and man. In liberalism we have following concept of equality
Concept of Equality

1. Equality Before Law
   Absence or ending privileges. even if a person is King or prince he is to be tried under the ordinary law in ordinary Court

2. Equality of Opportunity
   Everybody should have equal opportunity to prove his worth it recommends abolition of discrimination against anyone.
Concept of Justice-

- Concept of justice means giving everyone his or her due what one deserve. Hence distribution has to be on the basis of desert (deserving or not) and merit and not the basics need.
- Liberals do not support equality of outcomes (socialist concept), they support only equality of opportunity and thus proportionate equality.
Desert And Merit

Desert

Merit-

Person is deserving or not- (Quality of Man)

Evolution of society in terms of utility

a) Efficient

b) Lazy
Role of State

For liberal, State is necessary evil

Why Evil

Because it limits the Liberty.
Why Necessary

Because man is “Selfish By Nature”. They support “Minimal States”. Their views of State is known as Night Watchman.

State or police State also called as “Regulatory State”.

Role of the State is to maintain laws and Orders and to set the fundamental rights.
Why Necessary

According to classical liberal, that State governs the best which governance the least.

Which means give Maximum Liberty.

It also means minimum government Maximum governance.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social Policy</th>
<th>Economic Policy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Based on “Survival of the Fittest”</td>
<td>• Means “non intervention of State” in economy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• According to classical liberals “drunkard in the gutter is where he ought to be.”</td>
<td>• According to “Adam Smith” “State should act as a referee and not as a captain”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• According to Adam Smith there is a “invisible hand in economy which settles everything”.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Modern Liberalism (from 1930 to 1970)

MODERN LIBERALISM

- USA is the first welfare State.
- The NEW DEAL ACTS introduced by Roosevelt in response to economic depression.
- In accordance to the ideas of Keynes led to the establishment of welfare State.
- In 1942 Britain also became welfare State on basis of recommendations of “Beveridge report”.
1. HISTORICAL CONTEXT-

• The original liberalism become synonyms To utilitarianism.
• Hence criticized as “Pigs Philosophy”.
• there was a socialist challenge to liberalism and hence we see the attempts to modify classical liberalism.
• the first search attempt was made by J.S Mill.
1. HISTORICAL CONTEXT-

- However in works of J.S Mill,
- we do not get the idea of either ‘positive Liberty or welfare State’
- it was in the works of Oxford idealist TH Green that we get first idea of “Positive Liberty”.
1. HISTORICAL CONTEXT-

- The prominent exponents of positive liberalism or Modern liberalism are TH Green and Harold J Laski among the economist Keynes, Galbraith, L.T hobhouse gave the concept of welfare State
• Basic assumptions of positive liberals.
• Note-
• In order to modify liberalism, liberals starting from J S Mill tried to incorporate the assumptions of Idealism.
Basic Concepts

1. On Human Nature
2. On Society
3. On Rights
4. On Liberty
5. On Equality
6. On Justice
7. Public Policy
Basic Concepts

1. On Human Nature

They describe, man is moral By Nature or man is ethical By Nature, social by nature.

Example According to JS Mill man is capable of sacrificing immediate pleasure in favour of others and it able to gain happiness out of it.

This view of man is called as developmental view of man means “man as a progressive being”.

They describe, man is moral By Nature or man is ethical By Nature, social by nature.

Example According to JS Mill man is capable of sacrificing immediate pleasure in favour of others and it able to gain happiness out of it.

This view of man is called as developmental view of man means “man as a progressive being”.

1. On Human Nature
2. On Society

- They reject the theory of “Possessive Individualism”.
- They also reject the market model of society or the aggregative view of society, for them society is natural or organic.
Like “Classical Liberal” modern liberals also support the view that man has natural rights. However they not only give civil rights but also social and economic rights.

(Civil Rights- Whatever necessary for civilized existence- liberal rights.)

Positive Liberals- like Laski advocated social and economic rights like right to employment, right of adequate wages, right to food.
4. On Liberty

They believe in both Concepts of Liberty

1. Negative Liberty
2. Positive Liberty

Positive Liberty

Man can be free even when there is intervention by the State. Intervention by the State resulting into increasing Liberty is called as “affirmative action”.
5. On Equality

- 1. Equality Before Law
- 2. Equal Protection of Law
- 3. Equality of Opportunity
5. On Equality

Positive liberals also allow positive discrimination or protective discrimination in favor of “disadvantage section of society”.

