



UGC-NET

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Political Science

National Testing Agency (NTA)

Paper 2 || Vol - 1



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I UNIT

Political Theory

Justice

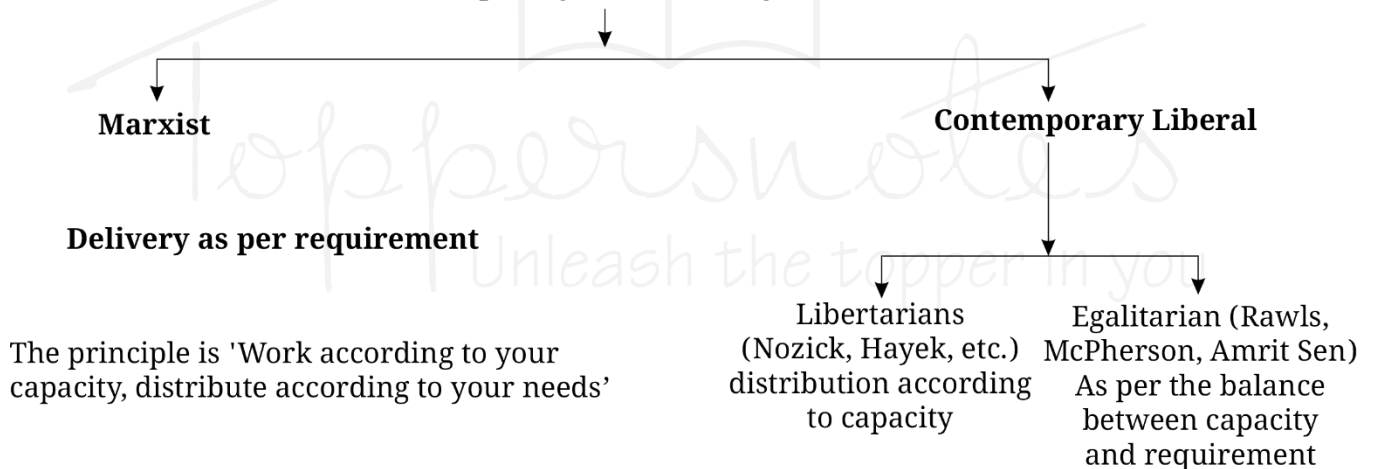
- Justice – This word is derived from the Latin word Justia, which means "to join" or "to bind."
- In Indian philosophy, its synonym is "Dharma,"
- while in Greek philosophy, it referred to "virtue" or a "virtuous person."
- As Popper said, "Justice is a cloak that has no single definite implication."
- In the contemporary era, the core meaning of justice is derived from social justice.

Dimensions of Justice

➤ **Distributive Justice**

- ✓ Under this, the distribution of positions, prestige, wealth, property, etc., is included — that is, the distribution of social and economic resources.
- ✓ This form of justice was first introduced by Aristotle.
- ✓ According to Aristotle's concept of distributive justice, the state should distribute resources according to the individual's merit or ability.
- ✓ More merit (higher capability) → more resources

Contemporary, distributive justice



➤ **Proportional Justice**

- ✓ First explained by Aristotle.
- ✓ Principle: "Equal treatment for equals, unequal treatment for unequals."
- ✓ That is — the distribution of position, prestige, wealth, and property should be in proportion to merit and ability.

➤ **Procedural Justice and Substantive Justice**

➤ **Procedural Justice**

- ✓ It includes statutory and political justice. This is formal justice in which the procedure is important, not the result. That is, the process or method of allocation/distribution of valuable goods, services, positions, property, etc., should be fair. Here, emphasis is laid on the procedure, not on the outcome. In procedural justice, the sole basis of "resource distribution" is ability/merit. The more capable one is, the more resources they will receive; the less capable one is, the fewer resources they will receive.
- ✓ **Supporters:** Traditional liberals such as Locke, Spencer, Adam Smith; libertarians such as Nozick, Hayek, Berlin, Friedman.

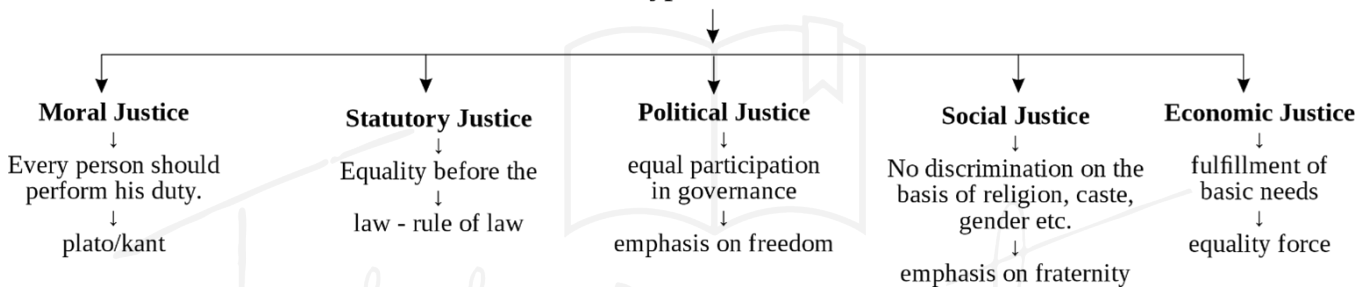
➤ **Substantive Justice**

- ✓ It is related to social and economic justice. It considers outcomes to be important, meaning that the procedure may be altered in order to achieve good results and to fulfill the needs of the Dalits, workers, and the poor. In substantive justice, efforts are made to meet the basic economic needs of individuals, that is, this concept is based on the idea of equality of opportunity.
- ✓ **Supporting Ideologies:** Marxists believe in the revolutionary concept of substantive justice. According to the Marxists/Communists, justice means the complete abolition of the capitalist system and the control of the means of production by society, along with the elimination of private capital. Modern liberals and egalitarians, who support the welfare state, emphasize a combination of procedural justice and substantive justice.

➤ **Natural Justice**

- ✓ In Natural Justice, those rules and norms are included which are useful for all human beings and which a person can discern through their own conscience. It is possible that these may not be explicitly mentioned in the Constitution or in law.
- ✓ **Example:**
 - (A) No person shall be a judge in their own case.
 - (B) No person shall be punished without being heard; that is, every individual shall have the right to a hearing.
 - (C) The punishment must be logical and reasonable, not arbitrary.

Types of Justice

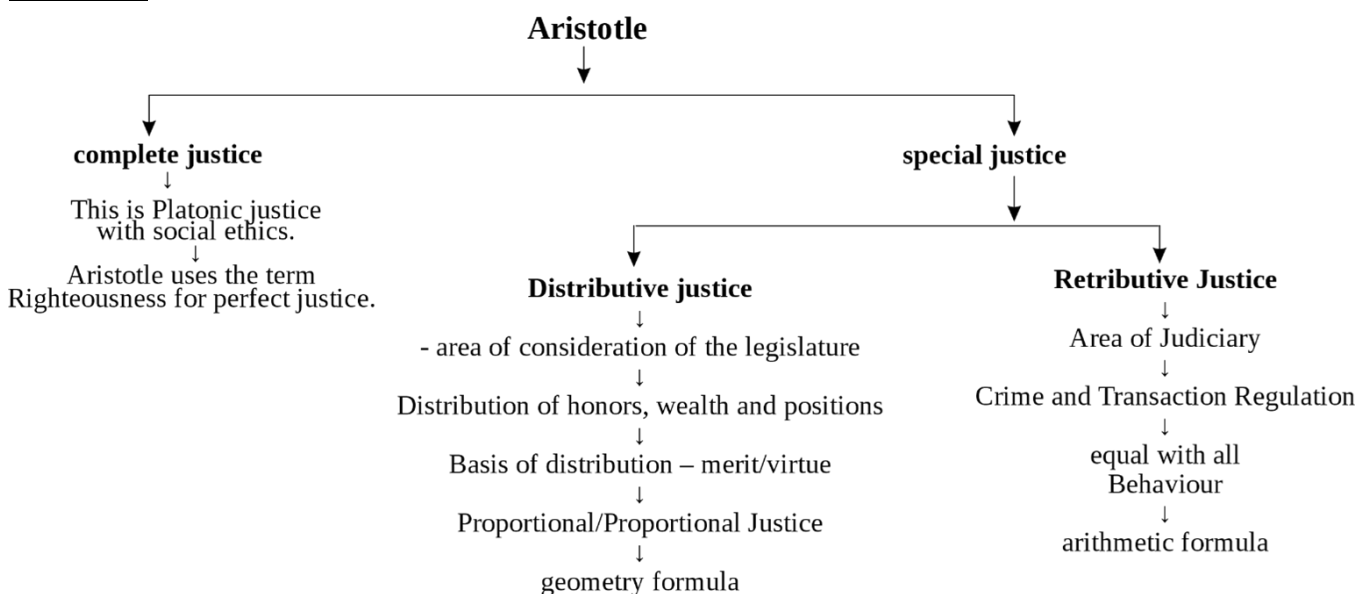


Views of Various Thinkers on Justice

Plato: Theory of Moral Justice

- The subtitle of Plato’s book Republic itself is “Concerning Justice.” Plato’s theory of justice is also called the theory of division of labor or specialization of functions. Its meaning is that each class should perform its own function and should not interfere in the functions of other classes.
- ✓ **Two Types of Justice:** Individual Justice – considered as a quality of the human soul.
- ✓ Social/Political Justice

