SHUBHRA RANJAN
Always Ahead
12B, Bada Bazar Rd, ORN, New Delhi, 110060. ☎ 9810212719

Political Science & International Relations

PSIR Crash Course– 2025

Test 1

Time Allowed: 3 Hours **Max Marks: 250**

Name	Animesh Jain
Test Submission Date	30/6/25
Email Address	
Test Start Time	9:00
Test End Time	12:00
UPSC Roll Number	5810932
Phone Number	

Instructions:

1. There are EIGHT questions divided in TWO SECTIONS and candidate has to attempt five questions in all.
2. Question Nos. 1 and 5 are compulsory and out of the remaining, any three are to be attempted choosing at least ONE question from each section.
3. Answers must be written in the medium authorised in the admission Certificate, which must be stated clearly on the cover of the booklet in the space provided.
4. Content of the answer is more important than its length.
5. Any page or portion of the page left blank in the Question-Cum-Answer Booklet must be clearly struck off.
6. All parts of the question should be written at one place itself.
7. **Filling all the details in BLOCK LETTERS is mandatory.**

Marks Table (To be filled by Evaluators):

S. No.	a	b	c	d	e	Total
1						
2				X	X	
3				X	X	
4				X	X	
5						
6				X	X	
7				X	X	
8				X	X	
Grand Total						

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Remarks by Evaluator:

1. **Contextual understanding**

2. **Content**

3. **Structure & Flow**

4. **Introduction**

5. **Conclusion**

6. **Language**

7. **Presentation**

Student's Queries: -

Evaluator's Feedback: -

SECTION 'A'

1. Write approximately 150 words on each one of the following:

Que.1(a) Post-colonial theory of state. 10

Post colonialism emerged in works of Edward Said Orientalism. It analyses reasons of underdevelopment of third world. Post-colonial theory of state argues that states in third world had retained the colonial features i.e it is still controlled by elites.

The exploitation of indigenous people has taken new forms. For example Kwame Nkrumah gave the concept of Neo-colonialism to explain continued hegemony of western ideas.

Thus, only the form of government has changed in post colonial states. From

colonial government to indigenous gover-nment. However, the essence of state has remained the same. It continues to be hierarchal, based on western model, and bureaucratic.

Post-colonial scholars like Homi Bhabha calls for indigenous mode of development. Gayatri Spivak says 'Can subaltern speak? Will west listen to subaltern.

Thus post-colonial school offers a critical perspective for underdevelopment of third world. However it also suffers from ideological reductionism. While giving reasons for underdevelopment, it fails to provide a comprehensive theory to overcome these challenges.

Que.1(b) **Nature of Political Science as a discipline.** 10

Political science is one of the oldest discipline in world. It emerged in ancient greece in works of Plato and Aristotle. Aristotle is known as father of political science.

Political science is called master science i.e it is a science to be learned by the masters. Thus it provide roadmap to rulers on governance. for example, Machiavelli's 'prince' deals with prescriptions for the rulers.

political science is also normative in nature. It is prescriptive and value laden. It deals with issues of equality, liberty, justice, legitimacy etc. Thus it

performs 'what out to be' function.

With behavioural revolution, political science had also become descriptive i.e explaining political phenomenon through data and analysis. For example, electoral behavior studies in comparative politics.

political science is interdisciplinary in nature. It draws heavily from law, philosophy, sociology, anthropology etc. This makes political science a master discipline.

Political science is ever-expanding discipline. New ideas like critical school, environmentalism, post feminism are emerging making it relevant to solve contemporary challenges.

Que.1(c) **End of ideology.** 10

End of ideology thesis was given by Daniel Bell. They argue that liberalism is end of ideology. It is based on Hegel's dialectical movement of ideas.

End of ideology holds that all states have to adopt similar model of economic development i.e based on Modernisation, urbanisation, rationalisation etc. The structure of state does not matter i.e whether it is authoritarianism or democracy, what matters is economic structure.

Thus it is different from end of history given by Francis Fukuyama who held that liberalism based on democracy is end of history. It was

more ideological. Hence western scholars gave end of ideology which is more economic.

End of ideology is evident today in march of global capitalism. For example, China, which is a communist state has also adopted a capitalist mode of economic development. third world through structural adjustment programmes have accepted capitalist mode of develop-ment & India's LPG moment.

However, CP Macpherson criticise end of ideology theorist as upholder of status quoist. C Wright Mills argue that end of ideology is itself a ideology.

Que.1(d) **Natural rights.** 10

Natural rights is a key concept in modern political science. It emerged in works of Hobbes and Locke. As per this man is endowed with certain natural rights since birth by virtue of being human. Thus rights are not dependent on state but intrinsic to personality of man.

Locke argued that life, liberty and property are natural rights. During social contract, man does not surrender these rights to state. Thus it is obligatory on state to protect natural rights. Similarly, Hobbes argued that self-preservation is a natural right.

However natural rights were criticised by legal rights theorists. As per Bentham, natural rights are chimera. They are 'nonsense upon stilts.' Hobbes argued that though man had natural rights in state of nature but he cannot enjoy them because it is a state of anarchy.

Natural right later emerged as theory of human rights @ Universal Declaration of Human Right, 1948. All state are expected to observe these rights based on intrinsic dignity of human life.

Thus natural rights theory empowered people to demand rights and liberty and heralded the era of liberalism.

Que.1(e) **Characteristics of Early Indian Political Thought.** 10

According to Bhiku Parekh, early Indian political thought can be divided into Hindu and Buddhist political thoughts.

