

Liberalism

Historical Overview

Imagine a world dominated by **feudalism**—where **landed aristocracy** held power, and **absolute monarchs** claimed divine rights to rule. Ordinary people had **no voice**, no mobility, no dream beyond their birth. But then came a radical shift—**market society** began to emerge. A new **middle class** was born: merchants, entrepreneurs, thinkers—people who believed in **choice, merit, and individual potential**. They didn't inherit privilege—they **earned** it through **talent and hard work**.

The fire of liberalism spread with revolutions:

- **The English Revolution (1688)** toppled the divine right of kings.
- **The American Revolution (1776)** declared that governments derive power from the **consent of the governed**.
- **The French Revolution (1789)** shouted *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity!* in the face of monarchy and the church.

These weren't just political shifts—they were **moral awakenings**, birthing ideas of **rights, democracy, capitalism, and secularism**.

Then came a global milestone: the **disintegration of the USSR**. And with it, **Francis Fukuyama** declared the famous phrase—the "**End of History**." Liberal democracy had won! It seemed the entire world was marching toward **freedom and markets**.

But history wasn't over.

In the 21st century, we saw a **retreat and reversal**—a **silent counter-revolution**.

- **Trump, Bolsonaro**, and others revived **conservative populism**.
- **China, Russia**, and **Saudi Arabia** doubled down on **authoritarianism**, rejecting liberal ideals.
- The **Arab Spring (2011)**, once a symbol of hope, turned into shattered dreams in many regions.
- Across Europe and beyond, **right-wing populism** rose—fuelled by fear of **immigration**, nationalism, and the so-called failure of global liberalism.

So, the story of liberalism is far from over. It **rose against oppression, triumphed over monarchy**, and **inspired revolutions**. But today, it faces new challenges—from within and beyond.

And that's the beauty of political thought—it keeps evolving, questioning, resisting, and **fighting to stay relevant** in a changing world.

Core Themes

1. Individualism — *The Heart of Liberalism*

Liberalism begins with one bold claim: **the individual matters**—not as a means, but as an **end in itself**, as **Immanuel Kant** beautifully said.

Every human being carries **dignity, uniqueness**, and **equality** just by being human.

- **Early liberals** saw individuals as **possessive**, self-owning, and capable of making rational choices—this is **possessive individualism**.

- **Later liberals** realized we're not floating atoms—we live in communities. So they added **social responsibility** into the mix.
- This links to the idea of **atomism**: the belief that society is made up of **self-interested**, largely **self-sufficient individuals**. It's controversial, but foundational.

2. Freedom — *The Soul of Liberalism*

What does it mean to be free?

- For **early liberals**, it meant **freedom to choose**—**negative liberty**, or simply the **absence of constraints**. No king, priest, or mob should tell you how to live.
- But **later liberals**, like **J.S. Mill**, argued that's not enough. Real freedom is the **freedom to grow**—to **develop your potential**, to **self-actualize**. This is **positive liberty**.

Mill also gives us the **harm principle**:

You're free to do what you like—as **long as** you don't **harm others**.

- And then comes **Isaiah Berlin** who clearly defined these **two concepts of liberty**:
 - **Negative liberty**: Freedom *from* interference.
 - **Positive liberty**: Freedom *to* be your best self.

3. Reason — *The Guiding Light*

Born from the **Enlightenment**, liberalism is a philosophy of **reason**.

- No superstition. No blind faith.
- It believes humans can **think, discuss, debate**, and **learn** their way to a better world.
- Through **education and dialogue**, we resolve conflicts—not with swords, but with **ideas**.

War, in this view, is the **last resort**. Peace and reason are the **default tools** of progress.

4. Justice — *Fairness, Not Sameness*

Liberalism's vision of justice is **equality with a purpose**:

- **Formal equality** (equal treatment).
- **Legal equality** (equality before the law).
- **Political equality** (like **Universal Adult Franchise**).
It envisions a **meritocracy**—a world where your rise is based on **talent and effort**.

But thinkers like **Michael Sandel** remind us:

A society built *only* on merit can create a "**tyranny of merit**"—where losers feel resentment and inequality deepens.

Liberal feminism adds more here:

- **Mary Wollstonecraft** and **Betty Friedan** fought for **equal rights** and **difference-blind entitlements**, challenging stereotypes like the "feminine mystique."

5. Toleration — *Freedom to Disagree*

This is liberalism's most courageous idea:

"I **detest** what you say, but I'll **defend to the death** your right to say it." — **Voltaire**

- **Locke** said no one should be punished for belief—except **atheists**, ironically.
- **Mill** envisioned a **free marketplace of ideas**, where **truth emerges** from open debate.

But toleration isn't easy today.

- In 2020, **J.K. Rowling** faced backlash over her views on **gender identity**. The liberal dilemma: **How do we balance freedom of speech with emotional safety?**
- **John Rawls** offers a path: his "**overlapping consensus**" says people can have **diverse values**, but still agree on **basic political principles**—through **public reasoning** in a **democratic culture**.

