

# **LIBERALISM**

## **ALTERNATIVES TO POWER POLITICS**

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# Tujuan Perkuliahan:

After this lecture you should be able to:

- Know what is liberalism and its variants in the context of international relations or world politics
- Know the defining features of second image liberalism
- Know the defining features of neoliberalism and how it developed from the 1980s
- Know why proponents of liberalism continue to think it offers a convincing account of contemporary dynamics in world politics
- Understand the core philosophical assumptions on which neoliberal arguments are built
- Understand the four main variants along two vectors (rationalism/constructivism; agents and structures)
- Debate key questions about international organizations through a neoliberal prism, particularly the principal-agent problematic

# LIBERALISME

Menurut Kamus Politik:

“Paham yang mengedepankan kebebasan individu/swasta untuk mengadakan perjanjian, produksi konsumsi, tukar-menukar barang, bersaing serta hak milik swasta terhadap semua macam barang”.

# Introduksi:

- The liberal tradition in political thought goes back at least as far as the thinking of John Locke in the late seventeenth century. From then on, liberal ideas have profoundly shaped how we think about the relationship between government and citizens.
- Liberalism is both a theory of government within states and good governance between states and peoples worldwide. Unlike realism, which regards the 'international' as an anarchic realm, liberals seek to project values of order, liberty, justice and toleration into international relations.



- The high-water mark of liberal thinking in international relations was reached in the inter-war period (1919-1939), in the work of idealists who believed that warfare was an unnecessary and outmoded way of settling disputes between states.
- Domestic and international institutions are required to protect and nurture these values. But note that these values and institutions allow for significant variations which accounts for the fact that there are heated debates within liberalism.
- Liberals disagree on fundamental issues such as the causes of war and what kind of institutions are required to deliver liberal values in a decentralized multicultural international system.

- An important cleavage within liberalism, which has become more pronounced in our globalized world, is between those operating with a positive conception of liberalism who advocate interventionist foreign policies and stronger international institutions, as against those who incline towards a negative conception which places a priority on toleration and non-intervention.

# LIBERALISM :

- The ideology of the industrialized West, and is sometimes portrayed as a meta-ideology that is capable of embracing a broad range of rival values and beliefs. Liberal theories and principles had gradually been developed during the previous 300 years;
- Liberalism was product of the breakdown of feudalism and the growth, in its place, of a market or capitalist society → liberalism and capitalism have been closely linked;
- Classical liberalism is a commitment to an extreme form of individualism. This atomist view of society is underpinned by a belief in 'negative' liberty, meaning noninterference, or the absence of external constraints upon the individual. In Tom Paine's words, the state is a 'necessary evil' → a minimal or '*nightwatchman*' state;
- Influenced by the work of J. S. Mill, so-called *New Liberals* such as T. H. Green and J. A. Hobson championed a broader, 'positive' view of freedom. It is characterized by the recognition that state intervention, particularly in the form of social welfare, can enlarge liberty by safeguarding individuals from the social evils that blight individual existence → *social or welfare liberalism*;

# Theory in Brief

- Key actors:
  - States, nongovernmental groups, International Org
- View of the Individual:
  - Basically good, can cooperate
- View of the state:
  - Not an autonomous actor, has many interest
- View of Int'l system:
  - Interdependence among actors, Int'l society, anarchy
- Brief about change:
  - Probable, a desirable process

# The Elements of Liberalism:

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- **Individualism** → a belief in the supreme importance of the human individual as opposed to any social group or collective body;
- Freedom, liberty → a belief in the individual and the desire to ensure that each person is able to act as he or she pleases or chooses;
- **Reason** → the world has a rational structure, and that this can be uncovered through the exercise of human reason and by critical enquiry → moving forward (progress); the belief that history is characterized by human advancement based on the accumulation of knowledge and wisdom;
- **Equality** → the belief that individuals are 'born equal', at least in terms of moral worth → rule by the talented (meritocracy); the principle that rewards and positions should be distributed on the basis of ability;
- **Toleration** → pluralism, in the form of moral, cultural and political diversity, is positively healthy; it promotes debate and intellectual progress by ensuring that all beliefs are tested in a free market of ideas → a balance or natural harmony between rival views and interests;
- **Consent** → authority arises 'from below' and always grounded in legitimacy
- **Constitutionalism** → government as a vital guarantee of order and stability in society → in limited government.

# Basic Liberal Assumption :

Human progress ↔ Human reason ↔ Cooperation



The process of modernization: development of the modern state

# TOKOH - TOKOH

## Klasik Liberalisme:

- Montesqieu
- John Locke
- Bentham
- Adam Smith
- Immanuel Kant  
(1724 – 1804)

## Modern Liberalisme:

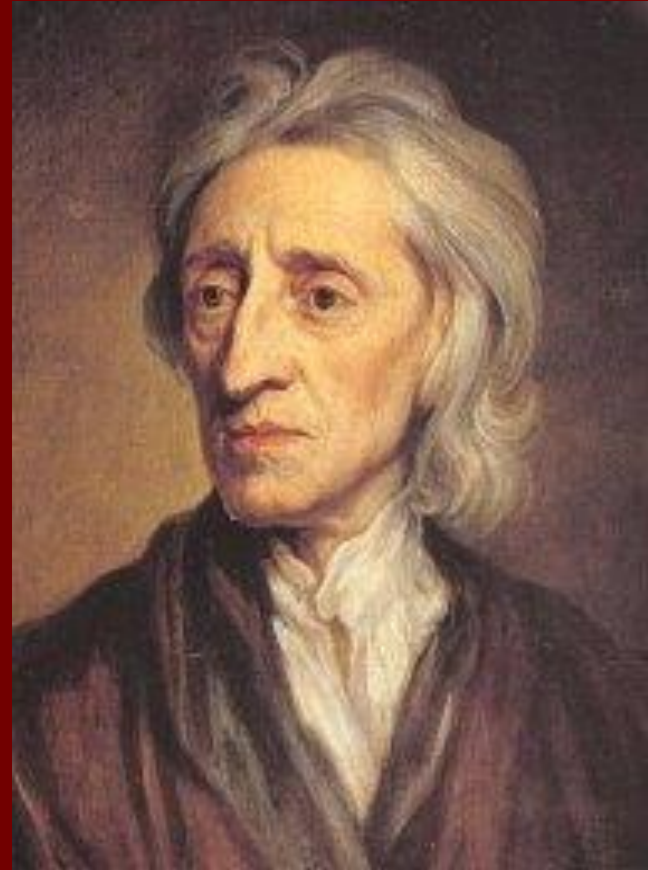
- Robert O. Keohane
- Joseph Nye
- Hedley Bull
- A. Watson
- Michael Doyle