Hindu political thought can further be divide into Dharmasastra and dande-sastra. Manusmriti is primary text of dharmasastra. It gives quasi-contractual theory of state. Gods created state and king to protect people against Matsyanyaya.

Manusmriti also gives the concept of Varnadharma. All people are expected to follow duties based on Varna i.e kshtriya will fight, shudra will serve etc. It is duty of king to ensure ppl. follow varn dharma

In dandaneeti, Arthasastra given by Kautilya is primary text. It gives the concept of welfare state -

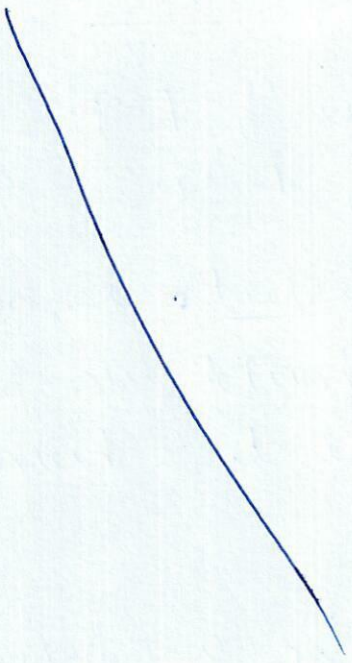
'In the happiness of people lies the happiness of king'.

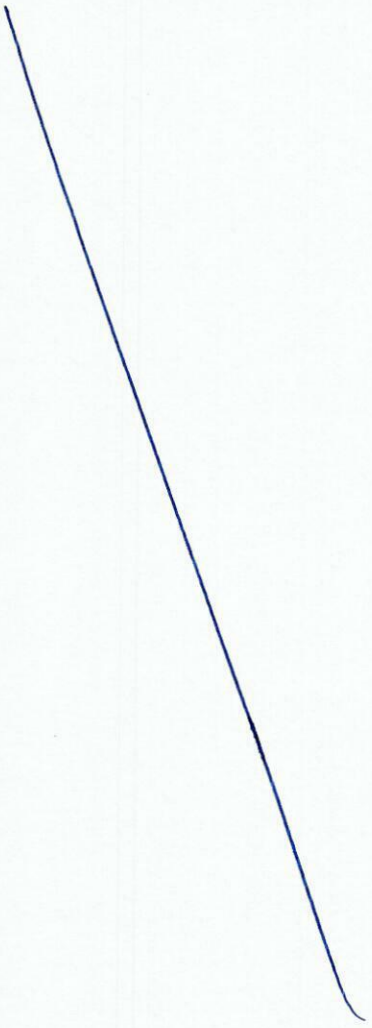
Arthasastra is realistic rather than idealistic. king should use sama, dana, danda, bheda to achieve the objectives.

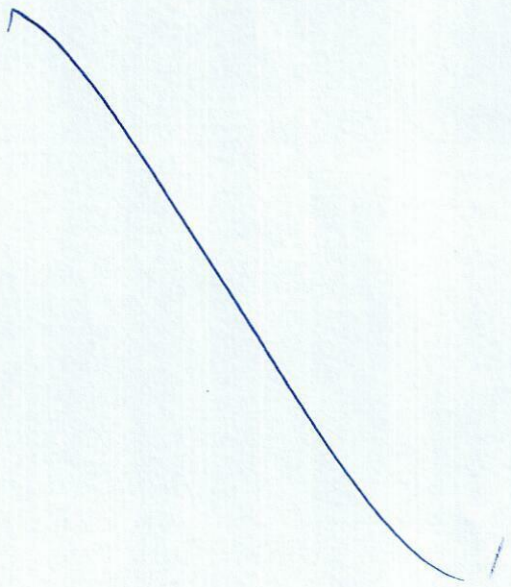
Buddhist tradition was based on ideas of equality and justice. It belongs to Republican tradition i.e people elected king in mahasamghika (Anguttara Nikaya). king's duty is 'Bahujan Sukhaya, Bahujan Hitaya'. Buddha belived in egalitarianism and rejected caste hierarchies.

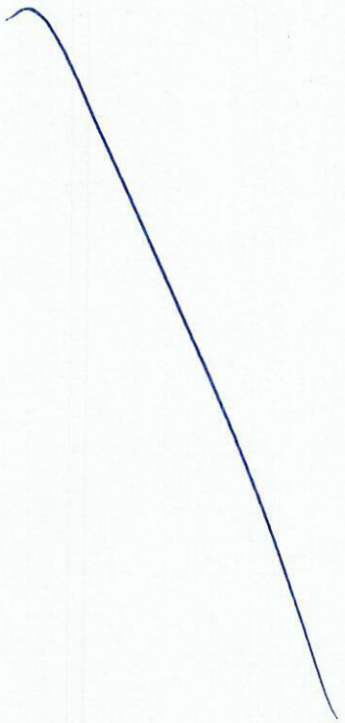
Thus early Indian political thought offers rich insights into field of governance

Que.2(a) Equality and freedom have been represented as conflicting values but the idea of freedom has clear egalitarian implications. Critically examine. 20