Aristotle



- Aristotle's formula of justice is the principle of distributive justice.
- The state is only the enlarged form of the individual.
- Justice means: one person—one duty, one class—one function.
- According to him, justice is "equality for equals and inequality for unequals."
- Proportional justice implies that the distribution of honor, wealth, and positions should be in proportion to the extent to which one serves the state or to the extent of one's virtue.
- Aristotle, in both spheres of particular justice, is a supporter of the status quo. That is, in the field of justice, Aristotle's ideas are conservative.

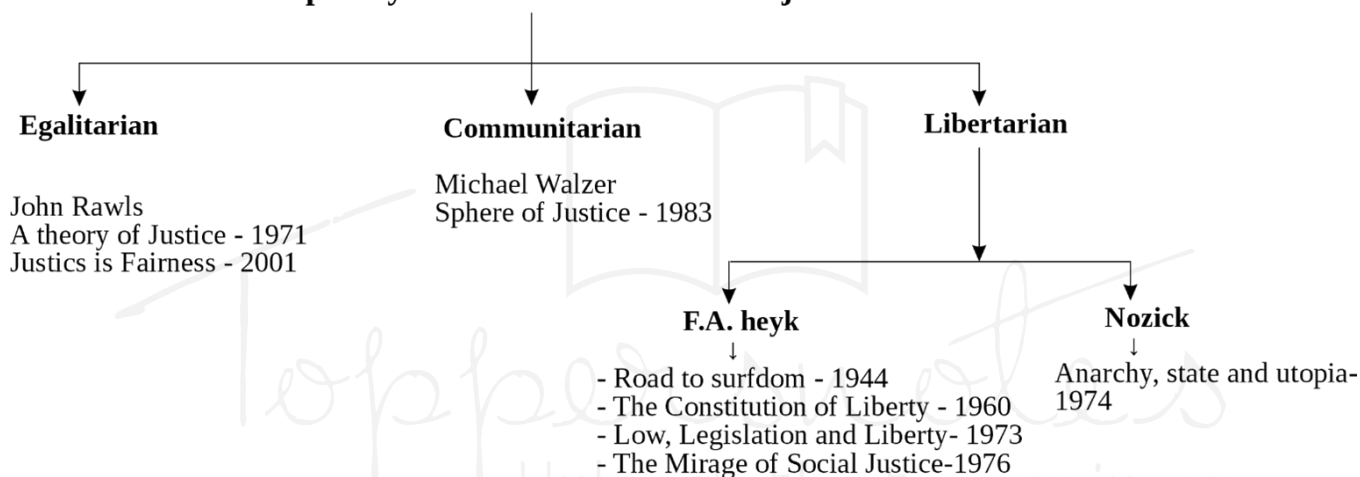
Medieval Justice

- **St. Augustine (City of God):** "Justice is the fulfillment of one's duty towards the Divine State." "Those states where justice does not exist are nothing but robberies and plunder."
- **Thomas Aquinas (Summa Theologiae):** Equality is the fundamental attribute of justice.

Modern Justice

- According to David Hume, Jeremy Bentham, and J.S. Mill, justice means the observance of rules, because rules have public utility. The basis of justice is "the greatest happiness of the greatest number."

Contemporary liberal thinkers' views on justice



Amartya Sen

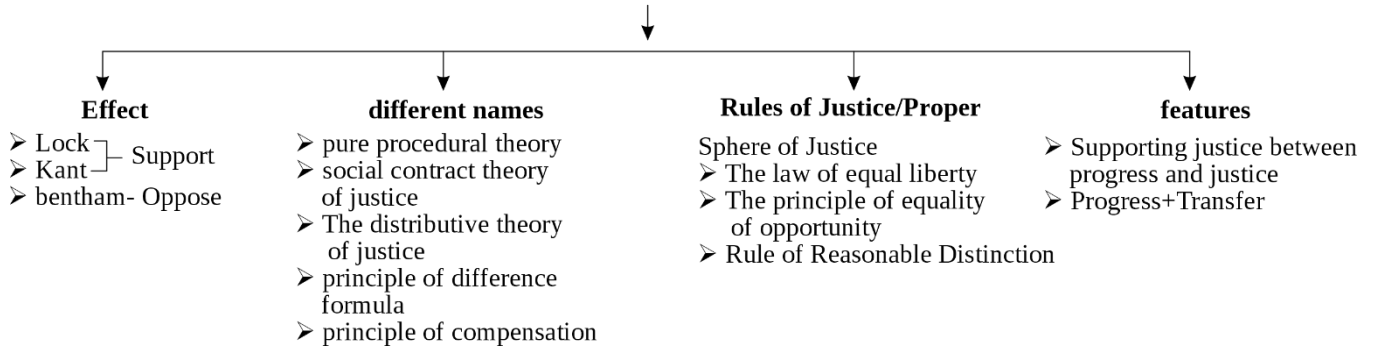
- **Books:**
 - ✓ The Idea of Justice – 2009 – Amartya Sen
 - ✓ Development as Freedom – 1999 – Amartya Sen
 - ✓ The Argumentative Indian – Amartya Sen
 - ✓ The Idea of India – 1997 – Sunil Khilnani
 - ✓ The Rediscovery of India – 2009 – Meghnad Desai
 - ✓ India: From Midnight to the Millennium – Shashi Tharoor
 - ✓ India After Independence – Bipan Chandra
- **Major Works (Repeat):**
 - ✓ A Theory of Justice – 1971 – John Rawls
 - ✓ Anarchy, State and Utopia – 1974 – Robert Nozick
 - ✓ The Mirage of Social Justice – 1976 – Friedrich Hayek
 - ✓ Spheres of Justice – 1983 – Michael Walzer
 - ✓ The Idea of Justice – 2009 – Amartya Sen

John Rawls (1921–2002)

- A liberal egalitarian.
- John Rawls was a professor of philosophy at Harvard University, USA.

- Rawls' theory of justice emerged in the background of the Civil Rights Movement and racial conflicts in the USA during the 1960s.
- Rawls considers justice as the main and primary virtue of society.
- He combines procedural justice and substantive justice.
- According to him, the problem of justice is essentially the problem of the distribution of primary goods.

John Rawls



Influence: Veil of Ignorance (as a Tabula Rasa)

- **Locke:**
 - ✓ Rawls' concepts of the "Original Position," the "Veil of Ignorance," and the "Rational Negotiator" are derived from Locke's idea of the "State of Nature" prior to the social contract.
 - ✓ By taking the social contract as a foundation, Rawls connects liberal individualism with redistribution and social justice.
 - ✓ Under the veil of ignorance, individuals have no knowledge of their race, gender, socio-economic status, or religion.
 - ✓ The parties are also unaware of their own conception of the Good and of their particular psychological tendencies.
- **Kant:**
 - ✓ Rawls adopts from Kant the ideas of "morality" and "the dignity of the individual."
 - ✓ Rawls' famous statements — "The right is prior to the good," "Rights are prior to the good," and "The self is prior to the ends" — are influenced by Kant's well-known principle that "a person is an end in himself."
 - ✓ Rawls' foundation lies in Kant's morally fundamental liberal principles. Rawls is influenced by Kant's rational intellectualism, not by David Hume's emotional intellectualism.
- **Bentham:**
 - ✓ Rawls is a staunch critic of Bentham's utilitarianism, because it does not pay attention to the dignity of each individual, while dignity is the central point of Rawls' theory of justice.
 - ✓ According to Bentham's utilitarian formula of "the greatest happiness of the greatest number," the conclusion could be that if 51% of people are happy with slavery, then slavery is justified.
 - ✓ In contrast, according to Rawls' theory of justice, "no matter how much the happiness of the happy is increased, it cannot compensate for the suffering of the unhappy."