# John Locke,

## *Two Treatise of Civil Government*

- Locke was a key thinker in the development of early liberalism, placing particular emphasis upon 'natural' or God-given rights, identified as the rights to life, liberty and property (estate).
- The state of nature is *not* a state of perpetual war. Nature of man is good.
- All men are free and equal; no man by nature is sovereign over another man.
- The law of nature, revealed by reason, governs the state of nature.
- Decisions should be based on knowledge and individual liberty.



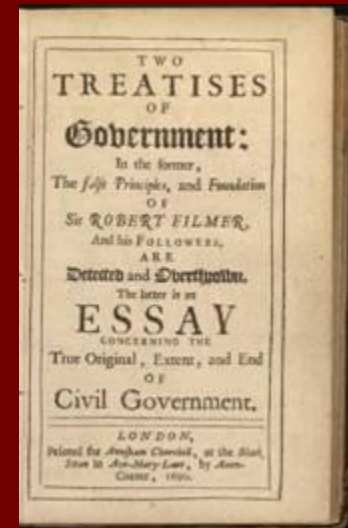
John Locke (1632-1704)



# John Locke,

## *Two Treatise of Civil Government*

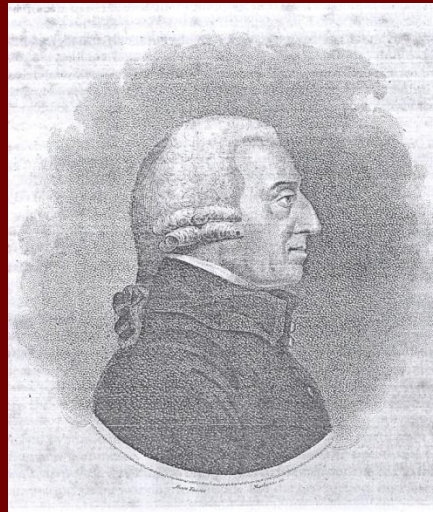
- No one ought to harm another in his life, liberty, or property; if anyone does harm another, the one he harms has the right to punish him
- Through a social contract, people create a government to protect their natural rights of life, liberty, and property
- The best form of government to protect natural rights is a government of *limited* powers (constitutionalism)
- If a government breaks the social contract, the people have the right to dissolve it



*Two Treatises of Civil Government (1690)*

# Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations*

- Scottish economist and philosopher. Smith's most famous work, *The Wealth of Nations* (1776), was the first systematic attempt to explain the working of the economy in market terms, emphasizing the importance of the division of labor. Though he is often seen as a free-market theorist, Smith was nevertheless also aware of the limitations of the market;



# **Jeremy Bentham,** ***Principles of Morals and Legislation***

- UK philosopher, legal reformer and founder of utilitarianism. Bentham developed a moral and philosophical system that was based on the idea that human beings are rationally self-interested creatures or utility maximizers, which he believed provided a scientific basis for legal and political reforms. The utilitarian case for democracy is also based on the need to protect or advance individual interests. Bentham came to believe that, since all individuals seek pleasure and the avoidance of pain, a universal franchise was the only way of promoting 'the greatest happiness for the greatest number'

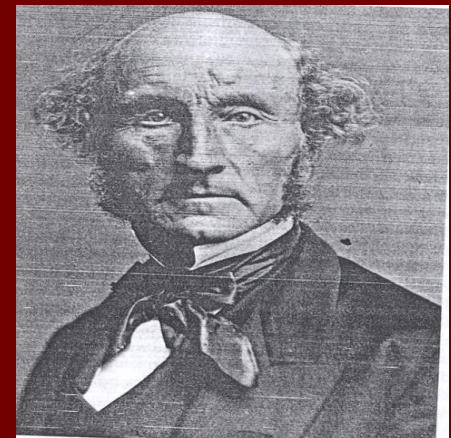
# Immanuel Kant, *The Perpetual Peace*

- German philosopher. Kant's political thought was shaped by the central importance of morality. He believed that the law of reason dictated categorical imperatives, the most important of which was the obligation to treat others as 'ends', and never only as 'means'. Kant developed what amounted to an early vision of world government. In his view, morality and reason combined to dictate that there should be no war, the future of humankind being based on the prospect of 'universal and lasting peace'

# John Stuart Mill,

## *On Liberty*

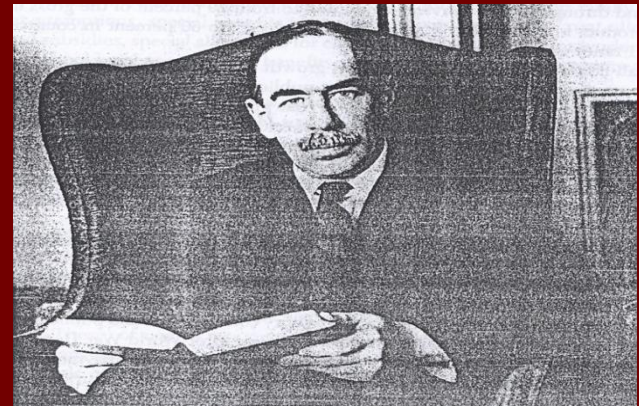
- UK philosopher, economist and politician. His major writing *On Liberty* (1859) had a powerful influence on the development of liberal thought. Mill's varied and complex work straddled the divide between classical and modern liberalism. His distrust of state intervention was firmly rooted in 19<sup>th</sup> century principles, but his emphasis upon the quality of individual life (reflected in a commitment to 'individuality'), as well as his sympathy for causes such as female suffrage and workers' cooperatives, clearly looked forward to 20<sup>th</sup> century developments.