To handle **diversity**, liberalism proposes:

- **Separation of private and public life**
- **Religious neutrality of the state**
- **Universal citizenship** (UAF, UCC)

Think of two models:

- The **USA's melting pot**, where identities melt into one.
- **Europe's salad bowl**, where each identity keeps its flavor, but shares the same plate.

In essence, **liberalism isn't perfect**, but it's one of the most ambitious experiments in human dignity, freedom, and justice. It invites us not just to **live**, but to **live together**—freely, equally, and rationally.

Classical Liberalism (19th Century)

1. Natural Rights – *The Moral Foundation*

At its core, classical liberalism rests on the idea that **certain rights are inalienable**—you're **born with them**, and **no king, priest, or government** can take them away.

- **John Locke**, the "Father of Liberalism," argued for **life, liberty, and property** as **natural rights**.
- These ideas directly inspired the **American Declaration of Independence**, where **Thomas Jefferson** tweaked it to "**life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness**."

The message? The state **exists to protect** your rights—not grant them. If it fails, you have the right to resist.

2. Utilitarianism – *A New Moral Calculator*

But not everyone liked the vague idea of "natural rights."

- **Jeremy Bentham**, a radical thinker, famously called them "**nonsense upon stilts**."
- Instead, he offered a **rational, secular moral formula**:
Maximize **utility**—defined as **pleasure minus pain**.

This became the foundation for **Utilitarianism**, where decisions should aim for the **greatest happiness of the greatest number**.

Here, rights don't come from God or nature—they're **tools to maximize well-being**.

3. Economic Liberation – *Freedom to Trade = Freedom to Prosper*

Classical liberals believed **economic freedom** was **moral and natural**.

- **Adam Smith**, in *Wealth of Nations*, trusted the **invisible hand** of the market. Let supply and demand work, and **everyone benefits**.
- **David Ricardo** introduced **comparative advantage**—if nations specialize and trade, **everyone gains**, and war becomes unnecessary.

The dream? Free trade → global interdependence → **eternal peace**.

4. Social Darwinism – *Freedom Taken to Extremes*

Here comes the **dark turn** of classical liberalism: when thinkers applied **Darwin's theory of evolution** to **society and economics**.

- **Herbert Spencer** in *The Man vs the State* said society should evolve **naturally** without state interference—only the **strong survive**.
- **Samuel Smiles** preached **self-help**—“**Heaven helps those who help themselves**.” Poverty? Blame laziness, not society.
- **William Graham Sumner** was even more brutal: “**A drunkard in the gutter is just where he ought to be**.”

The danger? Compassion becomes weakness. **Inequality is not a problem—it's natural**.

Principle	Belief
Individual Rights	Born with life, liberty, and property (Locke)
Purpose of Government	Minimal—to protect rights
Economy	Free market, laissez-faire (Smith, Ricardo)
Justice	Maximize happiness, not natural law (Bentham)
Social Order	Survival of the fittest (Spencer, Smiles, Sumner)

Classical liberalism gave the **modern world its skeleton**—democracy, markets, and civil rights. But in its purist form, it also risked being **too cold**, ignoring structural inequality, compassion, and collective good.

Modern Liberalism

1. Introduction: A New Crisis, A New Vision

By the 20th century, the industrial revolution had created **factories, cities—and misery**.

- People were **free**, but **poor**, sick, jobless, living in **slums**, and working under **brutal conditions**.
- Classical liberalism said “Let the market solve it.”
- **Modern liberalism said: *That’s not enough.***

So came a shift from a **minimal state** to an **enabling state**—one that doesn’t just protect rights but **creates conditions for dignity**.

2. Individuality & Freedom: Quality over Quantity

Here, **John Stuart Mill** steps in again—but deeper.

- He said it’s not just about **pleasure**, but the **quality** of that pleasure.
- Some pleasures elevate the soul—like philosophy, creativity, sacrifice.
“Better to be Socrates dissatisfied than a fool satisfied.”

Lesson? True individuality means striving for higher goals—not just comfort.

Also influenced by **European romanticism**, this view saw the individual not as a selfish atom, but as someone capable of **nobility, depth, and compassion**.

3. Positive Freedom: The Freedom to Flourish

Now comes **T.H. Green**, who flipped classical liberty on its head.

- He said real freedom isn’t just **absence of external constraint** (that’s negative freedom).
- It’s the **ability to do something worthwhile**—to grow, contribute, thrive.

This is **positive freedom**.

- What if addiction, poverty, ignorance are your chains?
- **You’re not truly free until those are removed.**

So the **state must intervene**—not to dominate you, but to:

“Hinder the hindrance.”

And crucially: The state gets its **legitimacy from the people’s will**, not force. This is a modern **social contract**—power flows upward.

4. Social Liberalism: Welfare as Justice

Faced with rising demands from workers and voters, modern liberalism embraced **welfare**.