Positive discrimination allows State to establish “level playing field” in the society to make competition just.
6. On Justice

- Along with desert andMerit, They suggest to include criteria of need also.
- THey suggested to establish a level playing field in the society to make it just.
1. They are not against State intervention in economy in favour of disadvantage section.

2. They support progressive taxation.

3. They support role of States in generation of demand in creation of employment.

4. They support State performing welfare function related to health education etc.
8. Views on State

- For them State is not a necessary evil rather partnership in virtue.
8. Views on State

Who has Priority? - State or individual.

Classical - Individuals

Positive

This is basic difference between positive liberals and Idealist.

Individuals

They do not sacrifice individual for State

State remains and instrument of utility created by man.
According to Maciver, State commands because it serves it means that is a servant of man. This concept is called as “Service State”.
Like all Liberals, Liberty remains the core value and only difference is that it also interpret Liberty as capacity and permits the intervention.
• “Liberty is capacity of doing something as per the law of our being”.
INTRODUCTION (T.H GREEN)

- **T.H Green** has introduced the concept of “Positive Liberty” in liberalism.
- He is the first one to define Liberty as capacity.
- Capacity denotes ending internal impediments.
- His views are very near to **J.S Mill** when he suggests that Liberty is doing something worth doing. Which differentiates man from animals.
• **Statements**
  • “Human consciousness postulates Liberty, Liberty involves rights, Rights demand State”
  • Above Statement summaries the core of philosopher of positive liberalism.
  • The positive liberal view of man, society and State.
T.H. Green is a positive liberal who establishes that Liberty is the supreme value it has a Priority over utility like J.S Mill.
He suggest that it is natural for human beings to Aspire of liberty. Liberty is the prerequisite for the development of Human Personality.
This Statement show the importance of society. man can enjoy Liberty only if there is a sanction to it by society.

The concept of right and wrong is based on society concept of right and wrong.

Hence the message is that man cannot overlook society from this prospective the concept of atomistic man or possessive individualism is abstract concept and Society is important.
What is the role of State? State is not the source of rights. State is actually the Protector of rights, it is Guardian of rights. In words of TH Greens, the role of State is to “hinder the hindrances”

That comes in the path of enjoyment of Liberty or rights. It includes hindering external impediments as well as internal impediments.

Thus above Statement of TH Green summarises the essence of philosophy of positive liberalism.
• Above Statement of TH Green suggest the basis of legitimacy of the State or reason for the continuation of State.
• It also explain the principle of Political Obligation means reason. People obey the state.
• There are two prominent tradition.
• The First tradition represented by Machiavelli, Hobbes & Marx.
• They base the authority of the State in fear and force. According to her Hobbes “I and fear where were born.”
According to Karl Marx, State is an instrument of exploitation. He trace the origin of State in force.

State represent the subjugation of weak by strong. Second tradition is represented by liberal Scholars like Locke, Rousseau, T. H. Green.
It is a tradition of will, lock and rossueau suggest the origin of State is in the Will of the man social contract TH green also support the tradition of the will.
There is a will of the people for the State because that performs many useful functions. It is an instrument of utility for man. To quotes the T.H green “State hinder the hinderances.”
• However debate remains non conclusive weather force or will is the basis of the State Marxist scholar Gramsci suggest that the so-called will for the State is actually manufactured.

• Neo Marxist scholar Habermas has given the concept of “legitimation crisis”
• According to which even welfare State is bound to face “legitimation crisis”.
Harold Joseph Laski (1893 –1950)

British Political Theorist, Economist, Author, and Lecturer.
INTRODUCTION

- Laski has been significant influence on Pandit Nehru.
- There is a transition in Laski thought.
- He starts as liberal, he got impressed by achievements in USSR.
- However, he realized that there is a compromise of Liberty in socialist system.
- He became the source of inspiration for Fabián socialist.
- Many of the social and economic rights found in part 4 of Indian constitution are inspired by Laski.
“Rights are those conditions of life without which no man can seek in general to be at his best.”
"Social order not based on the recognition of claims of person is based on sand "(it will collapse like House of Cards)
"Rights are claims not empty of duties" (interdependence between rights and duty known as functional Theory of Rights)
"Every State is known by the rights it maintains" (the most important function of State is protection of rights).
First country to adopt Neoliberal policies in 1970 was Britain under Margaret Thatcher and that's why I time known as “Thatcherism”.