# John Maynard Keynes, The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money

- UK economist. His major work, *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money* (1936), was the rejection of the idea of a natural economic order based on a self-regulating market. He argued that *laissez-faire* policies that established a strict distinction between government and the economy had merely resulted in instability and unemployment, most clearly demonstrated by the Great Depression of the 1930s. Keynesian theories have had a profound effect upon both modern liberalism and social democracy.



# LIBREALISME

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graph TD; A[LIBREALISME] --> B[KLASIK  
(CLASSIC LIBERALISM)]; A --> C[MODERN  
(MODERN LIBERALISM)]; B --> D[Berkembang pada  
abad 18]; C --> E[Berkembang pada  
abad 19]; D --> F["'The best goverment is the governance  
which the govern is less'.  
  
Hal ini didasarkan adanya kekhawatiran  
individu terhadap campur tangan negara.  
  
Prinsip Liberalis: Minimalis Peran Negara"]; E --> G[Liberalisme sosiologis]; E --> H[Liberalisme Interdependensi]; E --> I[Liberalisme Institusional]; E --> J[Liberalisme Republican];
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## KLASIK (CLASSIC LIBERALISM)

Berkembang pada  
abad 18

*"The best goverment is the governance  
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Hal ini didasarkan adanya kekhawatiran  
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Prinsip Liberalis: Minimalis Peran Negara