- In the **UK**, the landmark **Beveridge Report (1942)** identified “**Five Giants**”: Want, Disease, Ignorance, Squalor, and Idleness.
Its vision: protect citizens **“from cradle to grave.”**

- In the **USA**, **Roosevelt's New Deal** (1930s) responded to the **Great Depression** with jobs, pensions, public works, and regulations.

John Rawls later gave this moral and theoretical foundation with his **difference principle**:

*Inequality is okay **only** if it benefits the worst-off.*

Justice isn't just about rules. It's about outcomes that respect human dignity.

5. Economic Management: Keynes to the Rescue

The **Great Depression** was a death blow to classical laissez-faire thinking. Enter:

- **John Maynard Keynes**, who argued:
Markets don't always fix themselves.
State must intervene—spend during recessions, boost **aggregate demand**.

His ideas didn't just fix the economy—they **saved liberalism** by proving freedom and stability could **coexist**.

Modern liberalism is like a parent who realizes that just unlocking the door isn't enough—**some kids need help walking out**.

It's a belief that **freedom means the opportunity to rise**, not just the right to be left alone.

Classical vs Modern Liberalism

Category	Classical Liberalism	Modern Liberalism
Human Nature	Utilitarian, Atomic, Rational	Man is moral/social by nature, Sacrifices immediate pleasure
Society	Artificial (Contract/conventional), Man is prior to society, Aggregate society (collection of individuals)	Natural & Organic
Rights	Natural rights	Social, civil and economic rights
Liberty	Negative	Positive
Equality	Formal equality	Substantive equality
Justice	Merit & Will	Plus Need
State	Necessary evil	Partnership in virtue, State commands because it serves
Social Policy	Social Darwinism	"Liberty involves rights"
Economic Policy	Laissez-faire	Welfare state

Neoliberalism

Historical Context of Neoliberalism

Imagine the world in the **1970s**: the golden age of post-war welfare states was fading. Economies were struggling with **stagflation** (stagnation + inflation), oil crises, and rising public debts. The Keynesian model—where the government was the caretaker—was **no longer delivering results**.

Into this chaos entered a bold new ideology:

Neoliberalism — a call to roll back the state and unleash the market.

Thatcherism: The Beginning (1970s UK)

In **Britain**, **Margaret Thatcher** led the charge. She believed that too much state control had created inefficiency, dependency, and decay.

Her weapon? **Privatisation**, **tax cuts**, **deregulation**, and her famous motto:

“There is no alternative” (TINA)

This became the **foundational moment** of modern neoliberalism. It wasn't just a policy—it was an economic revolution.

Shock Therapy in Eastern Europe (1990s)

Fast forward to the **1990s**, the **Soviet Union collapsed**, and Eastern European countries like Russia, Poland, and others were transitioning from communism to capitalism.

Western advisors rushed in with a controversial strategy:

“Shock therapy” — rapid liberalisation, price decontrol, and mass privatisation.

The idea was to **shock the system into capitalism** overnight. It brought markets—but also **chaos, inequality, and oligarchy** in many places.

WTO and Global Acceptance (1995)

By **1995**, the **World Trade Organization (WTO)** was established. Its aim?

To **liberalise global trade**, **enforce free-market rules**, and **break down national trade barriers**.

This marked the **universal acceptance of neoliberalism**.

From Wall Street to World Bank, Delhi to Dakar, **free markets**, **limited states**, and **open economies** became the new global mantra.

So, neoliberalism didn't just appear—it **rose out of global crises**, reshaped broken economies, and **changed the rules of the game**. But in solving one set of problems, it arguably created another—something we'll explore in its impact.

Principles of Neoliberalism

To understand neoliberalism, we need to start with the **Washington Consensus**—a blueprint for economic reform proposed by economist **John Williamson** in the late 1980s. It became the go-to prescription for countries in debt crises, especially in Latin America and later in the Global South.

Think of it as a **10-point economic doctrine** (we'll focus on the key ones):

1. Reducing Fiscal Deficits

Governments were told: “Live within your means!”

No more heavy borrowing. Neoliberalism demanded **tight budgets**, fewer freebies, and prioritizing **macroeconomic stability** over welfare spending.

Why? Because large deficits lead to inflation, devaluation, and financial instability.

2. Cutting Discriminatory Subsidies

Subsidies were seen as market distortions.

If you give cheap fuel or food to one group, you create inefficiencies. So, neoliberalism said:

Remove subsidies. Let the market decide prices.

Of course, the **poor suffered**, but the belief was: short-term pain, long-term gain.

3. Market-Determined Interest and Exchange Rates

Stop controlling interest rates and currency values from the top. Let the **market decide**.

This meant opening the economy to **global capital**, encouraging competition, and stopping governments from manipulating money for political gain.

4. PSU Disinvestment (Privatisation)

Why should governments run airlines, steel plants, or banks?

Neoliberalism pushed for selling off **Public Sector Undertakings (PSUs)**.

“Let private players bring efficiency. The government should not be in business—it should govern.”

