

# Liberalism and the Decline of Liberal Political Philosophy

# Sujeet Kumar<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>*M. Phil, Centre For African Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University.* 

#### Abstract

In the 19th and 20th decades, populism as an ideology developed enormously. The French Revolution, World War I and World War II were the roots of the world's various political and revolutionary governments. Globalization and rivalry among nations are increasing, however, has over time limited the concept of democracy and its importance. The idea of liberalism is a philosophical ideology that refers to a principle that spreads free will and individualism. It calls for the individual's will to be free of government interference, as suggested by John Locke. The propagators of free will and individualism were Thomas Paine, John Stuart Mill, and Adam Smith. The principle of classical liberalism was later discarded and the concept of the multicultural "welfare state" was based around a new liberalist philosophy. However, also Green's theory failed. The fact that liberalists neglect the normative foundation of civilization is the explanation for the fall of liberalism. In a group, we live together without intervention, in a coherent way and not separated as individuals. The State must intervene with the lives of the people with order to be a welfare state; no intervention and discipline would lead to a world of anarchy. Practical liberalism, which is not as successful as assumed in real life in a globalized and free economy, is a utopian term. The collapse in liberalism has brought about a revolution in utilitarianism and communalism. A practical solution must be the concept of liberalism, modern philosophy which integrates the people's needs and the core idea of liberalism, while reducing xenophobia and utilitarianism, to save the idea of liberalism.

**Keywords:** Liberalism, Politics, Philosophy, Decline of Liberal Political Philosophy.

#### Introduction

The victory of Donald Trump in the US polls, the growth of Le Pen in France, the vote of England to Quitting the EU, and the latest political emergency in many European countries obviously indicates a genuine deterioration in (neo) liberal thinking. These sentiments (counting their various subordinates) have led to the emergence of populism, to the



frustration with globalization, and to the main attempts at changing the course of modern foreign relations.

Edward Luce says in his book Retreat to Western Liberalism, Western Political Democracy is not dead yet, but it is much closer to failure than we would like to assume. Since the Second World War, it is meeting its gravest test. However, this time, we have conjured up the adversary from inside. The best political values in America at home and abroad are under attack by its own ruler. "They have placed the fire department in charge of arsonists." (Luce, 2017)

The exclusion of democracy from Western democracies' political vocabulary tends to be a part of wider international developments, two dozen political regimes at the turn of the century, plus a break-up of three (Russian, Hungarian and Turkish in Europe) and a rise in downward weight on the Western White Collar classes (created by the globalization powers).

So after the downfall of the Berlin Wall, these progresses show the assured optimism that Leftist mainstream government was wandering all over the world after the Berlin Wall fell, and that they also mark a movement towards the confidence in justification and straight advance of the West. In view of this increasing nationalist right-wing movement, it is important to examine the triggers of such a rise, concealed.

### What is Liberalism?

It is possible to describe liberalism as a political theory as an ideology propagating free will and individualism. It was first suggested in his Social Contract Theory of State Roots by John Locke. When discussing renaissance in relation to Christianity, Reinhold Niebuhr stresses the novelty of this idea of individuality. If Protestantism is the ultimate enhancement of the idea of autonomy in terms of Christian theology, Revival is the true birthplace of the most unchristian principle and reality: the single person. (1939, Neibuhr) Neibuhr

Therefore, the concept of a human person is fundamental to liberalism. Democratic liberalism must be narrowly categorized between classical and democratic liberalism. Though classical liberalism embraced an indifferent approach to the concept of political relationships and ties between the person and the state, the notion of a welfare state was propagated by modern liberalism.

Classical liberalism at its heart advocated for minimal state intervention, while some liberal thinkers proclaimed government outright, with Thomas Paine arguing, "State is a required evil except in its best state." (Young, 2002) The Liberalists intellectualized liberalism as non-interference with governmental forms, from Adam Smith to John Stuart Mill, from the 17th to the 19th centuries. "Only the right to seek one another's own advantages, says Mill's On Liberty (1859). This liberal direction has in principle been quite engaging and indeed has contributed to neocapitalist-class advancement. Capitalism has encouraged liberalists, which



has culminated in the emergence of the neo-capitalist class, to follow a more progressive position.



## INDIVIDUALISM

Everyone is different and society is made up of individuals caring for themselves, those they care about, and maybe those in need through charity.

# FREEDOM

Everyone should be free to do, say, and think what they want. Negative freedom is when there are no rules at all to stop people. Positive freedom is when people are supported in doing what they want to do.

# JUSTICE



People should get what they deserve. Those who contribute a lot to society should get a lot back. Nobody has to contribute, but those who don't won't get much back from society in return.