## MODERN (MODERN LIBERALISM)

Berkembang pada  
abad 19

Liberalisme sosiologis

Liberalisme  
Interdependensi

Liberalisme Institusional

Liberalisme Republican

## **LIBERALISME KLASIK**

**FOKUS**  
**KEBEBASAN, KERJASAMA, PERDAMAIAN, KEMAJUAN**

**PEMIKIRAN-PEMIKIRAN PENDAHULUAN**

**LOCKE (1632-1704)**  
**Negara Konstitusional**  
**dan Kesabaran**

**BENTHAM (1748-1832)**  
**Hukum internasional**  
**dan timbal balik**

**KANT (1724-1804)**  
**Kemajuan dan**  
**Perdamaian abadi**



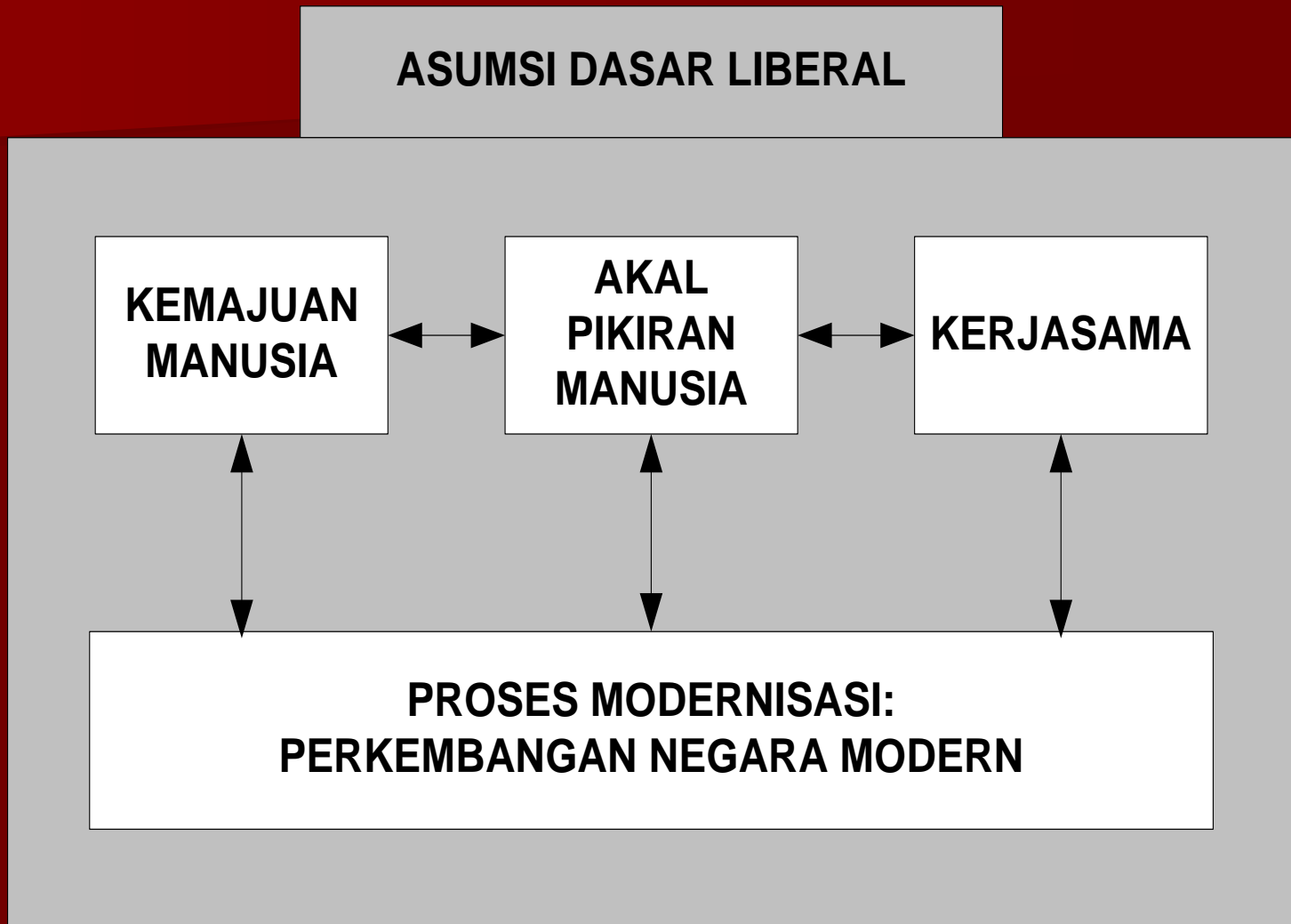
## **ASUMSI DASAR LIBERAL**

**KEMAJUAN  
MANUSIA**

**AKAL  
PIKIRAN  
MANUSIA**

**KERJASAMA**

**PROSES MODERNISASI:  
PERKEMBANGAN NEGARA MODERN**



# Asumsi Dasar Liberalisme:

- Pandangan positif mengenai sifat manusia
- Keyakinan bahwa hubungan internasional dapat bersifat kooperatif daripada konfliktual.
- Percaya terhadap kemajuan (optimistik)
- Solusi : *Positive Sum Game*

# ALIRAN-ALIRAN LIBERALISME:

1. LIBERALISME SOSIOLOGIS
2. LIBERALISME INTERDEPENDENSI
3. LIBERALISME INSTITUSIONAL
4. LIBERALISME REPUBLIKAN

# 1. LIBERALISME SOSIOLOGIS

- Hubungan Internasional tidak hanya mempelajari hubungan antar pemerintah saja; tetapi juga mempelajari hubungan antara individu, kelompok dan masyarakat swasta.
- Hubungan antara rakyat bersifat lebih kooperatif dibandingkan dengan hubungan antara pemerintah.
- Dunia dengan jumlah jaringan transnasional yang besar akan menjadi lebih damai

## 2. LIBERALISME INTERDEPENDENSI

- Modernisasi meningkatkan tingkat interdependensi di antara negara-negara.
- Aktor-aktor transnasional semakin memiliki peran penting.
- Kekuatan militer adalah instrumen yang kurang berguna.
- Kesejahteraan adalah tujuan dominan negara-negara; bukan Keamanan.
- “Interdependensi kompleks” menunjukkan suatu dunia hubungan internasional yang lebih damai.

### 3. LIBERALISME INSTITUSIONAL

- Institusi internasional memajukan kerjasama di antara negara-negara.
- Institusi mengurangi masalah yang berkenaan dengan ketiadaan kepercayaan antara negara-negara dan mereka mengurangi ketakutan nagara satu sama lainnya.

## 4. LIBERALISME REPUBLIKAN

- Negara-negara demokrasi tidak berperang terhadap satu dengan yang lain. Hal ini dikarenakan oleh adanya budaya penyelesaian konflik secara damai, nilai-nilai moral bersama, dan hubungan kerjasama ekonomi dan interdependensinya yang saling menguntungkan.

# Cause of War

'Images' of Liberalism	Public figure/ period	Cause of conflict	Determinants of Peace
<b>First image:</b> (Human nature)	Richard Cobden (mid-19 <sup>th</sup> c.)	Intervention by government domestically and internationally disturbing natural order	Individual liberty, free trade, prosperity, interdependence
<b>Second image:</b> (The state)	Woodrow Wilson (early 20 <sup>th</sup> c.)	Undemocratic nature of international politics; especially foreign policy and balance of power	National self determination; open government responsive to public opinion; <b>collective security</b>
<b>Third image:</b> (The structure of the system)	J.A. Hobson (early 20 <sup>th</sup> c.)	The balance of power system	A <b>world government</b> , with power to mediate and enforce decisions



# Varieties of Liberalism :

Timothy Dunne identified three patterns of thought as principal constituents of Liberalism:

1. *Liberal Internationalism → Perpetual Peace*
2. *Idealism → Domestic Analogy*
3. *Liberal Institutionalism → Integration theory*