5. Deregulation

This was the heart of neoliberalism:

Remove red tape. Remove restrictions. Trust the invisible hand of the market.

Whether it's starting a business or hiring employees, the idea was: less state interference, more entrepreneurship.

Addressing Poverty?

Neoliberalism had its own solution to poverty—but it wasn't welfare.

Trickle-Down Theory

If you grow the economy, the benefits will **eventually trickle down** to the poor.

Rich get richer first, but everyone gains in the long run.

Critics called it optimistic. Supporters called it realistic.

Market Fundamentalism

The belief that **markets alone** can solve all social problems.

But here's where **some thinkers disagreed**:

- **Amartya Sen**—Though he supported economic freedom, he warned that markets ignore **capability deprivation**. He said:
“Markets are not enough. Freedom requires public health, education, and equality.”
- **Adam Smith**, the father of capitalism, **also believed in a moral conscience**. He supported **state intervention** where the private sector is reluctant—like in basic education, infrastructure, and justice.

Neoliberalism wasn't just economics—it was a **new way of seeing the world**, based on **market logic** and **individual responsibility**. But it would face serious backlash, especially when promises didn't reach the poor.

Why Did Neoliberalism Rise?

To understand **why the world turned to neoliberalism**, we need to look at the **crisis of the welfare state**.

From “Cradle to Grave” to “Nanny State”

Post-World War II, liberal democracies built a **welfare state**—healthcare, pensions, unemployment support, public housing. The idea was:

“The state will take care of you from birth to death.”

But by the **1970s**, this became a burden.

- **Costs soared.**
- **Bureaucracy bloated.**
- **People became dependent**, critics said.

So, the welfare state was nicknamed the **“nanny state”**—seen as overprotective and inefficient.

Fiscal Deficit and Balance of Payments (BoP) Crisis

- Countries were **spending more than earning**—leading to **rising fiscal deficits**.
- **Import-heavy economies** (like India in the early '90s) couldn't pay for their imports—triggering **BoP crises**.

They had to **borrow from IMF**, and in return, the IMF imposed **conditionalities**:

Cut spending, privatise, liberalise. Welcome to neoliberalism.

Margaret Thatcher: “There Is No Alternative” (TINA)

In Britain, **Margaret Thatcher** led this transformation.

“**There is no alternative.**”

She meant: the welfare model is broken; the only way forward is **free markets, individual responsibility, and a minimal state**.

TINA became the **battle cry** of neoliberalism across the world.

Impact of Neoliberalism



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So what happened when countries embraced this model?

1. Inequality Soared – *Thomas Piketty's* Warning

In *Capital in the 21st Century*, **Piketty** used historical data to show that **wealth concentration grows faster than economic growth**.

The rich get richer, and the poor struggle to catch up.

Neoliberalism, he argued, **favoured capital over labour**—widening inequality **within** and **between** nations.

2. Global Protests

From **Occupy Wall Street** (USA) to **anti-austerity marches in Europe** and **Latin America's uprisings**, people protested:

- **Interstate inequality**: Rich countries benefit more from globalisation.
- **Intrastate inequality**: Urban elites prosper, rural poor are left behind.

3. Climate Justice Movements

- Neoliberalism often promoted **unchecked industrialisation**.
- Environmental regulation was seen as a "**market barrier**".

But this led to climate damage—harming the **global South** most.

Youth and indigenous groups began demanding **climate justice**, pushing for a **green economy with equity**.

4. Rise of Neo-Rightism

- As people grew disillusioned, **neo-rightist leaders** emerged—nationalistic, protectionist, and often authoritarian.
- They promised **jobs, national pride, and control over global capital**.

Examples: Trump (USA), Bolsonaro (Brazil), Modi (India's early economic nationalism shift), Orban (Hungary).

5. Privatisation & Tax Cuts

- Governments **sold public assets**, reduced taxes (especially for corporates), hoping it would boost investment.
- But often, **public services declined**, and **wealth remained concentrated**.

6. Feminisation of Poverty

This is a lesser-known but serious effect:

- As **state support shrank**, **women bore the brunt**—especially single mothers, domestic workers, and informal labourers.

- With **unequal pay** and **no social protection**, poverty became **feminised**—a gendered burden.

Neoliberalism emerged **because the welfare state became unsustainable** and **economic crises forced reforms**. But while it **revived economies**, it also:

- **Deepened inequalities**
- **Weakened the social fabric**
- **Fuelled resistance and right-wing politics**
- **Ignored gender and environmental justice**

Proponents of Neoliberalism

Let's meet the minds behind the ideology.

Friedrich Hayek – *The Father of Neoliberalism*

In his book *The Constitution of Liberty*, Hayek launched a full intellectual attack on **central planning**.

To him, governments trying to control the economy were dangerous—**no central authority** can ever know the real needs of individuals.

“The market,” he said, “is like a **central nervous system**—sensing and responding faster than any bureaucrat ever could.”