# TOLERANCE

If society is made up of individuals doing their own thing, it is really important that people are tolerant of others' decisions, choices and viewpoints.

#### Figure 1.What is Liberalism?

Modern liberalism has started with the concept of T H Green, who has rejected a conventional liberal concept, a concept that has had a negative connotation and wishes to substitute it with a radical form of political ideology which involves a 'welfare state.' Modern liberalism has been the product of the state policy of 'Laissez Faire' as advocated by classical liberalists.

Nevertheless, while progressive liberalism put the debate among political theorists on the topic of the involvement of the state in the lives of individuals, A fresh discussion has started about the degree and purpose of that involvement. The shortcomings of democratic activists have led to the fall of liberal political ideology by discussing the degree of state intervention and the extent of the rights of the citizen.



### Analysis of the Causes of Decline of Liberal Political Thought

For the thinking of the day, what happens to an individual is often significant. There are some simple presumptions that all followers unwittingly carry in all variant schemes during the whole period, as Whitehead said: "There will be some fundamental assumptions, which unintentionally presuppose adherents of all distinct systems during the time. Liberalism has to survive the test of time like any other ideology and it is the gradual development of Liberal thinking that has greatly diminished the influence of Liberal Political Philosophy. Subsequent influences have played an important part in the deterioration of Liberal Ideology in this respect.

Ignoring the ethical foundations of society: one of liberalism's most glaring challenges has been its inability to include a cogent defense case on prostitution, euthanasia, pornography, substance usage, etc. topics. "Liberalists claim that individuals are able to select whether they want to do drugs or sell their bodies for money or consume porn, etc., which seems cogent and in accordance with democratic values in theory". However, the societal stigma connected with these actions and the function that principles, morals, or society play in deciding the social legitimacy of certain behaviors are overlooked as they do so.

As suggested by John Locke, the attribution to each person of an aspect of "divine cause made it possible to ascribe to any human being integrity and autonomy of will in a way that was not possible in the middle ages. But this religious rationale in the era of globalization and cosmopolitanization has lost its total". For eg, one person or society's divine purpose may promote prostitution while another society's divine purpose cannot. As such, liberal theory struggles to offer a way out in the event of a confrontation.

Point ad-absurdum: However, when dealing with actual world questions and claims about personal honor, physical honor or common good, the best claim that liberalists have always lacks their virility. The argument of freedom of preference, for instance, can not be extended to activities such as Dwarf Flipping and Consensual Cannibalism, or also in suicidal situations, as such actions are often humiliating or contradictory to public policy.

In comparison, thinkers such as Immanuel Kant and John Locke have not properly clarified this line of argumentation. Liberty consists of the power to do something that causes no damage to one's neighbor, according to Kant. Kant presented the concept of "the categorical imperative" in his 'Critique of Absolute Rationality' book (Jayapalan, 2002), which established the normative basis for human actions-"Conduct only in line with the rule whereby one can become a universal law at the same time." (Kant, 2009); what does this entail to treat others as one wants? If we read these two concepts together, we should infer that doing any act that is not advantageous to another would essentially entail freedom of Kantian, even if the act's actor was the recipient of that act, it does not object.



First, Kant refused to characterize 'injury;' he declined to clarify whether he meant physical hurt only through injury, or even psychological harm. There are two issues with this definition. In the lack of this explanation, it is very challenging to address practical life problems concerning a discrepancy between tangible and spiritual questions. There is no universal understanding between Liberals, for example, on how morally valid such acts are when it comes to beef consumption in India. Cows by Hindus are deemed sacred and thus not only don't eat beef, they also feel it is a moral requirement to shield cows from being killed for meat. There is no such moral obligation for other religious groups and as such any effort by Hindus to hinder their use of beef is perceived as an infringement of their freedom of preference.

In contrast, all individuals and the culture are very idealistic in the principle of the categorical imperative. Kant hovered between completely distinct definitions of the society, according to Vaughan. He fell between idealism and individualism (Jayapalan, 2002). When Kant suggests that an individual can act with others in a manner that he wants others to act with him, he in a manner determines a person's actions to be governed by others; as such, he gives that 'other' more influence and thereby lifts liberalism to a degree of idealistic wishful thinking. That it is at risk in order for an act to fall within the liberal domain. And it leaves out the prospect of more or less expansive self-understandings being motivated by common intentions and aims and thereby describes a group in the constitutive sense, a culture representing the topic and not only the artifacts of mutual aspiration.

In comparison, there have been no recent advances in liberal theory in terms of practising liberal philosophy that might have some realistic application without needing to confront some utilitarian claims. There were no modern conceptions by liberal thinkers of the concepts of justice, democracy, freedom, etc.