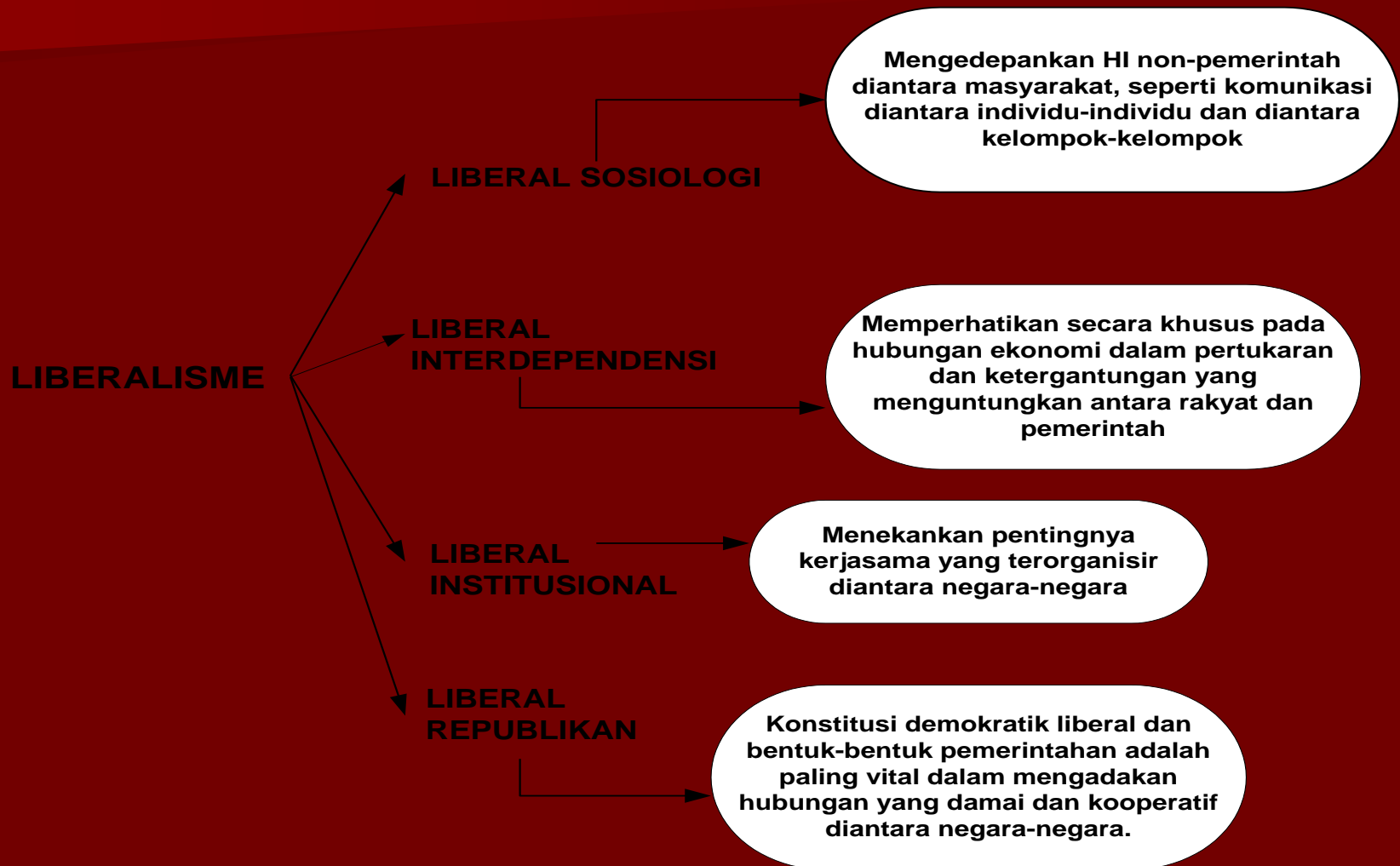
The Variant of *Neo-Liberalism*:

1. *Neo-Liberal internationalism → Democratic Peace*
2. *Neo-Idealism → Cosmopolitan Model of Democracy*
3. *Neo-Liberal Institutionalism → Cooperation under Anarchy → international regime*

# Varieties of Liberalism :

Varieties	Classic	Modern/Neo
Liberal Internationalism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Immanuel Kant</li><li>• Jeremy Bentham</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Michael Doyle</li><li>• Francis Fukuyama</li></ul>
Idealism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• J.A. Hobson</li><li>• Woodrow Wilson</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Richard Falk</li><li>• David Held dan Danielle Archibuggi</li></ul>
Liberal Institutionalism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• David Mitrany</li><li>• Richard Cobden</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Robert O. Keohane</li><li>• Ernst B. Haas</li></ul>