Hayek wasn't against all planning—but preferred **indicative planning**: guidance, not control.

And here's his most radical idea:

“**Social justice is a mirage.**”

He meant: trying to enforce fairness through **redistribution or welfare** leads to **tyranny**, inefficiency, and loss of freedom.

He even compared **progressive taxation** to **bonded labour**—arguing it punishes success, fuels **corruption**, and funds **non-productive use** of resources. Instead of state welfare, Hayek trusted **voluntary charity** and **market efficiency** to uplift the poor.

Murray Rothbard – *The Firebrand Libertarian*

Where Hayek was cautious, **Rothbard** was fiery.

He believed **governments are inherently predatory**. He famously called **politicians and bureaucrats**:

“**Thieves and robbers.**”

He accused **central banks** of committing “**legislative fraud**”—creating money out of nothing, distorting the market, and enabling crony capitalism.

Rothbard pushed for a **minimal or even zero state**, where **markets regulate everything**, including education, security, and healthcare.

Thinker	Core Idea	Famous Quote/Analogy
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Hayek	Market over state; Social justice is a mirage	Market = central nervous system
Rothbard	State is coercive; abolish central banking	Politicians = thieves and robbers

They both built the intellectual spine of **neoliberalism**—where **freedom is economic**, and **the state is the enemy of prosperity**.

Libertarianism

Think of **libertarianism** as the loudest voice in the room shouting:

“Just leave me alone!”

It’s a **contemporary form of liberalism**—but unlike modern liberals who believe in welfare and equality, **libertarians go all in for individual freedom**. Especially in the economy **and** in one’s lifestyle choices.

Core Beliefs

1. Freedom in Markets and Morality

Whether it’s running a business or living by your own customs and traditions, **libertarianism** says: the government should stay out of both. You want to smoke, sell, or save? That’s your right—as long as you don’t harm others.

2. Minimal and Limited Government

The state should do just a few things: protect property, enforce contracts, defend the country—and that’s it. This idea is famously called the “**night watchman state**.”

3. Free-Market Capitalism

No subsidies, no protectionism, no government interference. **Pure capitalism** is the best way to ensure efficiency and freedom.

4. Isolationist Foreign Policy

Libertarians don’t believe in policing the world. No costly foreign wars or interventions unless strictly for self-defense.

5. Skeptical of Environmental Regulations

Many libertarians argue that regulations restrict freedom and property rights, and that **markets** (not the state) can solve environmental issues through innovation and voluntary agreements.

Robert Nozick – *The Philosopher of Libertarianism*

In his landmark book, *Anarchy, State, and Utopia*, Nozick made a bold argument:

A **just society** doesn’t need redistribution—it needs **just acquisition** and **voluntary exchange**.

This is his **Entitlement Theory of Justice**, which has 3 principles:

1. **Justice in acquisition** – If you got something through your own effort, it’s yours.

2. **Justice in transfer** – If you voluntarily give/sell something, that’s valid.
3. **Rectification of injustice** – If something was stolen, it should be corrected.

So if someone got rich through honest work or fair trade, **they owe nothing** to society. No taxes. No forced charity. It’s **your property**, and **you are entitled to it**.

This stands in sharp contrast to **Rawls’ theory of justice**, which justifies redistribution. Nozick says:

“Taxation is on a par with forced labour.”

Ideological Cousins

Libertarianism shares DNA with:

- **Classical liberalism** (freedom from interference)
- **Neoliberalism** (free markets, deregulation)
- **Conservatism** (limited state, respect for tradition)

But it breaks from **conservatism** when it comes to **personal freedoms**—libertarians say people should be free to **live however they want**, even if it’s not “traditional.”

Feature	Libertarianism
State Role	Night watchman state only
Economy	Strong free-market capitalism
Property	Just acquisition = full ownership
Foreign Policy	Isolationist
Environment	Skeptical of regulations
Thinker	Robert Nozick – <i>Entitlement Theory</i>

Social Liberals – *Freedom with a Heart*

Imagine a middle path between unregulated markets and total state control. That’s **social liberalism**—the belief that **individual freedom flourishes best when backed by some degree of social support**.

While classical liberals say “freedom means less state,” **social liberals say: true freedom needs a little help**—like education, healthcare, or safety nets.

What Do They Believe?

They believe in a **limited welfare state**—not to control your life, but to give you the tools to shape it yourself.

Roles are Clearly Divided:

- **Private sector** – Drives **growth and employment**
- **State** – Guarantees **rights** and builds **capabilities**
- **Civil society** – Ensures **transparency** and **accountability**

So instead of the state doing everything, social liberals prefer a **partnership model**.

Key Thinkers & Examples

- **Amartya Sen** – Instead of just giving people jobs or subsidies, Sen emphasizes **“capacity building.”**
Example: Giving education, health, and skills—not just employment in PSUs.
- **John Rawls** – Famous for his **“difference principle”**, he argues inequalities are acceptable *only if* they help the worst-off.
- **Harold Laski** – Advocated that the state should create conditions where every person can develop their full potential.
- **Jawaharlal Nehru** – His **mixed economy** model combined public sector investments with private enterprise, reflecting this balanced vision.