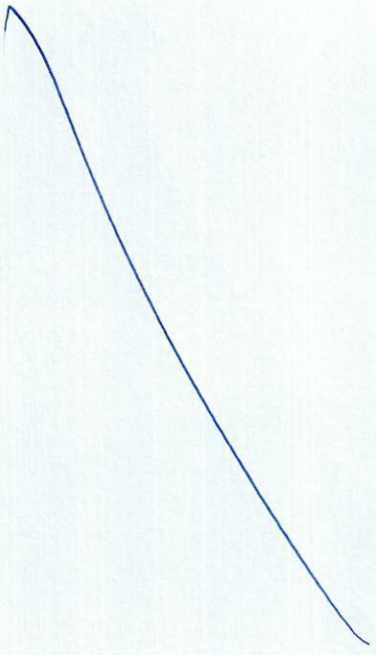


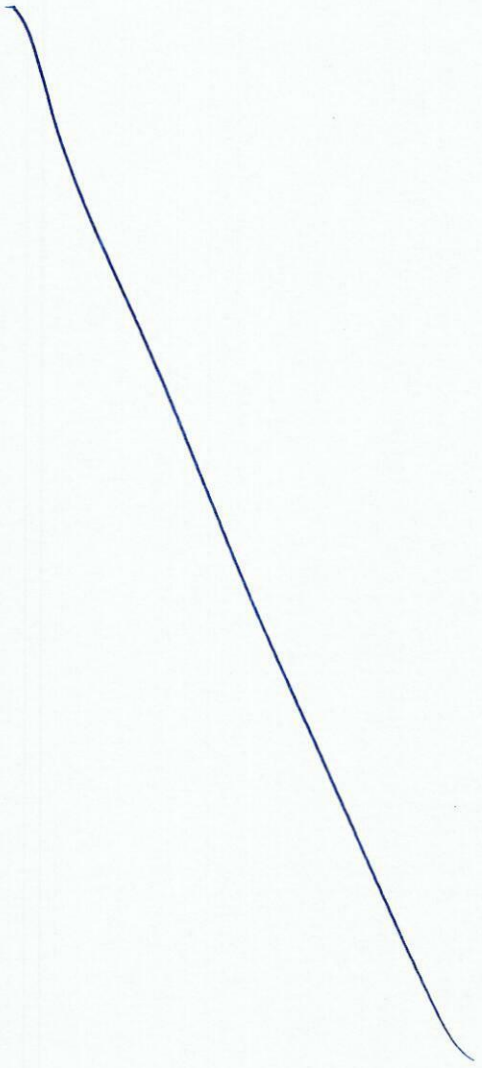


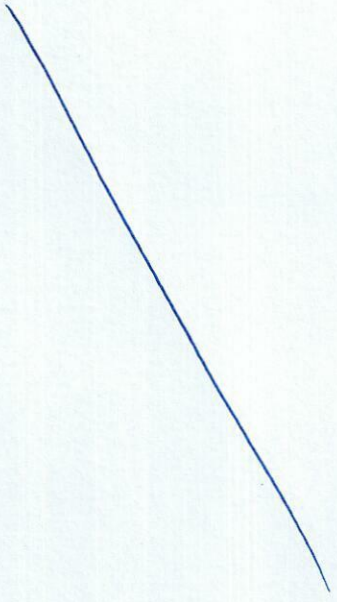




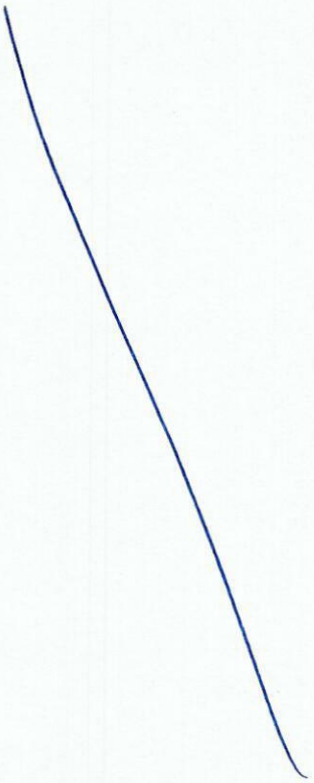
Que.2(b) **Comment upon the relevance and significance of Interdisciplinary Perspective in Political Science.** 15