Different Names of Rawls' Theory of Justice

- **Pure Procedural Justice:** Rawls himself gives this name to his theory of justice. Its meaning is the combination of procedural justice and substantive justice. That is, along with respecting merit and ability, reservations (affirmative action) for social justice are also necessary. In this way, Rawls is not a supporter of capitalism, but rather of the welfare state.
- **The Contractual or Social Contract Theory of Justice:** Because Rawls' concept of the original position corresponds to Locke's state of nature.

- **The Distributive Theory of Justice:** Because the state distributes primary goods to all individuals for the fulfillment of their basic needs.
 - ✓ **Primary Goods:** Rights and Liberties, Income and Wealth, Powers and Opportunities, Self-respect
- **The Difference Principle or the Principle of Inequalities (Maximin Principle):** This is the core idea of Rawls' Difference Principle (Maximin Rule).
- **The Principle of Compensation:** That is, support for affirmative action (USA) / reservation (India) / protective discrimination for the social welfare of the least advantaged people.

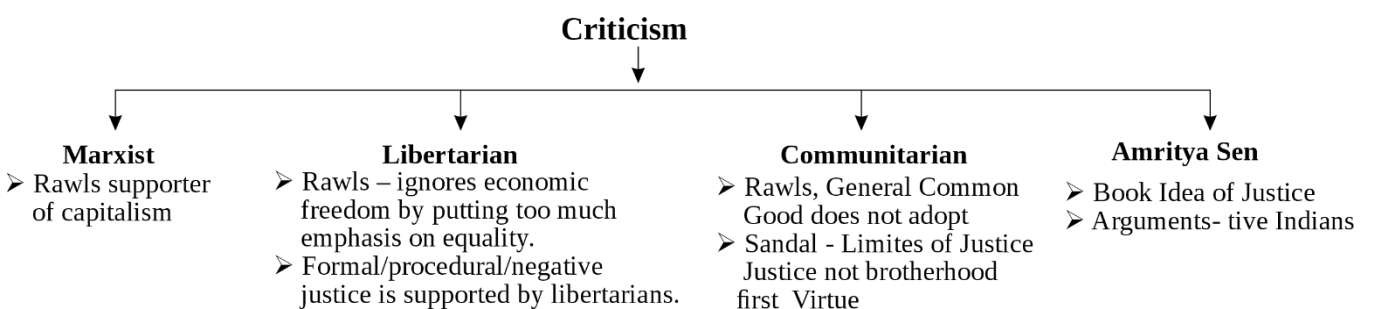
The Principles of Justice

- **Two principles: the first relates to liberty, the second to equality.**
 1. **Rule of Equal Liberty:** This has the first priority (civil and political liberty). The first principle states: rights are more important than the good.
 2. **Socio-economic Inequality (Difference Principle):** Its arrangement is based on two grounds. It applies to the distribution of income and wealth.
 - (a) **Rule of Equality of Opportunity:** This has the second priority.
 - (b) **Rule of Reasonable Discrimination:** This has the third priority. Its meaning is the provision of reservation or affirmative discrimination for the welfare of the disadvantaged individuals.
- The above three principles are to be adopted in sequence. Rawls calls this the “appropriate domain of justice.”
- Lexical Order: This means that unless the first principle of justice is satisfied, one cannot proceed to the second.
- Behind the veil of ignorance, in the original position, the participants in the social game also engage in rational choice or a kind of procedural bargaining. Yet, the conclusions that emerge are moral. The reason for this is the veil of ignorance, because the participants have only general knowledge, not specific knowledge about themselves, and thus they cannot be biased or selfish.

Features of Rawls' Theory of Justice

1. **In the conflict between progress and justice, preference is given to justice:**
 - ✓ The meaning of justice is social justice, that is, support for reservation (affirmative action) for the upliftment of the backward and disadvantaged classes.
 - ✓ **Related to Social Welfare – the ‘Chain Connection Theory:** John Rawls' famous statement is, “Any society is like a chain, and no chain is stronger than its weakest link.
 - ✓ The essence of this argument is that more talented people can utilize their talents and opportunities only in cooperation with the less talented.
2. **Along with progress, emphasis is also laid on the transfer branch.**
 - ✓ John Rawls supports the capitalist system for progress in society and the transfer mechanism for the welfare of the disadvantaged. This mechanism will fulfill the minimum needs of the poor. For example: MGNREGA, RTE, and fair price shops.

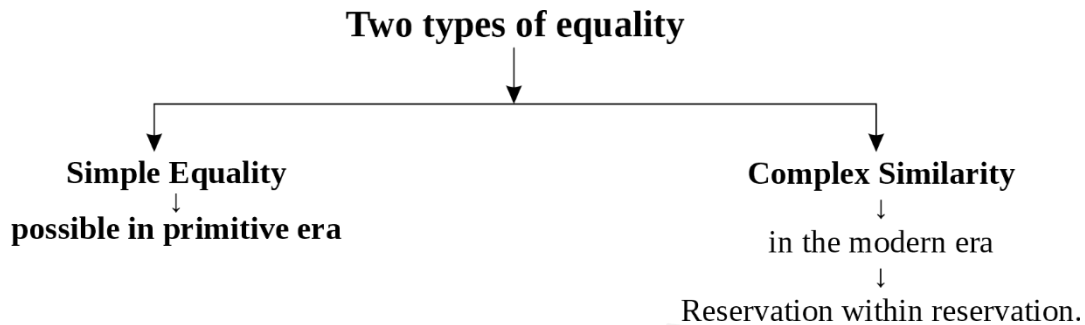
Criticism



- Rawls gives everyone a flute but does not teach anyone how to play it” – says Amartya Sen, meaning that Rawls, in the form of ‘capability development,’ neglects justice.
- **The leftist egalitarian (C.B. Macpherson):** criticized Rawls and described him as ‘the spokesman of the liberal democratic capitalist welfare state.’

Michael Walzer’s Theory of Justice: Communitarian

- Spheres of Justice – 1983
- According to Walzer, “there can be no universal rule of justice.”
- For social justice, political justice, and economic justice, separate rules must be created, whereas John Rawls applies the same rule of justice to all spheres.
- Thus, Walzer supports the idea of “pluralistic spheres of justice.”



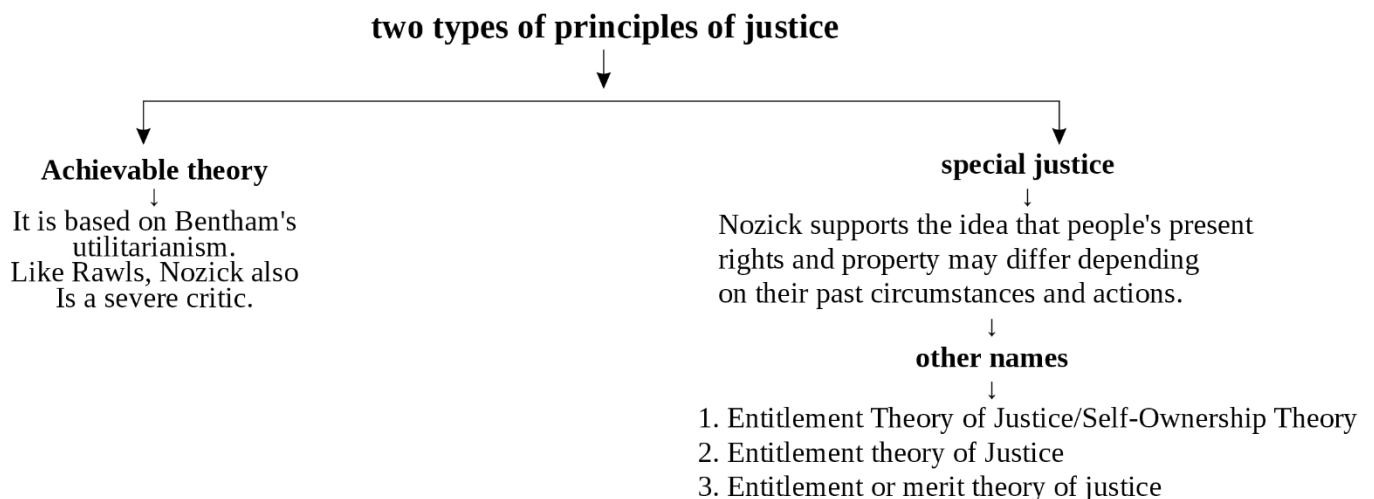
- The establishment of complex equality is not possible in a capitalist system; for this, a “decentralized democratic socialism” based on pluralism must be adopted. While Rawls emphasizes rights, Walzer emphasizes duties.