Element	Social Liberal View
Welfare	Limited, capability-focused
State Role	Rights, health, education
Market Role	Growth and employment
Civil Society	Accountability
Key Thinkers	Sen, Rawls, Laski, Nehru

Social liberalism is like giving everyone a **fair starting line**, so that the **freedom to run the race actually means something**.

Liberal Theory Of State

Origin of Liberal Theory – *Freedom Born from Revolt*

Liberalism didn't appear out of nowhere. It **emerged as a protest**—a bold reaction **against feudalism**, where life was rigid, oppressive, and hereditary.

The Feudal Order:

- Dominated by **landed aristocracy** and **absolute monarchy**
- The **church and crown** monopolised power
- Individual liberty? **Non-existent**

But then something changed...

The Rise of Capitalist/Market Society:

- The **middle class** (bourgeoisie) began to rise
- They brought **choices and social mobility** through **talent and hard work**
- People started believing: “*Your future shouldn't depend on your birth, but on your merit.*”

Revolutionary Milestones:

These weren't just political revolts—they were *ideological explosions*.

Event	Significance
English Revolution (1688)	Challenged the divine right of kings, established parliamentary sovereignty
American Revolution (1776)	Birth of a republic based on consent, liberty, and limited government
French Revolution (1789)	Popularised the values of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity —a blow to monarchy and church power

Together, these created the soil for **liberalism**—based on:

- **Individual freedom**
- **Limited government**
- **Popular consent**

Liberalism's Global High Point

After the **disintegration of the USSR (1991)**, liberalism seemed *unbeatable*. No more Soviet communism. No ideological competitor.

That's when **Francis Fukuyama** famously declared:

“*The End of History*”

He believed liberal democracy was the **final form of human government**.

But... Retreat & Reversal in the 21st Century

That triumph was short-lived. Liberalism began to face **cracks and crises**.

The Silent Counter-Revolution:

- **Trump & Bolsonaro**: Rise of conservative, populist leadership
- **Authoritarianism**: Growing influence of **China, Russia, Saudi Arabia**
- **Arab Spring (2011)**: Initially pro-liberal uprisings failed or backfired

- **Nationalism & anti-immigrant sentiments:** Spread across Europe and Belarus

Suddenly, **liberalism's claim to universality** looked **fragile**.

Liberalism may have **won many battles**, but it's still **fighting the war** for legitimacy and relevance —especially in a world craving **security, identity, and stability** more than abstract freedom.

Functions of the Liberal State

1. The Night Watchman State — *Minimalism Rooted in Classical Liberalism*

“The state should only protect life, liberty, and property.” — This was the core of **classical liberalism**.

- Inspired by thinkers like **John Locke** and **Robert Nozick**
- The state was meant to be **non-intrusive**, guarding **negative liberty**
- **Robert Nozick's entitlement theory:** property justly acquired (via labor/trade) should remain untouched
- Any state redistribution? “**A form of bonded labour.**”

Goal: Maximise freedom, minimise coercion

Role: Security, contract enforcement, defence

2. The Welfare State — *Modern Liberalism's Response to Industrial Woes*

But real-world problems—**poverty, inequality, unemployment**—refused to vanish on their own.

“Freedom without opportunity is a devil's gift.” — **Amartya Sen**

Trigger Events:

- **Great Depression** (1930s)
- Urban **slums**, child labour, disease, industrial exploitation
- Massive **inequality** despite growing wealth

Democratic Pressure + Liberal Conscience:

Liberalism adapted—**freedom became capability**, not just non-interference.

Landmark Moves:

Country	Measure
USA	Roosevelt's <i>New Deal</i> (1930s) – jobs, welfare, regulation
UK	Beveridge Report (1942) – cradle-to-grave welfare

The state now became:

- **Enabler** of positive liberty (health, education, employment)
- **Agent** of social justice

3. The Rollback State — *Neoliberal Critique & Counter-Reaction*

But with growing welfare came **growing costs**: deficits, inefficiencies, corruption.

Neoliberal Voices:

- **Friedrich Hayek**: Welfare leads to a *nanny state*; social justice is a **mirage**
- **Murray Rothbard**: State actors = "*thieves and robbers*"; central banks = "*legislative fraud*"
- **Washington Consensus & Thatcherism**: Pushed **fiscal discipline, disinvestment, deregulation**

Result: The liberal state was **downsized** in the name of:

- Market efficiency
- Budget control
- Cutting corruption

But it often led to:

- **Feminisation of poverty**
- **Privatisation without regulation**
- Growing **inequality** (e.g. Piketty's *Capital in the 21st Century*)

A Balancing Act

The liberal state today is **no longer just a night watchman**. Nor is it a full welfare giant. It's a **contested terrain** between:

- **Freedom vs Equality**
- **Efficiency vs Justice**
- **Markets vs Morality**

The real test of liberalism? To keep **adjusting roles** without losing its **ethical core**: human dignity and freedom.