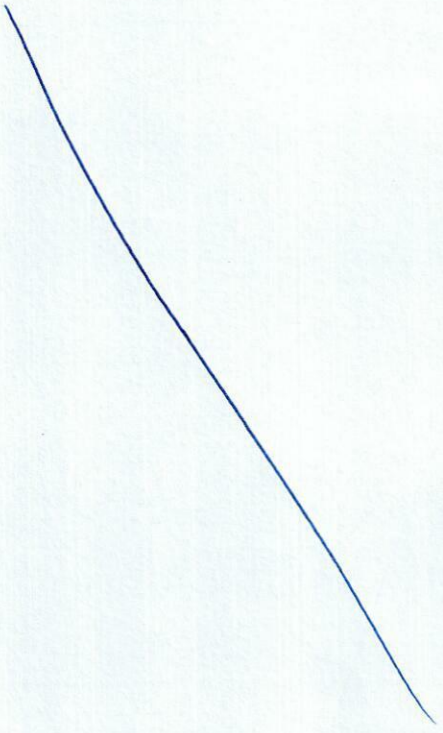


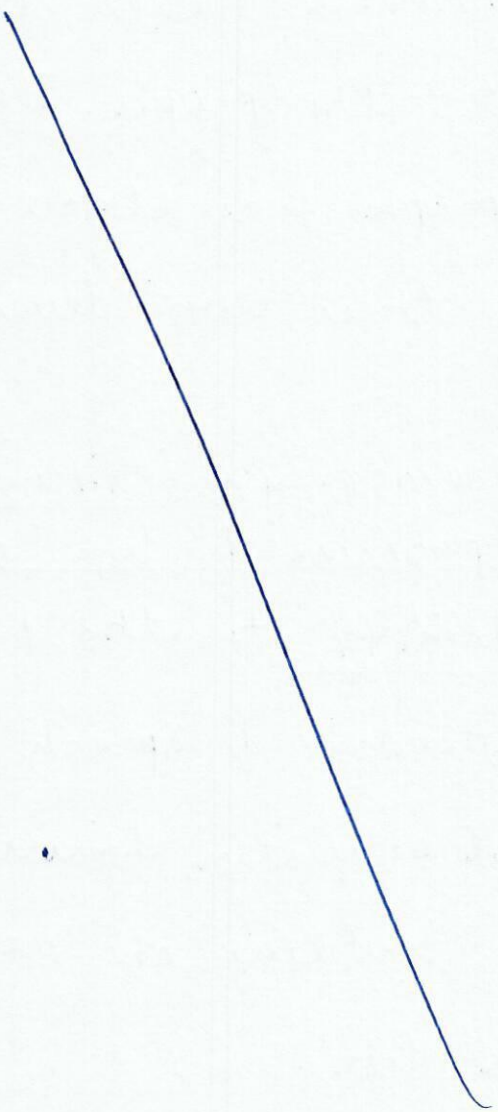




Que.2(c) Concerning Gandhi's theory and praxis of satyagraha, several critics maintain that non-violence and self-suffering are impractical methods against violent oppression. Critically examine. 15







Que.3(a) **Analyse the 'crisis tendencies' found in liberal democracies that threaten the legitimacy of the regimes.** 20

The theory of legitimacy was given by Max Weber. Legitimacy means respect for authority by the people. This occurs when people sees state's role as helpful for their own development.

Liberal democracy's legitimacy rests on the promise of life of liberty and dignity to the people. Provisions like freedom of speech and expression, social security, affirmative action, capacity building etc are made to ensure 'good life'.

Despite this, many liberal democracies today suffer from 'legitimisation crisis' in word of Habermas. There

are multiple reasons for this - First is rising inequalities especially after neo-liberalism era has generated discontent among have nots. This was evident in movements like Occupy wall street, 1% vs 99% etc.

Another connected phenomenon is rise of Plutocracy in words of Pratap Bhanu Mehta, state is increasingly being seen to be working for elites instead of masses. This has led to rise of Right wing leaders like Victor Orban in ~~Germany~~ Hungary & Trump in USA.

Globalisation has also impacted legitimacy due to job losses and illegal immigration. Trump's America

first, Re-shoring / friendshoring and ban on migrations are a sign of rising intolerance towards globalisation.

From Marxist perspective also, socialism in economies and Capitalism in politics can't continue for long. Welfare measures are leading to rising debt levels and thereby imposition of austerity measures. This leads to rolling back of the state causing further discontent.

Multi-culturalism is also testing the limits of liberal democracies. They are finding it hard to balance individual and community rights. Use of state coercion is seen as violence

by minorities eroding state's legitimacy.

Even pressure of global politics is testing liberal societies. USA's crackdown on anti-Israeli protestors in its Universities shows illiberal trends in USA. This has raised questions on health of USA's democracy itself.

Despite above challenges, the state remains in command. There is no sign of mass scale uprising against state in liberal societies. This can be attributed to Gramscian hegemony through use of civil society to contain crises.

Nonetheless, liberal states should evolve to answer the crises by making growth more inclusive, participative and transparent along with going for global cooperation to tackle shared challenges.

Que.3(b) **Compare Rawls and Amartya Sen's views on Justice.** 15

Justice is a key concept in political science since the times of Plato and Aristotle. Rawls and Amartya Sen have enriched the concept through their ideas.

Rawls give a procedural model of Justice. People in veil of ignorance arrive at three principles of Justice in lexical order -

1) Maximum equal liberty
2) equality of opportunity
3) Difference principle - help least advantaged.

His theory is thus of 'justice with fairness'. Inequality in society is justified only when it helps least advantaged.

Amitya Sen criticises Rawls theory on ground that there can be no universal principles of justice. 'original position' is not practically possible since man is embedded in society.

He explains this through a exampl. of flute → Ann can play it, Carla has made it and another child is poor. Now to whom to give the flute? we cannot decide this without doing injustice to someone.

However Sen argues that it is easy to identify injustice. Focus on tackling that. It is a substantive model of justice i.e Nyaya. Sen suggests capacity building approach

to ensure true justice.

people will be able to realise their potential when they have the capability to use the resources available

Thus Rawls theory is more theoratic-al, Sen's theory is practical and action oriented. Rawls theory is procedural while Sen give substantive theory. Rawls theory is for hypothetical individuals. Sen's theory is for real individuals in real life.

Theory of Justice given by both Rawls and Sen has led to revival of political philosophy and has helped in making liberal societies more humane.

Que.3(c) "There is a complex and, in many ways, ambivalent relationship between liberalism and multiculturalism." Discuss 15

Liberalism as an philosophy is based on ideas of respect for 'rational' individuals and equality among all citizens. It stands for universal citizenship i.e equal rights for all citizens.

However universal citizenship of liberalism was criticised by Multi-cultural scholars like Will kymlicka and Bhikhu Parekh as 'color blindness'. In name of universal citizenship, community rights are violated. This can be seen in debate around Hijab wearing rights in France. In name of protecting women rights, the state violates their religious rights.

