

The Future of the Welfare State and Political Theory

THOMAS J. MAIN

Is the welfare state "the completion of the centuries-long movement toward full and equal citizenship,"¹ as much scholarship has long held, or merely "a particular and debatable version of twentieth-century liberalism,"² as a significant minority of analysts have sedulously maintained? In the past, such skepticism was likely to emanate from the left, with Socialists of various stripes regarding the welfare state as a temporary compromise. Leftist dissatisfaction with the welfare state can be traced back to Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Program*, although as recently as 1982 even the democratic Socialist Irving Howe could write, "the welfare state must still be regarded as inadequate, precarious and improvisatory."³ More recently, pronouncements of *sic transit gloria mundi* have come from the Right, which sometimes saw an international regime of laissez-faire replacing the welfare state.⁴ The persistence of skepticism about the welfare state, and the fact that very different schools of thought converge in that skepticism, suggest that the case for the permanency of the welfare state be reexamined. Does that case hold, and why is it open to attack from both Left and Right?

These questions remain important today, even though one might argue that the left-wing critique of the welfare state has abated considerably since the late 1970s and that the right-wing attack of the 1980s has been temporarily stalled by the success of "Third Way" politicians in the United States, the United Kingdom, and Germany. In the United States, at least, conservative critics of the welfare state continue to be active in think tanks and academic institutions

and now receive a sympathetic hearing from the current administration. And somewhere on the Left, postmodernists are beginning to develop their own critique of the welfare state.⁵ Thus, although as a political institution the welfare state continues to endure, its legitimacy and desirability continue to be debated and thus deserve reconsideration.

Here, the question of the permanency of the welfare state will be addressed, not from a historical or economic perspective, but from a theoretical perspective.⁶ And the theoretical perspective we will be concerned with is specifically that of deontological liberalism.⁷ What problems within this perspective did the introduction of the welfare state solve, and what theoretical challenges did it pose? To answer these questions, we will concern ourselves here with the with the *fores et origo* of deontological liberalism, Kant, and with such post-Kantians as Hegel, Marx, Lukacs, Hayek, and Mises. For, as we shall see, these thinkers represent the full range of alternatives, relative to the welfare state, available to political theory rooted in the deontological liberal tradition.

We argue that the welfare state is a response to a dilemma in this tradition of political theory—the dilemma between freedom and determination—that has not otherwise been addressed satisfactorily. Calls for the surpassing or elimination of the welfare state stem from longings for either total revolution or total stasis. Such longings either promise humankind a radical freedom such as never before seen, or justify whatever happens with a sterile stoicism. The welfare state stands as the most satisfactory response to a central dilemma of Western political theory. It is best understood as the completion of a centuries-long march to full citizenship.

Before development of this argument, however, it is necessary to define "welfare state." By the welfare state, we mean those political institutions that make policies designed to manage macrosocial forces that are beyond the control of any private institution, for the purpose of advancing the public interest. A few words must be said

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