Hayek’s Theory of Justice – Libertarian

- Law, Legislation and Liberty: The Mirage of Social Justice – 1976 (The Mirage of Social Justice)
- Hayek is a staunch supporter of procedural justice; therefore, he says: “The very idea of social justice is meaningless, it is a mirage.”
- The state should only protect liberty, and abandon the idea of equality and social welfare. “Free exchange is fair exchange.”

Nozick’s Theory of Justice – Libertarian

- Anarchy, State and Utopia – 1974 (Anarchy, State and Utopia)
- Nozick is also influenced by Locke. From Locke, he adopts the concepts of individualism and property rights.
- The meaning of all three is that a person who has earned wealth through his own ability has full claim or right over that wealth, and the government cannot appropriate (take away) that wealth in the name of social welfare.



The Three Principles of Nozick's Historical Theory of Justice

1. **Principle of Just Acquisition:** A person may earn as much wealth as he wants by making proper use of his abilities.
2. **Principle of Just Transfer:** A person may transfer or spend the wealth earned in a legitimate manner to whomever he wishes.
3. **Principle of Rectification of Injustice:** If someone has acquired wealth through unjust means, it can be rectified — that is, the government may seize it (rectification or correction).
 - Thus, Nozick's formula for just distribution becomes: "From each as much as he wishes to give, and to each as much as someone wishes to give him." Or, "As people choose, so shall it be."
 - Conclusion: Nozick is a supporter of non-interventionism (Laissez-Faire) and the night-watchman state, and a critic of the welfare state. Being a supporter of the capitalist state, Nozick calls the individual a client of the state, who pays taxes in return for security — that is, the state has no right to redistribution.
 - **Possessive Individualism:** This means that an individual is the master of his own body and abilities, and for this he is not indebted to society. (Hobbes and Locke)
 - **Book:** Possessive Individualism – Hobbes to Locke by C.B. Macpherson.

Justice (Reconsidered)

- Justice → Justia → to join or to keep applied.
- To maintain balance in society, two measures are adopted:
 1. **Punishment:** This is the subject of procedural or legal justice.
 2. **Reward:** This is the subject of social justice.
- The two basic elements of justice are equality and fairness.
- Aristotle's concept of justice is status-quoist, because:
 - ✓ In distributive justice, where people are regarded as equal or unequal, the basis for this is the customs and traditions prevalent in society, because these determine virtues.
 - ✓ "Traditions are important; changing a person's character is not as easy as changing laws." – Aristotle

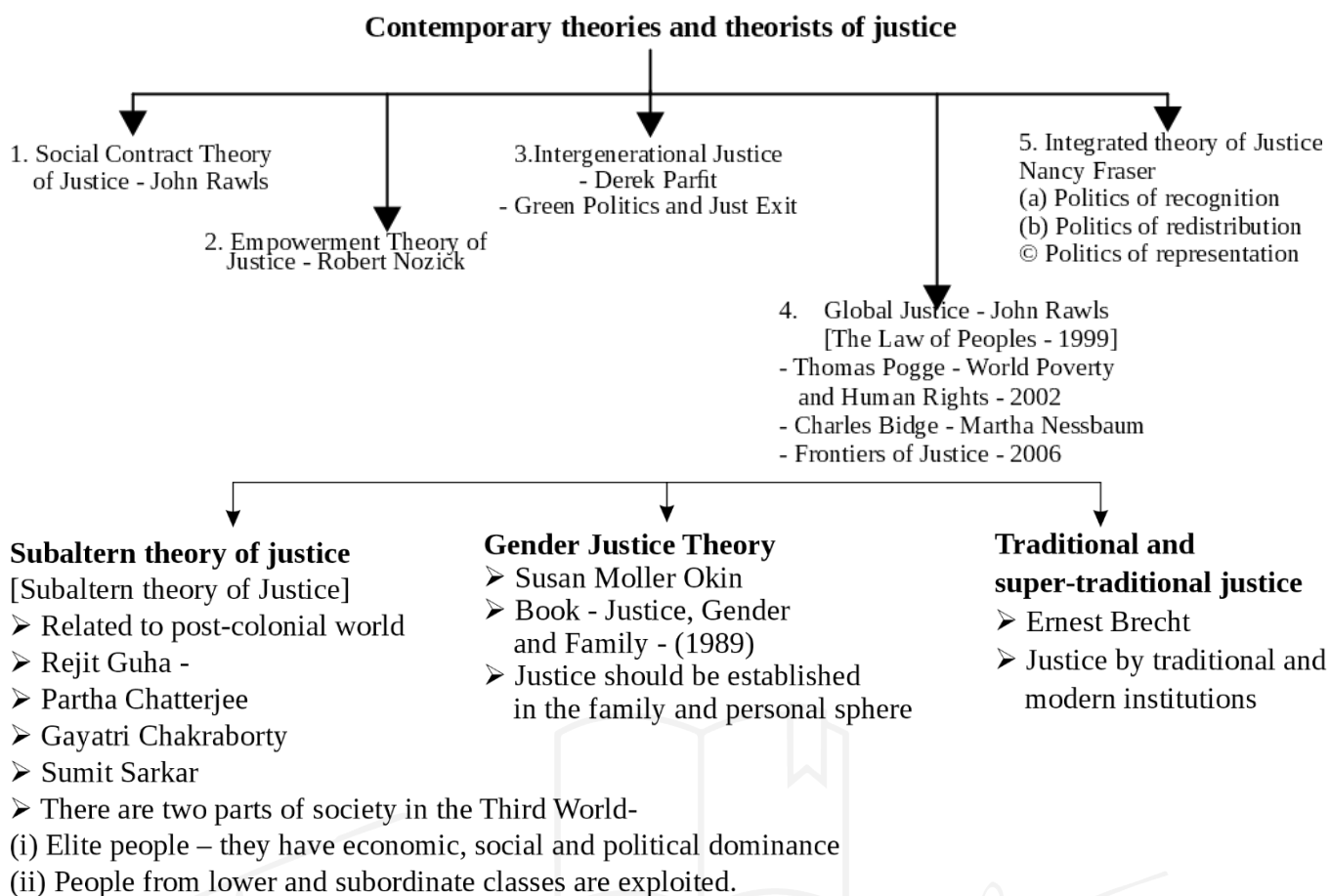
The Three Parts of Rawls' Theory of Justice

1. **Principles**
2. **Institutions:** Justice is the primary virtue of social conduct and social institutions.
3. **Ends**
 - **In the Veil of Ignorance, there is no knowledge of this.**
 1. Particular desires, inclinations, needs, preferences
 2. A sufficient sense of the right
 3. Talents and abilities
 4. History, race, nationality, gender
 - The rational negotiators have elementary knowledge of economics and psychology.
 - Difference Principle: Maximum benefit to the one in the least advantaged position.
 - ✓ This means that awarding a person special rewards for exceptional talent and hard work will be just only if it results in the maximum benefit to the disadvantaged.

Susan Moller Okin

- **Book: Justice, Gender and the Family (1991)**
- **Okin connects gender/feminism with justice. According to her, the various...**

Contemporary Theories of Justice and Theorists



The Major Criteria of Justice in Modern Democratic Societies

(i) Desert – [Rightly Deserved]

- ✓ Reward for the deserving, punishment for the undeserving.
- ✓ Main supporter – Robert Nozick.