However, with regard to its existence and extent, the concept of autonomy is also quite ambiguous and differs through various societies and political structures, The Liberals have not sought a compromise even on issues of the "right to privacy versus state interference, Sharia laws, cultural festivals that do not agree with general law principles such as Jallikattu".

### **International Neo-Liberal Capitalism**

Liberalism is proud to have given average citizens the chance, within the boundaries of a legal and social system, to do what they wish in the name of individual rights. In fact, through growing despotism, state arbitrariness and capitalism, the very root of both classical and modern liberalism, as a radical ideology propagating freedom, was initiated. However, there has been little significant change in the social lives of the ordinary people after a century of adopting liberal ideology. As a matter of fact, capitalism has become institutionalized with the coming of political institutions.



The free-market mechanism so deeply propagated by the Liberals has widened the wealth and Power difference between the rich and the poor. Thus a new type of state-supported, centralized capitalism was created, instead of curbing capitalism, which was one of the key aims of modern liberalism. This generated disillusionment in the popular mass toward liberalism-based authority. As Reinhold stated:-

"In truth, the Utopian delusions and romantic aberrations of contemporary liberal society are all born from the inherent mistake in negating the fact in original sin. This fallacy continually betrays the modern citizen in contrasting the kindness of men with the worth of their various social justice and peace schemes around the world. Since these systems are not enforced or are only completed after a disastrous conflict".

### Marketization of Civic Value

As suggested by "Michael Sandel in his book What Money Can't Buy?, another significant element that has contributed to the collapse of liberalism is Business Moral Limits (Sandel, What Money Can't Buy?: Business Moral Limits, 2013)", Democratic Principles Marketization. When our culture has become more market-oriented. Money and the economy have begun to shape our everyday social experiences. Our choices that were historically influenced by ethical and moral considerations have now become largely affected by the potential of monetary gains.

As long as it envelopes the whole culture fairly, this pattern in itself is not negative. It is not so, though, in reality. Benefits are directly proportional to the degree of financial well-being of a person in a market-oriented society. As a result, people with more resources will not only reach into the commoditized culture differently, they also exercise more social control and leverage than average people, even to the degree that rules and political values are broken without having to think about legal penalties.

Thus, the class of citizens who were robbed of the exploits of this publicity scheme recognized the futility and paradoxical nature of the liberal approach because of financial limitations and endorsed a more conservative political ideology that spoke more about their social discrimination.

### Liberal Political Thinking Effect of Decline

Michael Sandel wrote in his 1996 book Democracy's Discontent: "Liberalism must give way to all who shore borders, make the gap between insiders and outsiders hardened, and devote themselves to a plan in order to take our society back, and take our land back".

Twenty years later, we see this pattern in world politics in countries with conventional liberal ideological moves. A decline in political populism in the United States, apparently, is illustrated in the rising by Donald J. Tromp, Marine Le Pen, Narendra Modi of India and Rashtriya Prajatantra, Far-Right Nationalist Group and UK exit from the European Union.



But the more disturbing the situation is that the trend is not poor and just concerns technocrats and bureaucrats. There is a tremendous discontent in the common public over Liberal ideology's reluctance to satisfy its responsibilities.

The emergence of Communitarianism and a move to Utilitarianism is another major result of the decline of Liberal Ideology. As an ideology, communitarianism advocates a functional partnership between a person and community. In their critiques of metaphysical liberalism, including the works of Rawls and Kant, the near relationship between the individual and the society was explored on a theoretical basis by Sandel and Taylor. They argued that modern populism and libertarianism presuppose, rather than rooted inside, an incoherent conception of the person as occurring beyond and apart from community. (Shiltz, 2015)

Communitarianism began to take its place with the fall of Democracy. However, when we tend to equate human identification as part of social identification, we obviously give society more control, and because "society is not a homogeneous mixture of a popular culture, philosophy and opinion, it then contributes to moral relativism and a structure where a person is right not because he is right, but the other is wrong and a person is wrong not because he is wrong. In the context of nepotism, intolerance, chauvinism, and populist policy, this growth expresses itself".

### **Solution and Conclusion**

#### A. Development of a Meaningful Narrative

One of the problems with liberalism, as already stated, was that there was no new advancement in applying liberal theory in order to establish a coherent narrative to be pursued by society. In comparison, any and all efforts to restore populism have been marred by problems such as extremism, regular financial meltdowns, and overpopulation, local and global corruption. There are no more liberal philosophy legends and supporters, such as "Patrick Harris, Martin Luther King Jr., and Mahatma Gandhi, who not only preached liberalism, but also practiced it in their everyday lives", holding alive the realistic side of liberalism.