These scholars give the solution of 'multicultural citizenship'. This is based on :- special representation, community rights and grievance redressal. Community rights should be protected especially if they do not directly lead to violence against people.

However, this model can lead to violation of rights. Liberal feminists criticise multicultural citizenship for violating rights of women. Inhuman practices like Triple talaq, temple entry ban can be justified in name of multiculturalism.

other liberal scholars like Amartya Sen argue that multiculturalism

feeds to ghettoisation and stalls progress in society. Cosmopolitan scholars like David Held argue that it stops emergence of global citizenship.

Some scholars like Bruce Bawer argue for not be tolerant towards intolerant. In "Appeasing Islam, sacrificing freedom", he blames multiculturalism for causing decline of liberal value in West.

Thus liberalism and multiculturalism have a complex relations. While some liberal scholars recognise respect for cultural differences, others see it as a threat to liberal values themselves.

Que.4(a) **Plato is concerned about any thought that offers the ruling authority to common individuals. Comment.** 20

Plato is the father of political philosophy. His book "Republic" deals with the affairs of city state. In this, he gives the idea of 'philosopher king' to make Athens great like a city sparta. He exercise supreme authority. He is embodyment of knowledge and virtue.

Plato's theory of philosopher king is based on "Myth of Metals". Human race is divided into men of copper, silver and gold. Men of copper have appetite, Men of silver has courage and men of gold have reason. Philosopher king is a men of gold i.e reason dominates.

Thus common individuals i.e Men of copper are not suited to rule since they don't have reason. Rule by common Man i.e democracy would be disastrous for the state. The only solution is "rule of reason" i.e philosopher king. In words of Plato :-

"Until philosophers are king or king learn philosophy, there is no solution to predicament of human life".

He gives theory of education to identify the philosopher king. It is a 50 year process of training to find best suitable Man. His theory of justice is based on all elements of soul being at right place i.e performing the function they are meant to perform.

However, Plato's disciple Aristotle criticises the rule of philosopher king. He suggests polity as best practicable. This is rule of middle class. Aristotle argue that even philosopher king have appetite and can't be trusted with supreme power.

Aristotle also argue for rule of law over one person. In his words → "law is reason without passion", thus rule of law should be supreme. However, even Aristotle failed to give power to masses. He opposed democracy and favoured polity as 'middle golden mean.

For his theory of Philosopher King, Plato was criticised as fascist and totalitarian by Karl popper. He is called 'enemy of open societies'.

Though 'philosopher king' is incompa-tible with idea of modern day democracy based on mass participation, it provides a unique framework to think about governance. We find similarities in ideas of Plato and Buddha. For Buddha too, king was akin a philosopher.

As Whitehead rightly observes, entire political scienc. is nothing but footnotes of Plato and Aristotle.

Que.4(b) **Trace the evolution of the feminist political ideology.** 15

Feminist political thought is concerned with equal rights for women and their liberation from the hegemony of patriarchy.

Feminist political thought evolved in several waves. First wave feminism was started by liberal feminist like J.S Mill, Mary Wollstonecraft. They argued for equal civic rights (like voting) based on 'rational nature' of women. This lead to civil rights movements in West (eg USA in 1950s & 60s) for equal rights.

Then comes second wave feminism or Radical Feminism. They attacked

all pervasive patriarchy in society. They questioned gender based division of labor and sexual violence. It started with Virginia Woolf (a room of one's own). Later developed by Kate Millet (Sexual politics), Simon de Beauvoir (the second sex) and Shulamith Firestone.

They gave powerful slogans like 'personal is political' (Carol Hanish). They also challenged patriarchal nature of state and even international relations.

Next comes Marxist Feminist. They highlight linkage between Capitalism and patriarchy. Friedrich Engels in 'family, private property and state' trace evolution of patriarchy with

emergence of property and patrilineal descent. They highlight role of unpaid domestic labor as 'reserve force' for capitalism.

Post Feminism ~~like~~ scholars like Susan Faludi argue that women should not become mirror image of men. They should only aim for material equality. Celebrate their womanhood by participating in beauty competitions.

In recent times, rise of intersec-tional feminism like Black feminism (Angila Davis), Dalit Feminism have highlighted interplay of religion, race, color, caste and patriarchy in women oppression.

Que.4(c) **Do you agree that the pluralist theory of the state has a very clear liberal lineage?** 15

Pluralist theory of state is given by scholars like Robert Dahl and Charles Lindblom. It is a critique of monistic theory of state of Hobbes, Austin and Jean Bodin.

Pluralist theory argue that state is a 'association of association'. It is not the only association demanding political obligation but only one of the association. Other associations like church, pressure groups, trade unions also deserve equal consideration.

By challenging the Leviathian state, pluralist theory show its liberal lineage. It aims to limit the powers of the state by dividing it into

multiple associations. As per Robert Dahl, state in USA is polyarchy i.e power is shared among multiple groups. This ensures checks and balance and check authoritarianism.

Idea of pluralist theory can be traced to liberal scholars like Locke who envisaged a 'night watchman state'. Pluralists like MacIver argue that state command respect because it serves (i.e service state). This conception of service state is against of liberal origin under social contract - state comes into existence to serve people.

However, pluralist theory can also cause breakdown of liberalism itself.

This happens when some pressure groups emerge more powerful than others leading to 'deformed polyarchy' (Robert Dahl). For example, corporates in India are more powerful than farmers groups.