Nature of the Liberal State

Think of it like a *referee* in a football match. The liberal state **doesn't play for one team**—it sets the rules, ensures fair play, and steps in only when someone's being fouled. In short, it's an **arbiter among conflicting interests in society**.

It doesn't impose a *single dominant will* like an authoritarian regime. Instead, it gives us **a platform for discussion, debate, and argument**, where different voices are heard and disputes are resolved—**peacefully**, without violence.

Two Faces of Liberalism: Classical vs Modern

Let's break it down historically:

Classical Liberalism – "*Necessary evil*"

- Early liberals, like **Locke** or **Nozick**, believed the state should be minimal. Why? Because they **feared tyranny**.
Remember Lord Acton's famous warning: **"Power tends to corrupt..."**

So, the state's only job was to protect **life, liberty, and property**. Nothing more.

Modern Liberalism – “Partnership in virtue”

- Over time, liberals saw that **liberty without support is an illusion**. What's the point of freedom if someone is too poor, sick, or uneducated to use it?
- So thinkers like **T.H. Green** said:
“Liberty must be supported by the state.”
Meaning: The **will**, not **force**, should guide the state.

Thus, the liberal state became a **partnership in virtue**, rooted in the **social contract**. It doesn't dominate—it helps people **fulfil their potential**.

The Balancing Act

Here's what the liberal state tries to balance:

- **Freedom and order**
- **Rights and responsibilities**

And in doing so, it earns **legitimacy**—because people accept its authority **willingly**, not out of fear.

But wait—this ideal isn't perfect.

JS Mill and Alexis de Tocqueville gave us a big warning:

Beware the “**tyranny of the majority**.”

Even in democracies, the majority can silence **minority voices** or enforce a dull **conformism**—everyone forced to think the same way.

Real-world example? The JK Rowling controversy (2020)

She tweeted: “*People who menstruate are women.*”

This sparked outrage. Was it hate? Or free speech?

This shows the **liberal paradox**: How do we **balance toleration with diversity**?

Enter Michael Sandel, the Harvard philosopher.

He critiques **meritocracy**, a pillar of liberal justice.

He says it breeds **resentment**. Why?

Because those who succeed think it's all their doing, and those who fall behind are told: “*You didn't try hard enough.*”

So, What's the Takeaway?

The **liberal state** is a **dynamic** and **delicate** model. It tries to:

- Uphold liberty,
- Mediate social tensions,
- Empower individuals...

...but it must constantly **correct itself** when:

- Majority voices overpower minorities,

- Identity politics clash with free speech,
- Merit turns into arrogance.

The liberal state doesn't claim to be perfect. But its **greatest strength** is that it lets us **question it, reform it, and make it better**—through open debate and public reason.

Liberal Democracy

Liberal Democracy—one of the most profound and paradoxical ideas in political thought. It's where **liberty meets rule by the people**—and keeping that balance is tricky.

Constitutionalism: Guarding Against Power Itself

Start with this brutal truth:

"All governments are potential tyrannies."

Liberalism knows that **egoism**, when combined with **power**, leads to **corruption**.

As **Lord Acton** warned:

"Power tends to corrupt, and absolute power corrupts absolutely."

So liberalism's first mission is:

Limit power.

Not just of kings, but of elected leaders too.

That's where **constitutionalism** steps in—a **rulebook above rulers**, ensuring that **no one is above the law**.

How is power limited?

- **Checks and Balances**
- **Separation of Powers** – from **Montesquieu**, who said:
"Power should be a check to power."
- **Independent Judiciary** – so justice doesn't serve politicians.
- **Cabinet Government, Parliamentary Accountability**
- **Bicameralism** – two houses = more debate, less haste.
- **Federalism** – powers split between center and states = decentralization.

In short: Liberalism respects government—but only when it stays in its limits.

Democracy: Power to the People—with a Caveat

Let's rewind to **Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg Address (1863)**:

*"Government *of the people, by the people, for the people.*"

Sounds ideal, right?

But liberalism has always had an **ambivalent** relationship with democracy. Why?

Because **majorities** can be **tyrannical too**.

Enter: Alexis de Tocqueville

He saw early American democracy and feared something new:

“Tyranny of the majority.”

What if the majority, in its ignorance or anger, **oppresses minorities**?

Liberalism loves **participation**, but fears **mob rule**.

J.S. Mill’s Solution: Education + Enlightened Voting

Mill believed:

- **Not all citizens are equally informed.**
- Some possess **political wisdom**.
- Others may act on **narrow self-interest**.

His radical (and controversial) idea:

Plural and weighted voting.

The **educated get more votes**—to protect the system from poor decisions.

While this didn’t become mainstream, it revealed a key liberal concern:

Democracy must be **tempered with reason**, not just numbers.