(ii) Merit – Liberal, Libertarian

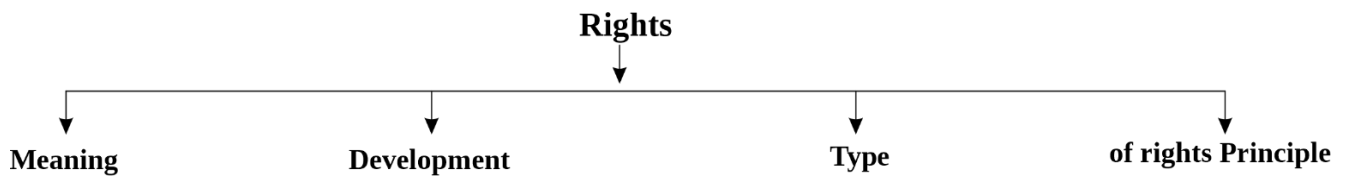
(iii) Need – Marxist

(iv) Equality – Socialist, Liberal Egalitarian, Feminist

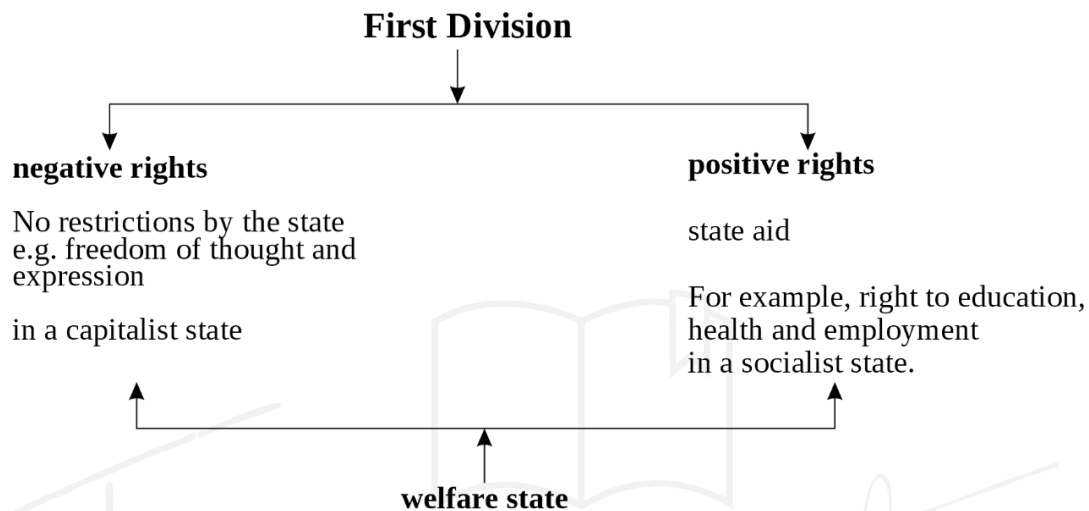
Famous Quotations

- “Justice is the complete virtue which we exhibit in our dealings with one another.” – Aristotle
- “Justice is the first virtue of social institutions.” – John Rawls
- “The sole foundation of justice is public utility.” – David Hume
- “There is something inherent in justice which makes doing it simply right and not doing it simply wrong; moreover, it is something upon which, as a moral right, a particular individual may lay claim against another.” – J.S. Mill
- Popper, in the context of Plato’s philosophy, said: “When the all-knowing philosopher-king alone runs this system of justice, it will result in totalitarian morality and totalitarian justice.”
- Walzer: “Justice cannot be understood on the basis of abstract and universal principles.”
- **Susan Moller Okin:** “Every theory of justice is incomplete if it remains silent about inequalities within the family.”
- **Marxist philosopher G.A. Cohen:** uses the term “the Currency of Distributive Justice” for distributive justice.
- **Supporters of the “Capability Theory of Justice”** – Amartya Sen (Book – The Idea of Justice, 2009) and Martha Nussbaum.

Rights

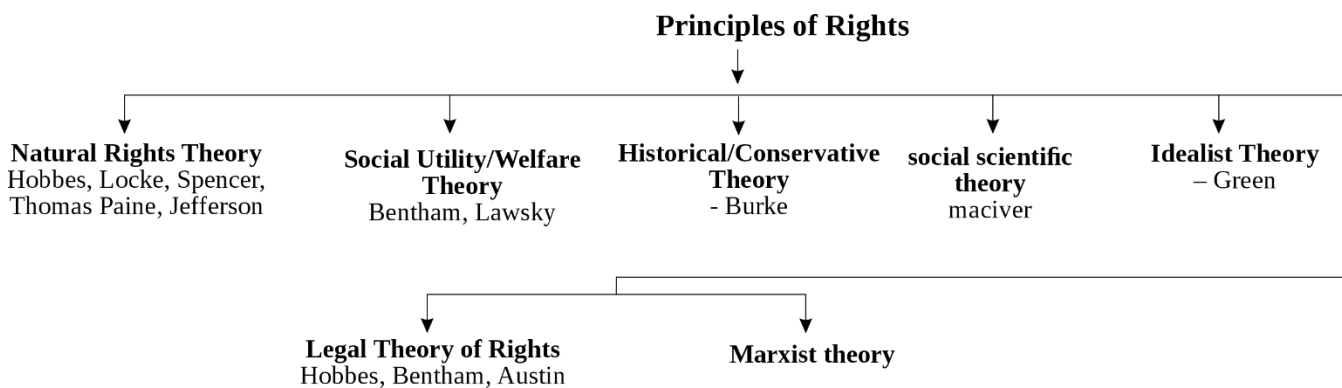


- **Meaning:** Rights are those claims of self-development which are recognized by society and supported by the state.
- “Rights are those conditions of social life without which no man can seek, in general, to be himself at his best.” – Harold Laski
- **The classification of rights in two ways:**



- **Classification in Other Ways**
 1. **Moral Rights:** The right of the elderly and children to care, and the right of a teacher to receive respect.
 2. **Civil Right:**
 - ✓ Right to Equality before Law (Rule of Law)
 - ✓ Right to Life (Personal and Bodily Liberty)
 - ✓ Right to Freedom of Speech, Thought, and Expression
 - ✓ Right to Property and Right to Contract
 - ✓ Right to Religious Freedom (Freedom of Conscience)
 3. **Political Rights:** (in democratic/liberal systems)
 - ✓ Right to Vote (One person, one vote, one value – Bentham)
 - ✓ Right to Contest Elections
 - ✓ Right to Public Office
 - ✓ Right to Oppose or Support the Government
 - ✓ Right to Participate in Public Policy-making and its Implementation
 4. **Socio-Economic Rights:** (in socialist welfare systems) – Right to food, clothing, shelter, and employment.
 5. **Cultural Rights:** (Multiculturalist view – Bhikhu Parekh, Will Kymlicka) – Right to one’s own language, script, and culture.
 6. **Environmental Rights:** (a burning issue in the present times) – Right to clean air, clean environment, and a nuclear-free world.

Theories of Rights

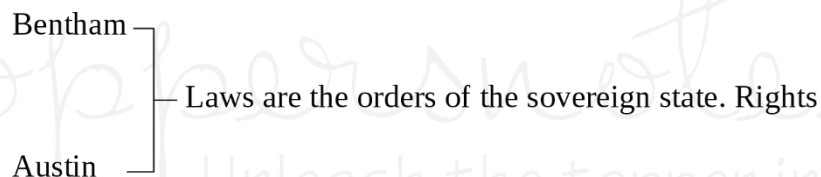


1. **The Theory of Natural Rights:** God-given / Prior to the State / Cannot be taken away. The state is created for the protection of rights.

- ✓ **Supporters:** Hobbes (Right of self-defense), Locke (Right to life, liberty, and property), Thomas Paine (Rights of Man), Jefferson (“Give me liberty, or give me death”).
- ✓ **Three Revolutions:** Glorious Revolution (1688) American Revolution (1776) – slogan: Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness French Revolution (1789) – slogan: Liberty, Equality, Fraternity
- ✓ **Human Rights:** Universal Declaration of Human Rights – 10 December 1948.
- ✓ In the Economic Field: Adam Smith, Ricardo, Malthus.
- ✓ **Criticism:** The staunch critic Bentham called the notion of natural rights “nonsense upon stilts.”

2. **The Legal Theory of Rights** The opposite of Natural Rights: Rights are not God-given but granted by the State / Rights are supported by law or legislation / Rights are not unlimited.

- ✓ **Supporter:** Hobbes – “Covenants without the sword are but words.”



- ✓ Thinkers of Monistic Sovereignty: Bodin, Hobbes, Bentham, Austin.

3. **The Theory of Social Utility / Relevance / Welfare:** Only those rights are recognized which have social utility.

- ✓ **Supporters:** Utilitarians (“the greatest happiness of the greatest number”) – Bentham, Mill.
- ✓ **Laski** – Rights are connected with social welfare.
- ✓ “The identity of any state lies in the rights which it maintains.” – Laski

4. **The Historical or Traditional Theory of Rights (Edmund Burke):** Rights are the gift of history. When customs or traditions remain in practice for a long time, they become stable and turn into rights

- ✓ **Example:** The rights related to marital life between husband and wife.
- ✓ In this theory, rights require social recognition, but not necessarily recognition by the state. Example: U.K.
- ✓ **Criticism:** Practices like Sati, polygamy, and slavery remained in existence for a long time. If they take the form of rights simply because of long usage, it becomes unjust.

5. **Sociological Theory – MacIver:** Customs that are recognized by society and which the state converts into law become rights.