In 1980 USA adopted Neoliberal polices under Ronald reagen and that's why at times known as “Reaganomics”.
Trickle down effect

Rich gain more wealth

Investment creates jobs

Higher spending increases demand.

Low skilled workers gain higher pay

Increased tax revenues

Multiplier effect of increased spending

www.economicshelp.org
In 1990 the countries of Eastern Europe formerly communist countries adopted these policies as “Shock Therapy”.

It was imposed on the country of 3rd world including India in 1990's in the form of structural adjustment programme.

The establishment of WTO in 1995 with almost Universal acceptance is the highest point of neo-liberalism.
What is Neo-Liberalism?

• Neo-Liberalism is based on 10 principles known as Washington Consensus. WC was proposed by economist John Williamson.
1. Reduction in Fiscal Deficit.

2. Pro industry Tax Reforms.

3. No indiscriminate subsidies only targeted Progrowth Subsidies.

4. Market determined Interest Rate.

5. Competitive exchange rate for Export Promotion.
6. Trade liberalization by reducing tariff and non-tariff barriers.

7. Promotion of FDI.

8. PSU'S disinvestment.


10. Protection of right to property.
Trickle down effect

Neoliberalism is considered as pro rich and anti poor policies.

The best way to understand Neo liberalism is market fundamentalism.

What is the difference between Classical and Neo Liberal?

Though appear to be similar, there is a difference Neoliberalism is called as market fundamentalism because According to them market has solutions for any problem.

They projected market as a God.
Amartya Sen who is a critic of neo liberalism is admire of Adam Smith. Adam Smith does not propose market fundamentalism. Adam Smith simply demands freedom for market but does not believe that State has no role.
Adam Smith even suggested that State has to take up those projects where private sector will be reluctant to invest. Adam Smith does not suggest that market has solution for all human problems.
Why Neoliberal Policies?

• Welfare State become unsustainable, welfare State was expected to perform almost all function. there was hardly any difference between welfare State and socialist/collectivist State.

• State was accepted to fulfill all functions from “cradle to grave”. State has assume the role of nanny state.

• Hence welfare State becomes unsustainable because of huge fiscal deficit.

• Institutions like IMF proposed “rolling back of the State” Margaret thatcher proposed “TINA factor, the only alternative is that there is no alternative”. 
## Impact of Neo- Liberalism

1. Since Neoliberal policies have been pro rich.
2. It has increased the hardships of poor.
3. There have been global protest against Neoliberal policies because it has increased interstate and intrastate disparities instead of trickle down effect it has resulted into concentration of wealth.
4. Hence neo-liberalism is often described as neo-rightism in the garb of neo-liberalism.
What is Rightism?

• It means “conservatism” it is philosophy which works in the interest of elite class.
Philosophers Of Neoliberalism

1. Hayek
2. Nozick
3. Milton Freedman
4. Murray Rothbard
He is known as Father of Neoliberalism.
BOOK- “CONSTITUTION OF LIBERTY”.

- He is known as father of Neoliberalism.
- He is a critic of ‘planning’
- He calls “planning as road to serfdom”.

Hayek
• According to him, Social Justice is a mirage which means unachievable in name of Social justice state increases its power.
• Justice is the characteristic of person not State.
• He calls progressive taxation as bonded labour.
• If a person is poor it is not the fault of Rich man, it is just because of his bad luck.
• State should not intervene in market.
• Planning is bound to fail because even the most expert planners cannot take into account all possible factors.
• He compares market with big central nervous system having capacity to intercept Millions of message at the same time.

• Instead of forcing rich to pay progressive taxation, State should inspire them for charity.
State takes money in the name of justice but it never reaches to the targeted sections, it is pocketed by bureaucrats giving rise to black economy and divergence of resources from productive to non productive sector.

He is against concept of positive Liberty for him Liberty is absence of coercion.
BOOK – “ANARCHY STATE AND UTOPIA”

- He suggested minimal State is inspiring as well as right.
- He reviews the concept of Night Watchman State.
3. Milton Freedman

Milton Freedman
• He not only suggest freedom for market but actually emphasize that market is essential for freedom. Capitalism is precondition for Liberty.
MURRAY ROTHBARD

- He compares politicians and bureaucrats with gang of thieves and robbers.
- He calls central bank has legislative fraud.
Libertarianism is also known as contemporary liberalism.