As for theoretical liberalism, however, two familiar trends within it must be documented before going on as a consequence of the critique by communitarians. One trend is the commitment of some liberal thinkers to conceptions of society and culture, claiming in different ways that liberalism is centrally committed to them, far from being at odds with those issues, consistent with its basic embrace of individualism. Examples include Dworkin on modern society and modern foundations, History's Kymlicka, and Liberal values in Macedonia (Aronovitch, 2000). (Kymlicka, 1986)

An additional development is special in the case of Rawls, but normative beyond that: "the shift from A Theory of Justice to Political Liberalism (Rawls 1971), a shift aimed at



completely accommodating a pluralism of (reasonable) 'comprehensive views' or existential ideologies, and arguing for the values of justice, without any kind of litigation". These developments tend to see a mod-way between populism and communitarism, which, if properly capitalized, will not only support liberalists rebirth democracy but will also boost electoral practice. (2000, Aronovitch)

### **B.** Populist Backlash

The right wing came to power, following the nationalist demands of the masses in general. In the overthrow of the constitutional system that supported the free market process and liberal political theory, the popular disdain of ordinary people toward liberal political philosophy expressed itself. A broad variety of institutions have been subjected to a dark and strict discipline, as stated by Michel Foucault; this is the position of the internal elites, of experts with technical knowledge claims and not of elected officials (Foucault, 1979). Liberalists also ought to have an alternative to the technocratic institutional system.

#### C. Re-Establishment of Identity

People prefer to rally behind a belief structure that provides them a sense of social acknowledgement and belonging. The liberalists attempt to undermine this style of identity by emphasizing individualism. Nonetheless, people started to look back on their social connections for identity with the fall of liberalist ideologies. The right-wing populists appealed to the world view and this resulted in their phenomenal global growth. It is necessary to restore individualism as the basis of identity such that liberalism can be restored.

### **D. Endorsing Conventional Ideas**

One of the difficulties with liberalism has been that it has begun to be synonymous with antinationalism over a period of time. Since much of the time, instead of offering alternative claims to those ideas, liberalists have only opposed extremist nationalism. Not even Kant and Rawls placed a lot of emphasis on nationalism. In reality, when addressing national feeling (Nationalgefühl) Kant stresses that one can establish the feeling of cosmopolitanism as a citizen of the world. He notes that Transcendental illusions such as the belief that the salvation of the soul is promised, and that their political and secular equivalents are known to end with the purported assertion of nationalism that the meaning of salvation, and the ultimate purpose can be accomplished and guaranteed in and around the country of which one belongs. To mark the ills and excesses of nationalism, Kant uses the expressions fanatism (Shwärmerei) and paranoia (Wahn) (Saji, 2015).

Such a strategy is not good for those people who, with the development of terrorism and incursions at the borders, have strongly strengthened their feelings of nationalism and xenophobia. A resurrected liberal political philosophy would aim to accept values such as



colonialism, culture, customs, and so on, instead of correctly cheating them and making their own interpretations of these social principles.

### References

- 1. Sandel, M. (1996). Democracy's Discontent: America in Search of a Public Philosophy. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- 2. Jayapalan, N. (2002). Comprehensive History of Political Thought. New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers and Distributors. Pp 188.
- 3. Kant, I. (2009). Critique of Pure Reason. London: Cambridge University Press.
- 4. Aronovitch, H. (2000). From Communitarianism to Republicanism: On Sandel and His Critics. *Canadian Journal of Philosophy*. Pp 624.
- 5. Foucault, M. (1979). Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison. New York: Vintage.
- 6. Sandel, M. (2013). What Money Can't Buy?: Moral Limits of Market. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.
- 7. Hallowell, J. H. (2002). The Decline of Liberalism as an Ideology. Washington: Routledge. Pp 2.
- 8. Kymlicka, W. (1986). Liberalism, Community and Culture.New York: Oxford University Press.
- 9. Luce, E. (2017). The Retreat of Western Liberalism. UK: Hachette.
- 10. Neibuhr, R. (1939). The Nature and Destiny of Man: A Christian Interpretation: Human Nature. Westminster: John Knox Press. Pp 61.
- 11. Rawls, J. (1971). A Theory of Justic. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- 12. Saji, M. (2015). A Kantian View on Cosmopolitanism, Democracy and Nationalism. Journal of Social Sciences and Philosophy.
- 13. Shiltz, E. (2015). Ethics and Rights Essays. Toronto, Boktango.
- 14. Walzer, M. (1984). Liberalism and the Art of Separation, Political Theory, Pp 315-330.
- 15. Young, S. (2002). Beyond Rawls: An Analysis of the Concept of Political Liberalism. Maryland: University of Press of America. Pp 31.



#### Sujeet Kumar

M. Phil, Centre For African Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University

Publishing Date: 15<sup>th</sup> February 2020