Secondly, when pressure groups enjoy more loyalty than state itself then it can cause roadblock in development of common civic identity. People will be more loyal to their community groups than to each other. This goes against liberal conception of citizenship.

Thus, pluralist theory has lineage from liberal stock but also diverges from it on many point

SECTION 'B'

5. Write approximately 150 words on each one of the following.

Que.5(a) Arendt's Conception of Citizenship. 10

Hannah Arendt is one of the most original thinkers in political science. She calls her methodology as phenomenology i.e understanding the phenomenon through first hand experience.

Her conception of citizenship is based on her concern on rise of Totalitarianism. Totalitarianism rises when people leave public sphere and become passive. To check totalitarianism, active citizenry is needed.

She argue that man is 'zoon politicon' i.e participation in public life is a human condition. This comes close to Aristotle's conception of man as political animal.

She recognises power exercised by people as legitimate. People exercise power when they come together in public sphere in civic resistance. She calls power exercised by state as violence.

Thus citizenship is a duty to participate in civic life. Thus she belongs to civic Republican tradition. Her theory is relevant in context of rise of Fascism the world over. Robert Paxton uses Hannah Arendt conception of citizenship as solution to check rise of Fascism.

Que.5(b) **Consociational democracy.** 10

The concept of consociational democracy is given by Arendt Lijphart. The term means a democracy based on participation and deliberation.

Democracy is not just a form of government but a way of life. It is based on ideas like liberty, rights, justice etc. However, democracy can turn into majoritarianism / tyranny of majority (Rosseau) if only representative aspects are emphasised.

To make democracy substantive, there should be continous deliberation and participation of different segments of people. For example, pressure groups play

the role of checking the power of ~~protests~~ state through protests and social movements. Thus Robert Dahl calls US democracy as 'polyarchy'. state is thus an 'association of associa-tion'. It is pluralist conception of democracy against elite model given by Robert Michels & C Wright Mills.

However, it is not only associational but also conflicting in nature. Various political parties and pressure groups compete for influence leading to deepening of democracy. For example, rise of Mandal politics in India led to democratic upsurge (Yogendra Yadav).

Que.5(c) **All politics is about power.** 10

Just like state is the core concept in traditional political science, power is the core concept in modern political science based on behaviouralism.

Power refers to capacity to influence. Power can either be coercive or based on consent. Earlier, coercion was used as primary tool to exercise power @ Hobbes gives absolute power to state.

However, today consent has replaced Coercison as main tool of power. Consent is built through discourses (Foucult) and hegenomy (Gramsci). The ruling political class use its ideological power to built discourses and perpetuate its

grip on power.

political science is often studied as way to acquire, hold and displace power. As Hobbes held →

'Man's struggle is for power after power which only ends with his death'.

Thus struggle for power is rooted in human nature which is selfish.

However, some scholars give a positive view of power. Hannah arendt argue that people exercise power when they come in civic sphere in resistance. similarly Foucault argue that power has a productive role. By understanding the phenomenon of use of power, there is a scope of resistance

Que.5(d) **Marxist views on freedom.** 10

Marxist view on freedom is found in ideas of Young Marx (philosophical and political manuscripts). It is a critique of theory of liberty given by liberals.

Marxist view liberty as a bourgeois concept. They instead use freedom. This is freedom from necessities. When state takes care of his basic needs, man will be free to pursue his real interests.

Thus freedom is emancipatory. Man does what he really wants to do. In capitalist society, man suffers from 'alienation' because he is divorced from product and production process.

He is like Cog in a wheel of a Machine. Though there is 'liberty' but man is not free in true sense.

True freedom require proleterian revolution and establishment of socialism. Here, man will be actually happy and free. Marxist view on freedom was later developed by critical school scholars like theodor Adorno, Max Horkheimer.

However, Marxist view is criticised as unrealistic. In communist societies, there is no freedom to protest/speech. They become totalitarian states and mass surveillance occurs (eg China).

Thus, achieving true freedom is a complex task and multiple ideologies would have to be used in combination to find a way forward.

Que.5(e) **Personal is political.** 10

The statement 'personal is political' was given by radical feminist scholar Carol Hanish. They criticise the separation between personal and political spheres by liberal scholars like John Rawls.

Personal is political highlights that personal relations within four walls of home are political in nature. They are based on gender power dynamics. Kate Millet argues that there is politics within homes.

This is evident in gender based division of labor where women are socialised to see themselves as wifes and give ambitions for roles outside homes. This helps in perpetuating patriarchy

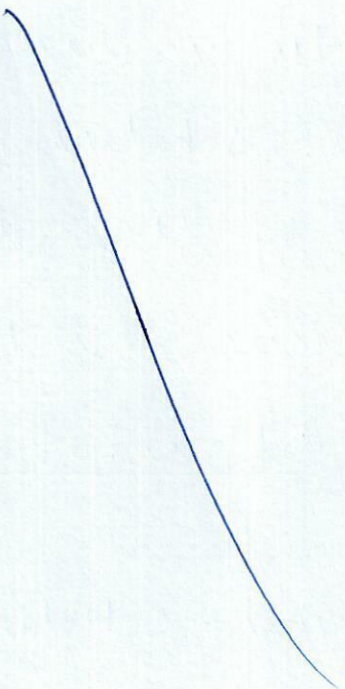
Sexual politics also operates in form of domestic violence, sexual violence, violation of reproductive rights, dowry etc. Thus feminist scholars call for active intervention by state to correct these injustices. Thus Iris Marion Young calls for "differentiated equality".