# KONSEPSI LIBERAL TENTANG KERJASAMA INTERNASIONAL



## THE LIBERAL VIEW OF THE STATE

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graph TD; A[THE LIBERAL VIEW OF THE STATE] --> B[Negara adalah sebuah proses yang melibatkan banyak persaingan antar kepentingan]; B --> C[Negara adalah refleksi dari kepentingan pemerintah dan masyarakat]; C --> D[Negara memiliki banyak kepentingan dan selalu berubah-ubah]; D --> E[Negara memiliki sumber-sumber power yang membahayakan]; E --> A;
```

Negara adalah sebuah proses yang melibatkan banyak persaingan antar kepentingan

Negara adalah refleksi dari kepentingan pemerintah dan masyarakat

Negara memiliki banyak kepentingan dan selalu berubah-ubah

Negara memiliki sumber-sumber power yang membahayakan

# Konsep Liberalisme dalam Memandang Institusi Internasional

- Liberalisme percaya bahwa sistem internasional, mampu dikelola dengan baik melalui organisasi internasional sehingga sistem politik global akan tetap damai
- Institusi/organisasi internasional sebagai alat pengikat baik pihak lain maupun diri sendiri. Kendati tidak ada satu negara yang mengakui bahwa institusi dapat mengikat secara penuh, tetapi dengan berbagai mekanisme agreement, para aktor akan mampu memecahkan *prisoner's dilemma* yang ada.

- Institusi sebagai alat inovatif, yang dapat dijadikan alat delegasi oleh negara untuk menyelesaikan berbagai macam persengketaan, menyelesaikan krisis.
- Institusi sebagai alat atau penyebab perubahan melalui hasil-hasil yang dikeluarkannya.  
Bagi neo-liberalis, ketika institusi kuat, ada keteraturan dan anarki dapat ditekan, sebaliknya ketika institusi lemah, akan ada ketidakteraturan dimana kelahiran produk politik merupakan dampak dari anarki.

## THE LIBERAL PERSPECTIVE ON INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM

Interdependence  
among actors

International  
Society

Anarchy

Sistem Internasional dilihat bukan sebagai struktur, tetapi sebagai sebuah proses yang didalamnya terdapat multi interaksi diantara berbagai pihak kepentingan (states, IGO, INGO, substate actors). Sehingga setiap aktor menjadi sensitive & vulnerable terhadap tindakan aktor lainnya. Situasi ini menciptakan bentuk saling ketergantungan diantara mereka.