6. **The Idealist or Moral Theory of Rights – Green:** The consciousness of man demands freedom; rights are inherent in freedom, and rights demand the state.” – Green

- ✓ **Book:** Lectures on the principles of political obligation - Green
- ✓ Rights are the external conditions of the inner development of man.” – Green

7. **The Marxist Theory of Rights:** In any state, in any era, the prevailing rights are the rights of the dominant class.” – Marx

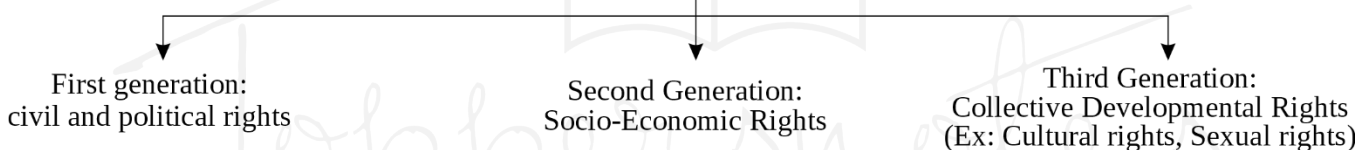
- ✓ In the capitalist system and under the dictatorship of the proletariat (in the initial stage), the principle of rights is: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work."
- ✓ In communism, the principle becomes: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his need."

Rights – Additional Points

- Rights originate in society.
- They have a close relationship with duties and are linked with obligations.
- Rights are not selfish claims; they exist for public interest.
- The state is not the creator of rights; it only recognizes them.
- Rights should be definite and clearly defined.
- Rights are dynamic; they evolve and expand as per necessity.
- “Rights exist even prior to the state. They are stronger than absolutism.” — Nozick (Anarchy, State and Utopia, 1974).
- The very first line of the book: “Individuals have rights, and there are things no person or group may do to them without violating their rights.”

Czech scholar Karel Vasak

Three Generations of Human Rights



- The first two generations of rights were the rights of individuals against the state, whereas the third generation of rights are the rights of communities against the state.
- For cultural and community-related rights, the multiculturalist thinker Bhikhu Parekh introduces the concept of “collectivities of human beings.”
- Cultural rights are not held by an individual, but rather by the community as a whole.

The Burke–Paine Debate on Rights

- Yuval Levin – Book – The Great Debate: Edmund Burke, Thomas Paine and the Birth of Right and Left (2014).
- Edmund Burke, in his book Reflections on the Revolution in France (1790), while criticizing the French Revolution, wrote:
- "The state revolution of France is based on imaginary rights, whereas the bloodless British revolution was based on historical rights."
- Burke described “natural rights” as an “anarchical concept.”
- He was a supporter of historical rights, customs, traditions, conservatism, and hereditary hierarchy.
- Karl Popper, Michael Oakeshott, and F.A. Hayek were greatly influenced by Burke.
- **Thomas Paine:**
 - ✓ Thomas Paine, in opposition to Burke’s book, wrote “Rights of Man” (1791) the very next year.
 - ✓ Paine refuted Burke’s arguments and supported natural rights and individual rights.
 - ✓ Against hereditary and monarchical systems, Paine advocated popular sovereignty.

- ✓ He also linked social welfare with rights.
- ✓ Paine argued: “Burke wants to place the authority of the dead above the freedom and rights of the living.”

➤ **The main point of the Burke–Paine debate was the source of rights.**

Criticism of the Theory of Natural Rights

- **Ritchie** It is believed that the originator of natural rights was not Locke or Rousseau, but rather the Protestant Revolution.
- **Bentham**-Natural rights are described as “nonsense upon stilts,” “anarchical fallacies,” and “simple nonsense.”
- T.H. Green considered the social contract theorists’ conception of natural rights as unacceptable.
- According to Green: “A natural right is such a right as is found in a society-less state of nature; this is a mutual contradiction of terms.”
- **Theory of Social Welfare or Utility of Rights**
 - ✓ **Contemporary supporters:** Roscoe Pound, Jowett Shafi, John Bron Newman.
- **Libertarian Theory of Rights – Robert Nozick**
 - ✓ The right to property is the absolute and foremost human right.
 - ✓ The right of self-ownership is a natural right.
 - ✓ The rights of the individual are the sole foundation of morality.
 - ✓ As long as one does not encroach upon the rights of others, every action is morally justified.
- **Ronald Dworkin- Book - Taking Rights Seriously - 1977**
 - ✓ Individual rights are like “political trumps” in the hands of individuals.
- **Michael Walzer (Communitarian) –Sphere of Justice - 1983**
 - ✓ The search for a universal theory of rights is a misguided pursuit.

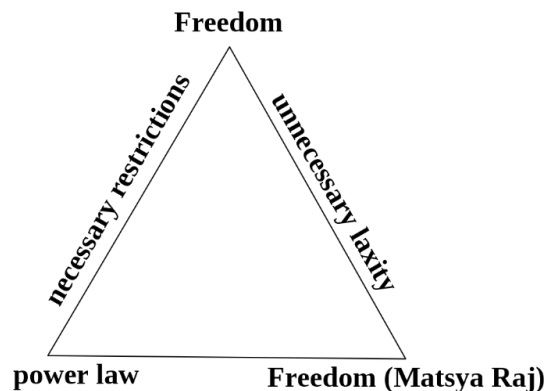
Liberty

Meaning

- The word “Liberty” is derived from the Latin word “Liber,” which means “absence of restraints.”
- If we accept liberty as the “absence of all restraints,” it would amount to natural liberty, which implies the liberty of the jungle.
- Accepting this idea of liberty would take us back to the state of nature imagined by Hobbes.
- But according to D.D. McKeon, “Liberty is not the absence of all restraints, but the absence of irrational restraints.”
- L.T. Hobhouse stated: “Everyone can enjoy liberty only when some restraints are imposed on all.”
- Seeley remarked: “Liberty is the opposite of over-government.”

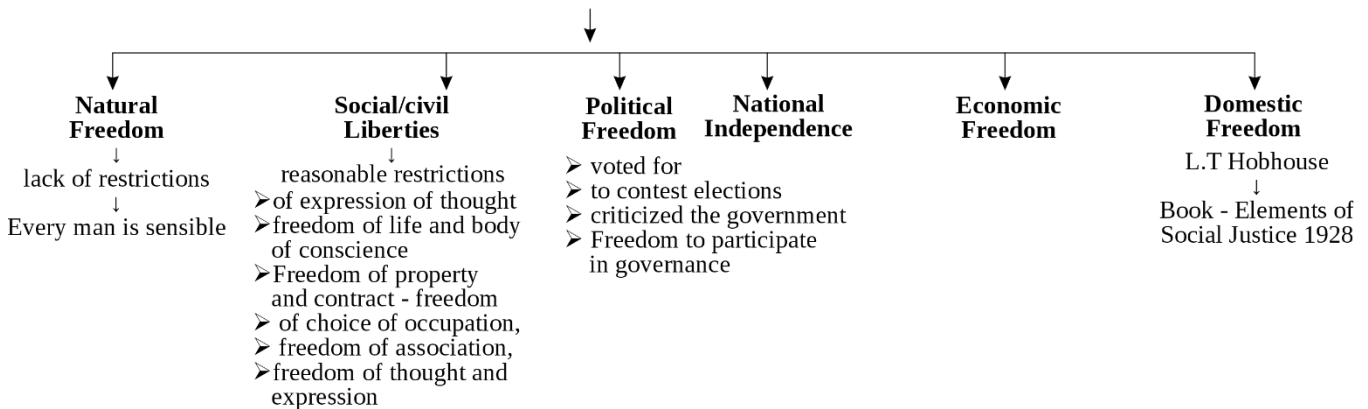
Liberty, Authority, and License: Mutual Relationship

Freedom, power and freedom
- their mutual relationship

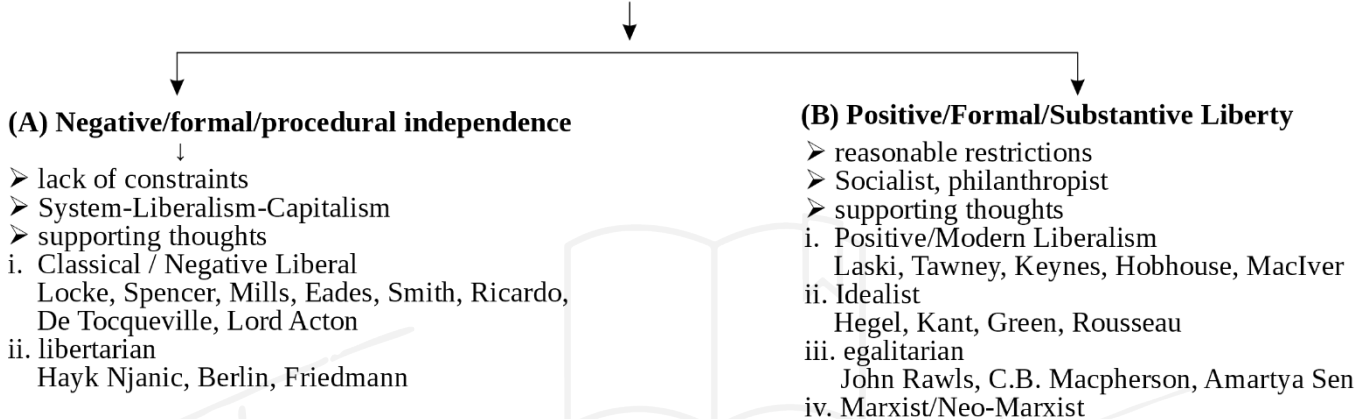


Types of Liberty

Types of freedom



Form of Freedom



Negative Liberalism

A. Locke – Two Treatises on Government (1690)

- ✓ “Where there is no law, there is no liberty.”
- ✓ The three natural liberties/rights are: Life, Liberty, and Property.