**Theme**- Libertarians emphasize on liberty.
Libertarianism

Prominent

1. Nozick.

2. J.S Mill.
• 1. Neoliberals are actually neo-rightist they demand freedom only for market with respect to customs and tradition.
  • they are conservatives.

• 2. Libertarians not only demand freedom for market but also freedom from customs and tradition, the influence of libertarians in the Western world remains Limited in comparison to the Neoliberal.
Difference in Libertarians and New Liberals

For Example-
Republican Party of USA is Neoliberal rather than libertarian.
The Demands of Libertarian include:

Demands –

LGBT right, Homosexual Marriage.
Social Liberals support welfare State but their approach towards function to be performed by State differs from Modern liberals.

Social liberals want State to play a limited role in comparison to modern liberals.
For Example-

Amartya Sen does not support State establishing PSU.

He rather support State to invest in capacity building.
Social liberal support “public private partnership”

The role of private section is economic growth and creation of employment.

the role of State its to set the fundamental rights and to invest in capacity building.

the role of civil society is to ensure transparency and accountability.
Prominent Exponents

John Rawls

Dworkin

Amartya Sen
Q1. Examine the liberal concept of toleration and suggest how liberal State can accommodate diversity?

Q2. Write short note on value pluralism?

Q3. Define Multiculturalism and its relevance?
Q4. Examine the relationship between liberalism and Multiculturalism.

Q5. Difference between Universal citizenship and multicultural citizenship?

Q6. Write short note on Asian values.
There has been growth of intolerance, radicalism, fundamentalism extremism around the world even in liberal countries like France USA. there is a rise of rightist, neo-Fascist. Rise of neo-Fascist trend are not good for survival of humanity. Hence, there is a renew debate on toleration.
Toleration is considered as substantive heart of liberalism.

Liberalism aims to secure the liberty of men, liberalism believes in the autonomy of man it is not possible to exercise liberty or autonomy without the value of toleration.

Hence, toleration is most fundamental to liberalism then even liberty it is a pre-requisite of liberty.
What is Toleration?

- Toleration comes from Latin word ‘Tolerate’ which means to be bear,
- Thus, toleration is a delegated act of self restraint towards the action thoughts with which a person completely disagree or even hate.
- we can understand toleration through the view of voltaire.
According to Voltaire “I detest what you say, but will defend till death your right to say”.
Toleration should not be confused with weakness or appeasement.

Appeasement or weakness is when person does not have capacity to retaliate.

Toleration is when person has capacity to retaliate but prefers not to do so.

Toleration is also not towards the things about which we are indifferent.

The prominent liberal scholar giving their ideas on toleration include...
1. John Locke
2. J. S. Mill
3. John Rawls
Diversity of India.

Indian Society
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• Unlike Hobbes which gives absolute power to the State over individuals even in religious matter.
• John Locke suggest that nobody would follow the magistrate in matters of conscience.
• He advise State to adopt toleration towards the people holding different religious beliefs.
• Has advocated liberty as supreme value.
• According to him, there is no justification for the interference in the life of man except in a situation where his action cause harm to others even self harm does not allow State to interfere
• in the words of Mill all restraints qwa restraints is an evil.
JS Mill has specifically defended the freedom of “Speech and Expression”.
The denial of freedom of speech and expression would not only block the growth of the individual but also the moral progress of the society.
In the words of JS Mill intellectual development and moral health require toleration to ensure free market of ideas.
According to John Rawls rational people living in a society with democratic culture can develop “Overlapping Consensus” over liberal political system despite holding different “comprehensive doctrines.”
What principles and practices have been adopted by liberal State to address diversity?

There is an evolution in the approach of liberal State towards address in diversity. One of the earliest approach has been liberal state followed following principles...
Liberal state followed by principles:

1. Civic Nationalism.
2. Religious Neutrality.
Europe has witnessed at 30 years of War primary because of religious difference medieval Europe suffered from anarchy and lawlessness.

Hence in modern Europe political life was organized around nation States.

Nation State permitted some level of Homogeneity.

For example particular linguistic group was made a nation.

Nation State adopted.
1. Civic Nationalism

- Separation between the public and private sphere as for as public sphere is concerned
- All will display single identity that is the identity of nation.
- Social cultural identity restricted in private sphere.
1. Civic Nationalism

- Example -
- The decision of the French government to put ban on wearing veil or burqua by Muslim woman in public sphere is based on the idea of Civic nationalism.