sebuah masyarakat internasional yang di dalamnya ada berbagai komunikasi terjadi diantara aktor-aktor. Mereka menyepakati aturan bersama, membuat institusi dan mengenali persamaan identitas, tanpa persamaan identitas (common identity) maka sebuah society tidak akan eksis.

Neoliberal melihat sistem internasional sebagai situasi anarki, dimana setiap negara bertindak secara individu untuk mengejar kepentingan pribadinya sehingga terjadilah perubahan perilaku negara menjadi lebih moderat karena negara sadar bahwa ada banyak interaksi yang akan terjadi dengan aktor-aktor lainnya.

# Pandangan Liberalisme terhadap Sistem Internasional:

- menekankan kepada penjelasan mengapa kerjasama ekonomi lebih dimungkinkan.
- Kerjasama tersebut akan mengurangi resiko perang.
- Kecurangan dianggap sebagai faktor yang dapat menghambat kerjasama internasional.
- Institusi akan memberikan jalan keluar untuk menghadapi persolaan
- Pembentukan institusi akan mengekang negara melakukan tindakan tindakan berbahaya.



- Dari asumsi diatas Liberalis mempunyai *causal logic* sebagai berikut:
- Rintangan utama bagi terjadinya sistem kooperatif yang saling menguntungkan adalah *threat of cheating* atau ancaman curang untuk mengungguli dimana negara selalu berusaha memaksimalkan kepentingan yang akan diraihnyanya tanpa peduli apa yang akan diperoleh pihak lain.
- Untuk memecahkan problem tersebut maka setiap pihak membatasi yang lainnya dengan cara merumuskan *collective interest*.
- Institusi harus menangkak cheater dan melindungi korban namun secara fundamental tidak mengubah norma perilaku negara-negara tersebut.

# THE LIBERAL VIEW ON STATE POWER AND POLICY

SIFAT KEKUATAN NEGARA

MULTIPLE POWER RESOURCES

TANGIBLE

INTANGIBLE

PENGUNAAN KEKUATAN NEGARA

Broad range of power techniques

Preference for noncoercive alternative

BAGAIMANA FOREIGN POLICY DIBUAT?

Organizational/bureaucratic and Societal model of decisionmaking

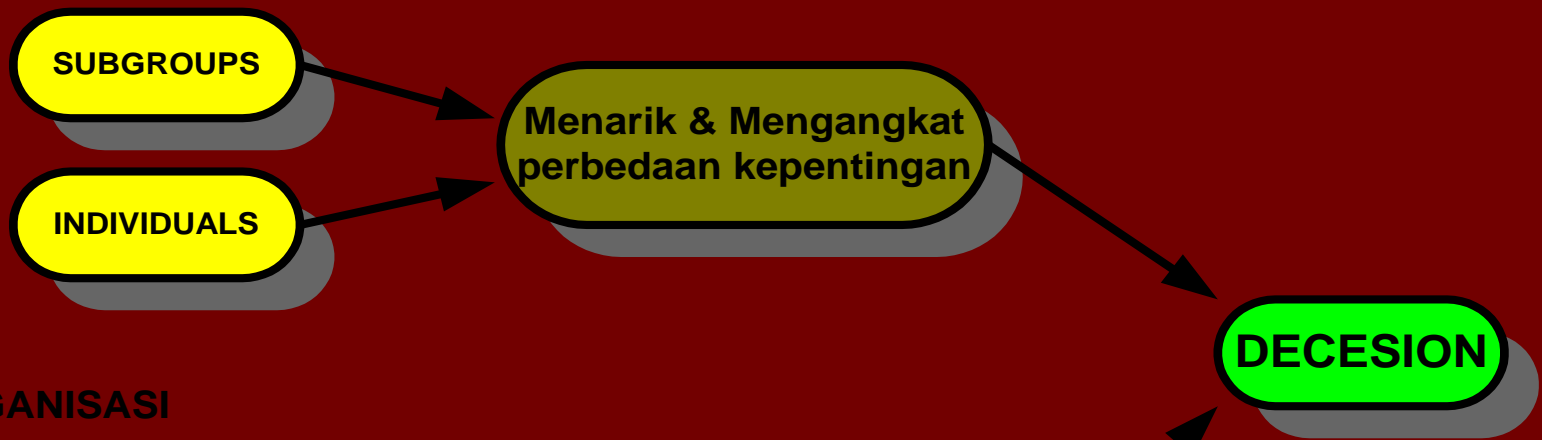
DETERMINASI KEBIJAKAN LUAR NEGERI

Lebih banyak mengacu pada kebijakan domestik

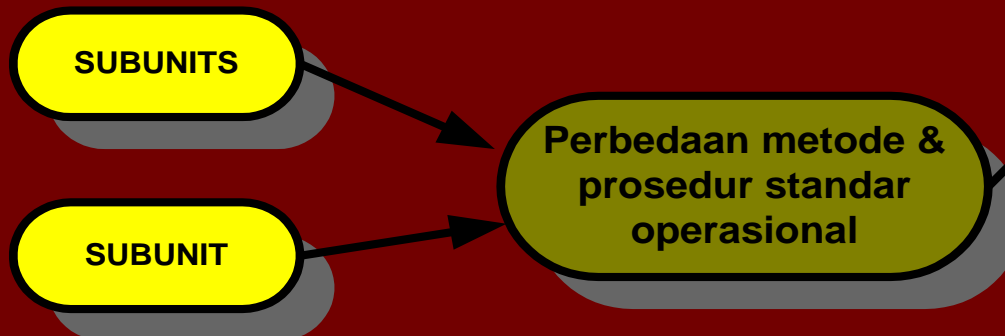
## THE ORGANIZATIONAL/BUREAUCRATIC MODEL OF DECISIONMAKING

NEGARA MEMBERIKAN WILAYAH PENGAMBILAN KEPUTUSAN YANG LUAS

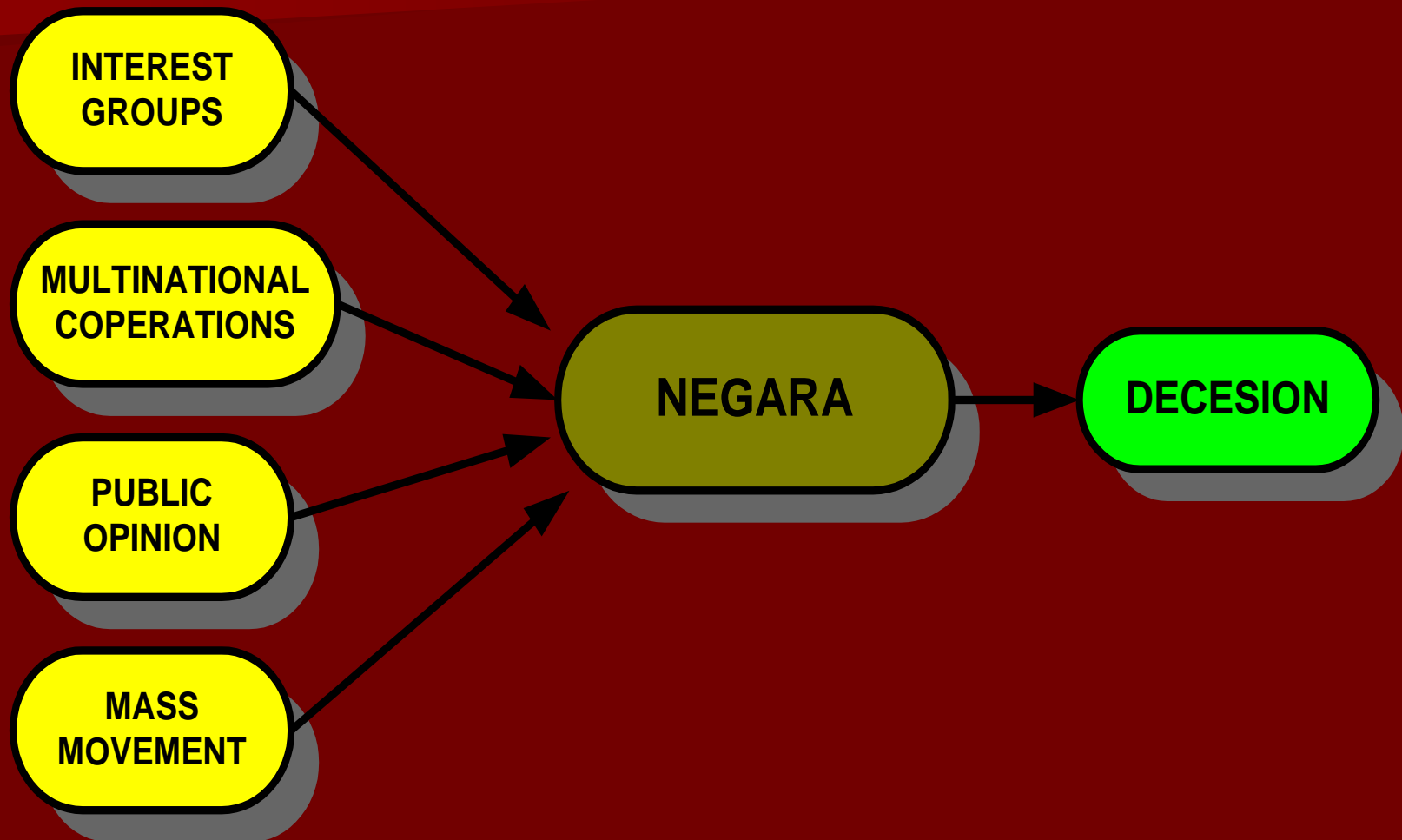