B. Spencer- Man v/s State

- ✓ Darwin’s biological theory of “Survival of the Fittest” was applied by Herbert Spencer in the social sphere.
- ✓ “The state exists because crime exists in society. If there were no crime in society, there would be no need for the state.” – Spencer
- ✓ **Night-watchman State** – It performs only three functions: Protection against external aggression, Maintenance of peace and order, and Administration of justice. The night-watchman state is the opposite of a welfare state.

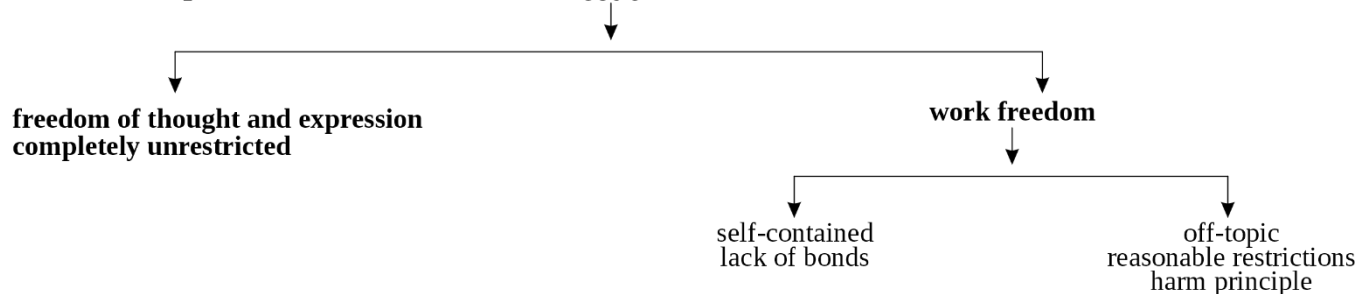
C. Adam Smith – Wealth of Nations (1776)

- ✓ Adam Smith, David Ricardo, and Malthus were supporters of the laissez-faire policy in the economic sphere.
- ✓ Adam Smith introduced the idea of the “Invisible Hand.”

D. J.S. Mill – Essay on Liberty (1859)

Harm Principle

Freedom



- ✓ Mill was initially a negative liberal, but in 1867, when he wrote the fourth edition of Principles of Political Economy (1848), he supported positive liberalism.
- ✓ J.S. Mill: “Over himself, over his own body and mind, the individual is sovereign; that is, a person is the master of his own body and mind.”
- ✓ J.S. Mill: “The greatest limitation to liberty is not the state or government, but majority society.”
- ✓ Barker: “Mill is the messiah of hollow liberty.”

Libertarians’ Views on Liberty

(i) F.A. Hayek – Book

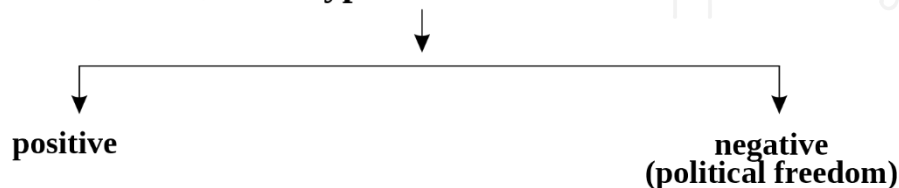
1. The Constitution of Liberty - 1960
 2. Law, Legislation and Liberty -1973
 3. Road to Serfdom - 1944 – The Road to Serfdom
- ✓ **Individual Freedom:** Man attains liberty when he is not compelled or constrained by the arbitrary will of another.
 - ✓ The basic meaning of liberty is the absence of restraint.
 - “Liberty cannot be equally distributed. It is better that some people enjoy complete liberty, even if others are deprived of it, rather than everyone in society having only a little liberty.” – Hayek
 - ✓ (Instead of giving everyone a small piece of bread, it is better to give one person the whole loaf so that at least someone’s hunger is satisfied.)
 - ✓ Hayek’s strong critic, Christian Bay, called him a “special advocate of a special class,” and criticized Hayek’s philosophy as a “conservative social philosophy” and a “closed system of thought.”
 - ✓ According to Hayek, liberty means the “availability of choices.”
 - ✓ The greater the number of choices for development, the greater the liberty.
 - ✓ If choices are closed off, that is what he called the “road to serfdom.”

(ii) Milton Friedman – Capitalism and Freedom (1962)

- ✓ Friedman is a supporter of Spencer’s politico-economic philosophy, meaning that the government should not undertake the work of social welfare for the helpless, orphans, and the poor.
- “Liberty means that those living with a person cannot compel him to do anything.”

(iii) Isaiah Berlin – Two Concepts of Liberty (1958), Four Essays on Liberty (1969)

Two Types of Freedom



- ✓ “The state can only protect negative liberty; positive liberty does not fall within its domain.” – Berlin
- ✓ “What is, is. Liberty is liberty; it cannot be a synonym for equality, justice, culture, or human happiness.” – Berlin
- ✓ “If a person cannot fly like a hawk or swim like a whale, that is his own limitation.” – Berlin
- ✓ (In other words, the ability or inability to fulfill one’s aspirations or dreams is a purely personal matter; the state has nothing to do with it.)
- ✓ Single (unitary) concept of liberty: Thinkers like John Rawls and McKeon rejected Berlin’s division of liberty into positive and negative.

Supporters of Metaphysical/Positive Liberty

- In the Atlantic Charter, U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt described four kinds of freedoms, also called the “Four Freedoms.”
 - (i) Freedom of Expression (Speech)
 - (ii) Freedom of Worship

-
- (iii) Freedom from Fear
 - (iv) Freedom from Want

➤ The Human Development Report of the UNDP, inspired by the famous Pakistani economist Mahbub ul Haq and Indian economist Amartya Sen (welfare economics), is also based on the idea of positive liberty.

Views of Modern Liberals on Liberty

- (i) Supporters of positive liberty
 - (ii) Reasonable restrictions on liberty are necessary
 - (iii) Control over the market, i.e., over property, is essential
- Laski – A Grammar of Politics (1925): “In the absence of economic liberty, political liberty is useless.”
- Jawaharlal Nehru: “For a hungry man, the vote has no value.”
- Barker: “Liberty does not mean the absence of restraints, just as beauty does not mean the absence of ugliness.”

Idealist Thinkers

1. **Hegel**

- ✓ “To obey the command of the state is liberty.”
- ✓ “The one who goes to prison is becoming free.”

2. **Green**

- ✓ “Liberty is the power to do and to enjoy those things which are worth doing and worth enjoying.”
- ✓ “Human consciousness desires freedom; rights are inherent in freedom, and rights demand the state.”

3. **Rousseau**

- ✓ “Man is born free, but everywhere he is in chains.”
- ✓ The Paradox of Freedom – Rousseau’s conception of liberty is called a “contradictory conception.”
- ✓ According to him: “The person who does not obey the general will shall be compelled to be free.”

4. **Kant**

- ✓ “Freedom of will (freedom of choice/decision) is the basis of morality.”
- ✓ (For example: If a hungry person steals bread, it is not immorality, because he had no other option. But if a well-fed person does the same, it is an immoral act.)

Egalitarian thinkers

- 1. John Rawls – Advocated a unitary concept of liberty, i.e., liberty is neither negative nor positive.
- 2. Amartya Sen – Development as Freedom (1999).
 - ✓ Sen considered liberty to mean the “development of an individual’s capabilities.”
 - ✓ (In other words, instead of giving a person a fish, he should be taught how to catch fish.)
- 3. **C.B. Macpherson – Democratic Theory (1973)**
 - ✓ **Creative Freedom** His view: “The expansion of man’s developmental power is the key to his ‘creative freedom’.”