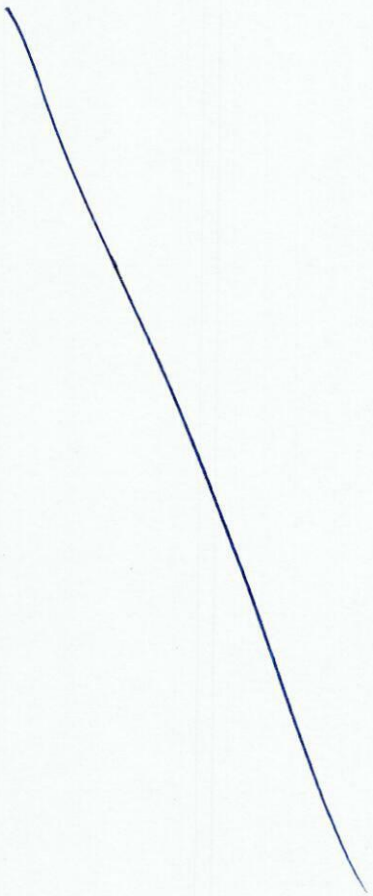
However, feminist scholars call for state's active role when they see state itself as part of problem (Catherine Mackinnon - state looks male to me). Thus, it creates a contradiction.

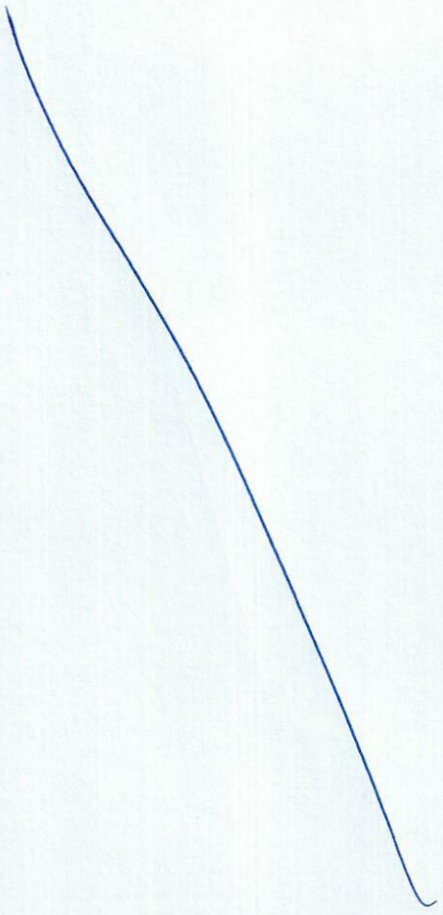
Nonetheless, feminist theory of personal is political had an emancipatory impact on women. Contemporary demands like - criminalisation of marital rape shows its relevance.

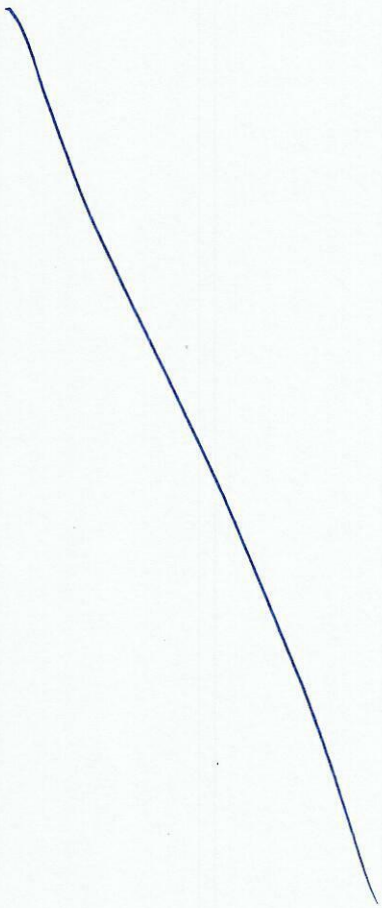
Que.6(a) Critically analyse how Mill distinguishes paternalistic and moralistic restrictions on liberty based upon the harm principle.