Democracy Says...	Liberalism Says...
People should have power	Limit government power
Majority rules	Protect minorities, rule of law
Respect popular will	Guard against tyranny (even by voters)
Everyone gets a voice	Experts and education matter

Liberal Democracy is the **fusion** of these forces.

It believes in people—but with **rules, rights, and restraint**.

Think of liberal democracy like a carefully tuned orchestra.

- **The constitution** is the sheet music.
- **The government** plays the instruments.
- **The people** are both the audience and the chorus.

But unless everyone follows the **rhythm of rights**, the music turns into **noise**. That’s why liberalism is obsessed with balance:

Freedom **with** responsibility, power **with** checks, majority **with** minority protection.

Modern Relevance

1. Origin of Liberal Theory – Under Threat Today

While liberalism rose as a reaction to monarchy and feudalism, in today's world, its foundations are being **increasingly challenged**:

- **Authoritarian resurgence:** Countries like **Russia, China**, and **Saudi Arabia** continue to consolidate **non-liberal governance**, often prioritizing control over individual liberty. The **Russia-Ukraine war** and China's internal surveillance illustrate **state power unchecked by liberal values**.
- **Rise of conservative populism:** Leaders like **Donald Trump, Jair Bolsonaro**, and **Viktor Orbán** have promoted **nationalism, anti-immigration**, and **anti-globalist rhetoric**, rejecting liberal tolerance and diversity. This reflects what your map calls a “**silent counter-revolution**.”
- **Belarus Protests and Iran's Hijab Protests (2022–23)** show global civil society's demand for liberal rights, even as states suppress them.
- **India's CAA–NRC protests (2019–2020)** and debates around **UCC** and **religious neutrality** echo liberalism's crisis in balancing **universal citizenship** with **cultural diversity**.

2. Functions of the Liberal State – Between Night Watchman & Welfare

The liberal state today oscillates between being a **minimalist protector** and an **enabling welfare force**—a tension more visible after COVID-19:

- **Welfare expansion:** During the **COVID-19 pandemic**, states provided **direct cash transfers, free vaccinations**, and **food security**—a strong case for the **enabling state**. India's **PM-GKAY, Aatmanirbhar Bharat**, and US stimulus checks show the state's welfare function in action.
- **Economic retreat:** Post-COVID, **fiscal deficits surged**, prompting debates on **rolling back welfare**, echoing **neoliberal criticisms**. In India, **PSU disinvestments, labour code reforms**, and **privatisation** (like Air India) reflect a **Washington Consensus-style return to deregulation**.
- **Neoliberal discontent:** Globally, **rising inequality** (e.g., **Oxfam 2023 Report**) has renewed calls for state intervention. Thinkers like **Thomas Piketty** and movements like **Occupy Wall Street 2.0 (2021)** challenge the **trickle-down theory** and call for **progressive taxation**.

3. Nature of the Liberal State – Struggling Between Authority and Inclusion

Liberalism's vision of a **neutral, rights-based arbiter** is increasingly difficult to maintain:

- **Crisis of toleration:** The **JK Rowling controversy (2020)** over transgender identity reflects growing conflict between **liberal free speech** and **identity politics**. The idea of “**safe spaces**” vs “**marketplace of ideas**” is being debated on campuses worldwide.
- **Free speech vs democracy:** The banning of opposition in **Russia**, crackdown on journalists in **China**, and social media regulation in **India (2021 IT Rules)** challenge **liberal ideals of expression**, despite being democracies.
- **Meritocracy under attack:** **Michael Sandel's critique** in “*The Tyranny of Merit*” resonates with youth unemployment and resentment among India's educated class, especially after **recruitment delays in government jobs** and **contractualisation of labour**.

- **Justice debates:** The **Supreme Court's refusal to legalise same-sex marriage (India, 2023)** brings into question whether liberal democracies truly ensure **equal citizenship and dignity** as promised under liberal justice.

Conclusion: Liberalism at a Crossroads

While the **core principles of liberalism**—individual rights, limited government, toleration, and rule of law—remain aspirational globally, the **liberal state is under pressure** from both the **Right (nationalism)** and the **Left (identity justice movements)**. The real challenge today is **rebalancing liberty with responsibility, minimalism with equity, and pluralism with unity**—exactly the tensions your mindmap laid out across classical and modern variants.

Previous Year Questions - Liberalism

1. Decline of Liberalism. 2024, 10
2. "Factors like community, culture and nation weaken the hegemony of neo-liberalism today. Discuss." 2022, 20
3. Examine the liberal theory of State in contemporary politics. 2022, 20
4. Liberalism as a revolutionary idea. 2020, 10
5. Discuss the communitarian critique of liberalism. 2013, 20
6. "The Political ideology of Globalization is Neo-liberalism." Comment. 2016, 20
7. Compare negative and positive concepts of liberty. 2019, 15.
8. Critically examine the neo-liberal theory of State. 2018, 20
9. Comment on: Neo-liberal perspective of State. 2017, 10

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