Marxists and Neo-Marxists

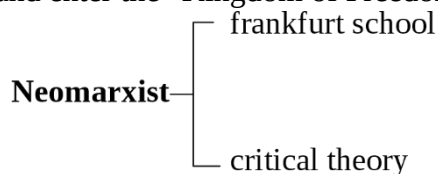
1. **Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts (1844) – Young Marx**

- ✓ **Theory of Alienation (Concept of Alienation) – Defects of Capitalism-There are four levels of alienation:**
 - (i) Alienation from the product of labor/production
 - (ii) Alienation from nature
 - (iii) Alienation from fellow beings/companions
 - (iv) Alienation from oneself

2. Friedrich Engels – Anti-Dühring (1878)

✓ Leap from Necessity to Freedom

- As humankind's control over the immutable laws of nature increases, man will move out of the "Kingdom of Necessity" and enter the "Kingdom of Freedom."



Frankfurt School (Neo-Marxists)

1. Erich Fromm – Escape from Freedom (1941), Fear of Freedom (1942)

- ✓ Under the capitalist system, man becomes entangled in the web of materialism and falls victim to "moral aloofness."
- ✓ When his alienation increases beyond limits, he becomes prey to "schizophrenia" (a mental disorder).
- ✓ Two terms:
 - ✓ (i) Moral Aloofness
 - ✓ (ii) Schizophrenia

2. Herbert Marcuse – One-Dimensional Man (1964)

- ✓ In the capitalist system, consumer culture has so dominated man that he has become merely a slave to trivial material desires.
- ✓ In modern technological society, through communication and other resources, man's mind is washed.
- ✓ By promoting a false consciousness of hunger for material resources, this society has turned man into a one-dimensional being.
- ✓ Today, man's multidimensional personality, enriched with creative freedom, has been lost.
- ✓ "The individual, locked in a golden cage, has forgotten the joy of flying in the free sky." – Marcuse

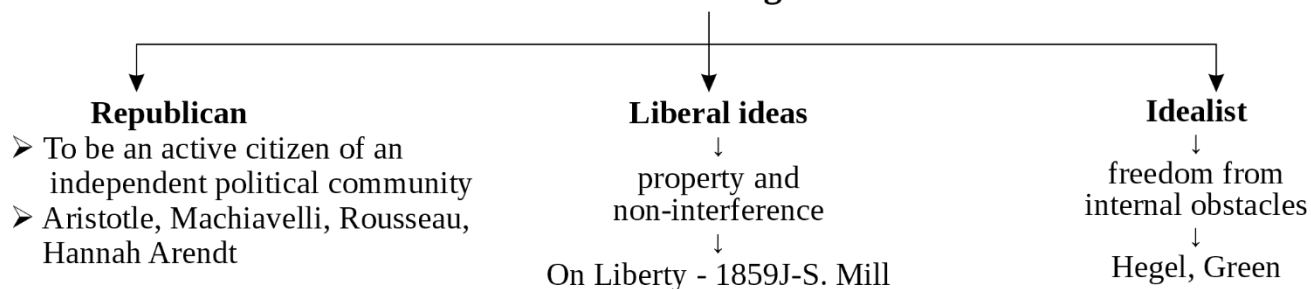
C.B. Macpherson → Two Types of Power

1. **Exploitive Power:** This is based on profit. It is found in capitalism.
 2. **Developmental Power:** This is based on altruism and cooperation. It enhances "creative freedom."
- **Jagdish Bhagwati** → Contemporary Indian thinker and economist
 - ✓ **Book:** World Economy, India in Transition
 - ✓ According to Bhagwati, after adopting liberalization, India has benefited from creative freedom.

Types of Liberty

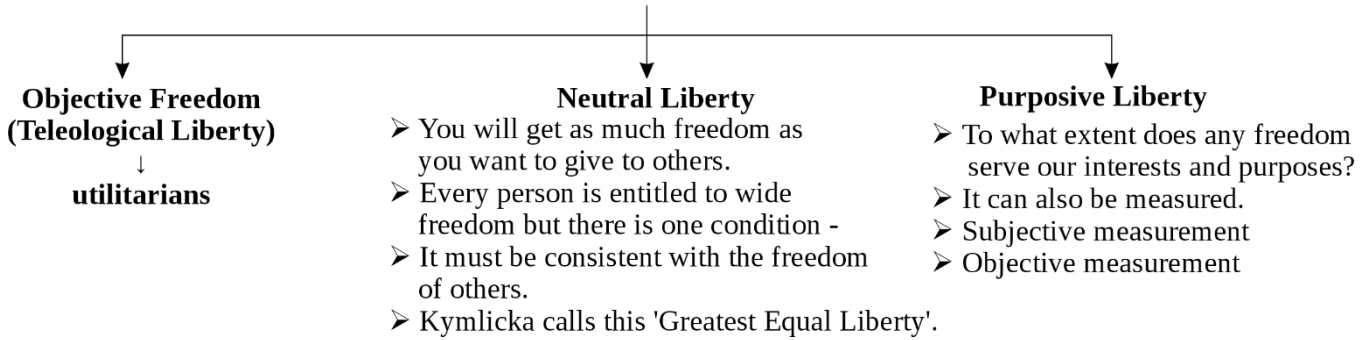
- **David Miller** - (Book- The Liberty Reader-1991)

Three schools of thought on freedom



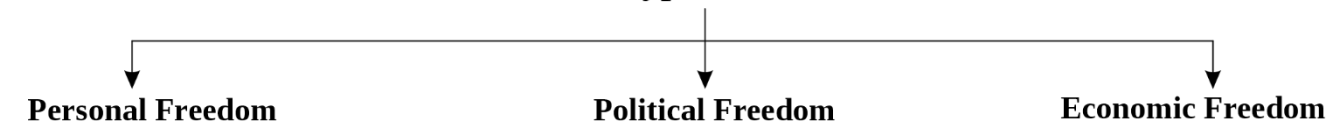
- **Will Kymlicka**- Book (Contemporary Political Philosophy-2002)

Three Types of Freedom



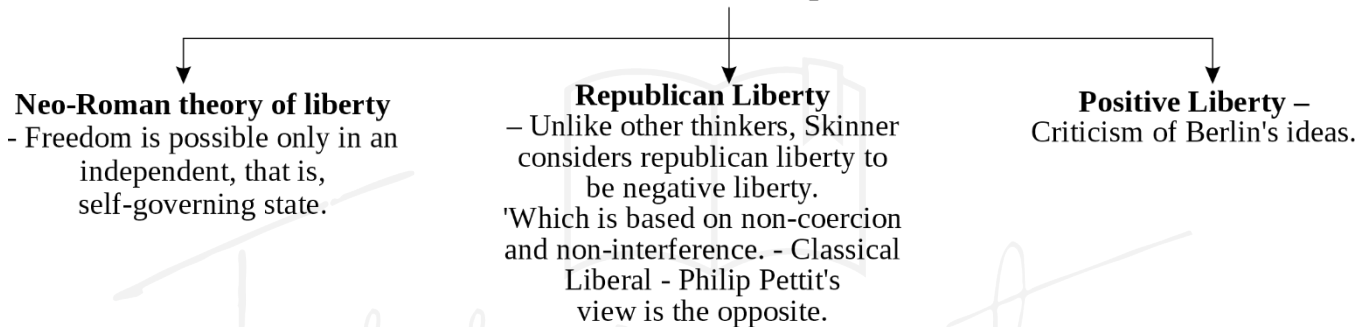
- **Harold Laski** - The Grammar of Politics - 1985

Three Types of Freedom



- **Quentin Skinner** – Cambridge School Book – Liberty before Liberalism – 1998

Three Concepts



Liberty

John Christman

- According to John Christman, the credit for re-attracting attention to positive liberty goes to Quentin Skinner, Charles Taylor, and Philip Pettit.

Philip Pettit

- **Book**- Republicanism: A theory of Freedom and Govt. (1997)
- The Irish political philosopher Philip Pettit is a supporter of “Civic Republicanism,” a concept connected with positive liberty.

Joseph Raz:

- **Book:** The Morality of Freedom-1986
- The Israeli political philosopher Joseph Raz is a supporter of “Perfectionist Liberalism.”
- Perfectionist liberalism reflects the idea that the state is allowed to play a positive role in self-development.
- This view resembles the ideas of T.H. Green, who considered the positive role of the state essential for the full development of the individual.
- Similarly, Joseph Raz is also a supporter of positive liberty.

Frantz Fanon:

- **Books:** Black Skin, White Masks (1952), The Wretched of the Earth (1961).
- The French thinker Frantz Fanon was connected with France and Algeria. He was a Black psychiatrist and a Neo-Marxist.