### BIROKRASI



### ORGANISASI



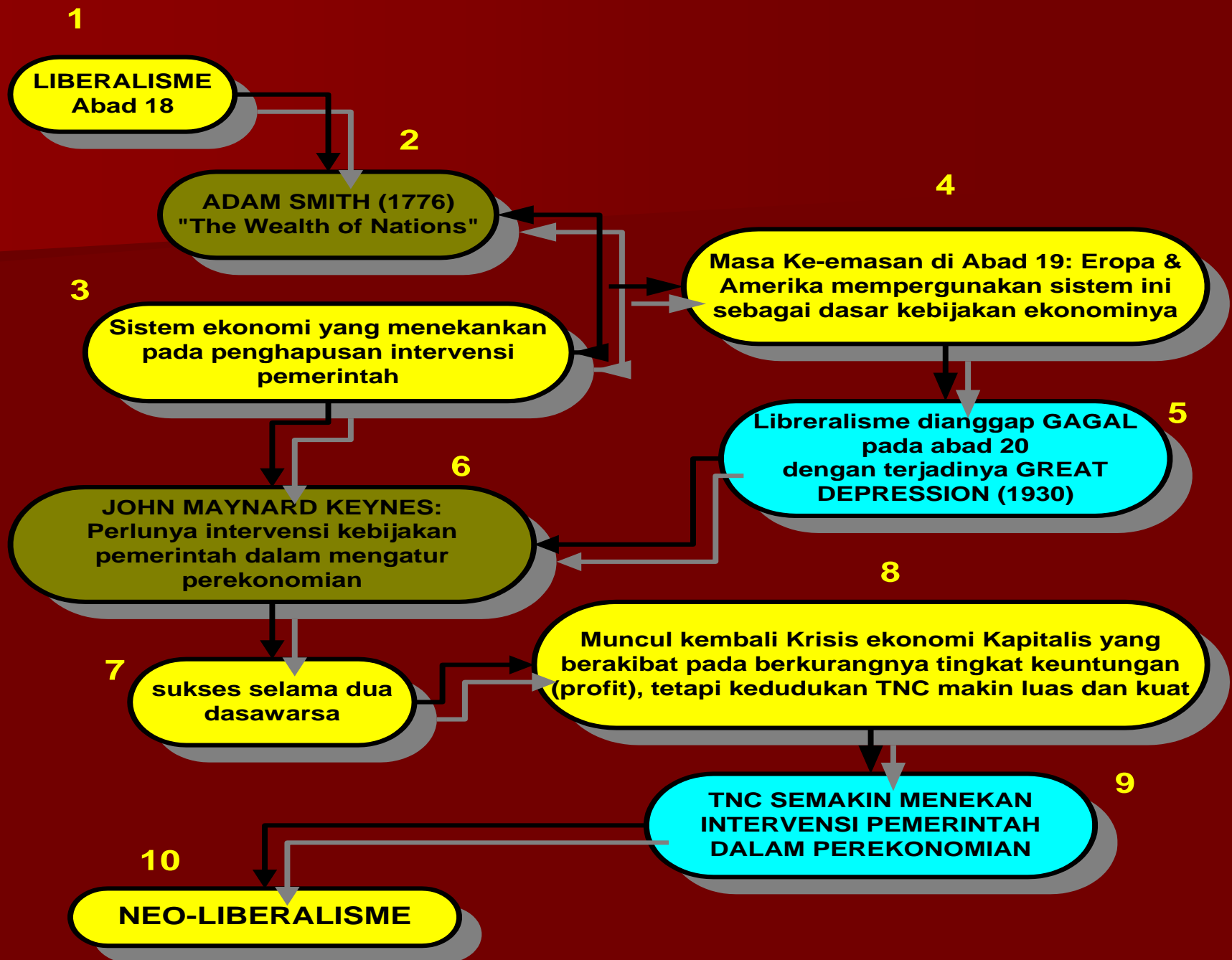
## THE SOCIETAL MODEL OF DECISIONMAKING



**LIBERALISASI**

Perdagangan &

**NEOLIBERALISME**



# POKOK-POKOK PIKIRAN NEO-LIBERALISME

- **Satu** : Membiarkan pasar bekerja tanpa distorsi atau tanpa regulasi dari pemerintah (*unregulated market is the best way to increase economy growth*)

- 
- **Dua** : Mengurangi pemborosan yang tidak perlu, seperti subsidi untuk pelayanan sosial, anggaran pendidikan, kesehatan, dan jaminan sosial lainnya.

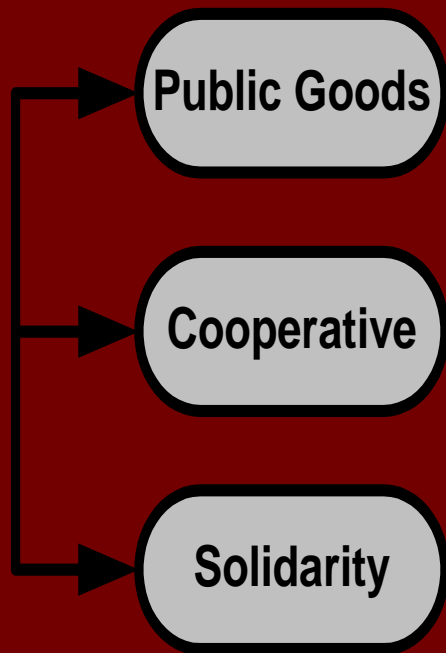
- **Tiga** : Perlu diterapkan deregulasi ekonomi, karena adanya regulasi hampir selalu berakibat mengurangi keuntungan bagi pihak pengusaha (pemilik modal) termasuk jangan ada regulasi mengenai lingkungan hidup (AMDAL), keselamatan kerja, upah minimum dst.
- 

- **Empat** : Privatisasi/swastanisasi badan usaha milik negara



# Lima : Menghilangkan

**PRINSIP-PRINSIP YANG  
HARUS DIHILANGKAN:**



**DIGANTIKAN  
DENGAN:**



**PERDEBATAN**

**REALISME Vs LIBERALISME**

- Liberalis menolak pandangan realis yang mengatakan bahwa institusi dapat mengubah prefensi negara dan karenanya mampu mengubah perilaku negara lebih jauh. Institusi dapat mengurangi negara dari unsur kalkulasi kepentingan sendiri menjadi seberapa besar bagi setiap tindakan mereka memberikan dampak terhadap posisi powernya. Institusi adalah variabel indenpenden dan kemampuan menghindarkan negara dari perang.

- Seperti halnya realis, institusionalis juga merupakan teori yang rasional dan utiliterian. Bedanya, liberalis yakin bahwa kerjasama negara kedalam sebuah institusi internasional dapat terwujud bukan sekedar distribusi power saja sebab pandangan liberalis tentang sistem internasional tidaklah seburam kaum realis yang memandang sebagai kondisi anarkis.

- Bagi liberalis menolak analogi politik bagaikan hutan rimba dan lebih mengumpamakan menanam perang atau damai, tergantung pelaksana. Tentu pengolahan yang dilaksanakan adalah bagaimana caranya sistem internasional ini menjadi damai. Bekerja secara sendiri atau *self help* adalah mustahil mampu menciptakan perdamaian. Harus ada kerjasama antar aktor politik internasional dan kerjasama itu terwujudkan dalam struktur kelembagaan yaitu: institusi dan organisasi internasional.

# Teng kyu