20

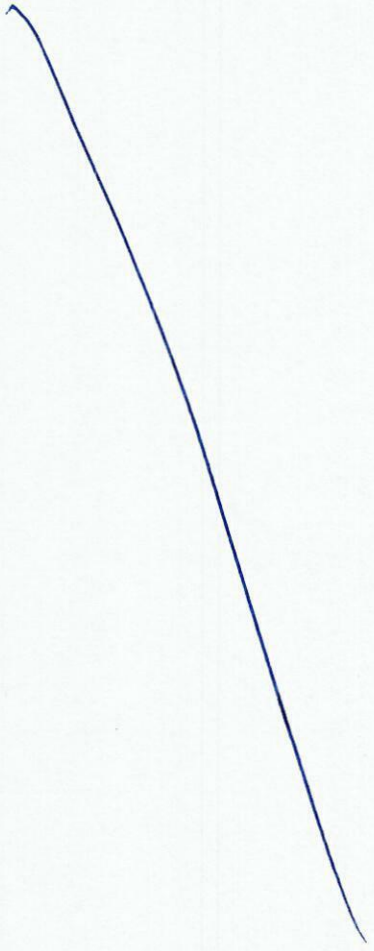


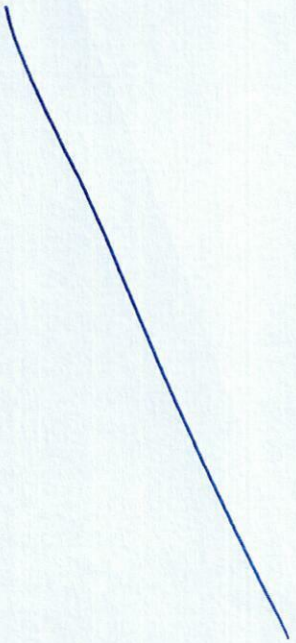




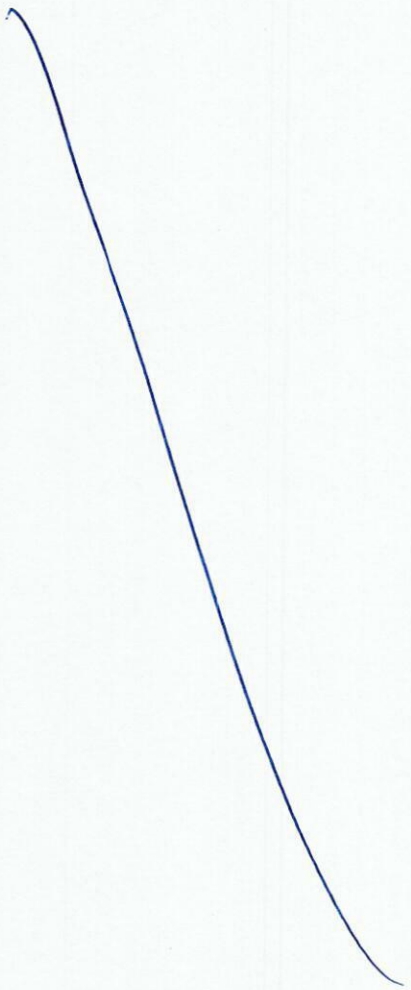


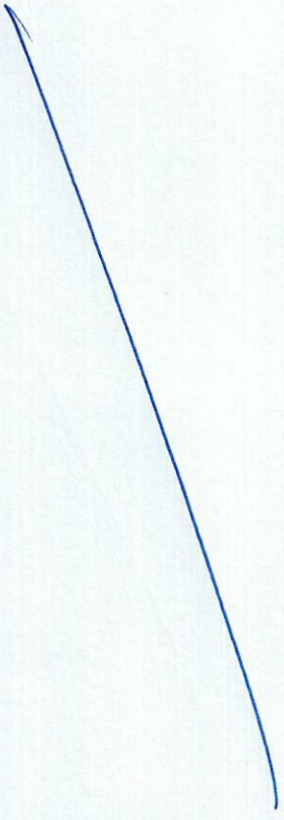
Que.6(b) Elucidate how democratic regimes around the world are a product of the different waves of democratisation. 15

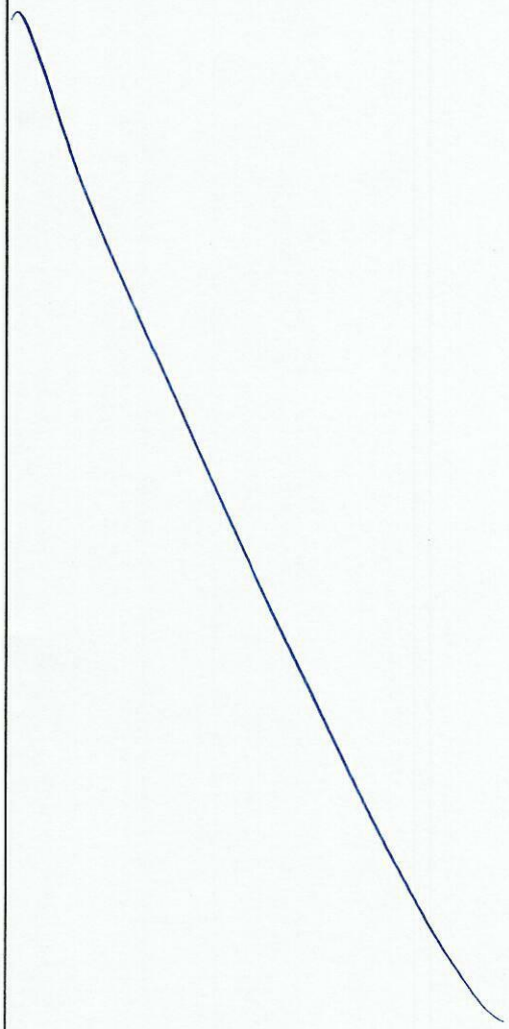




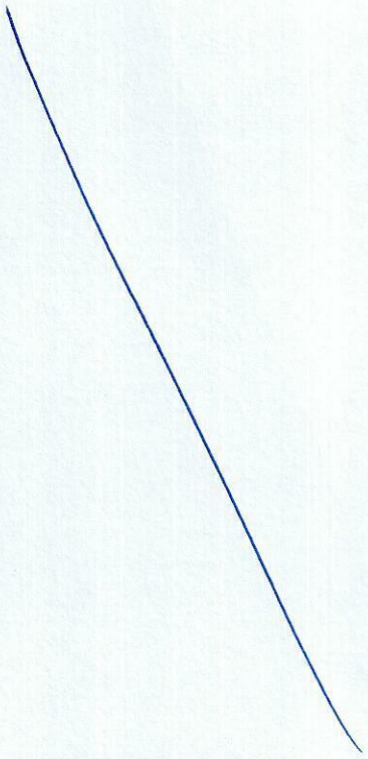
Que.6(c) "There is a general inclination of all mankind, a perpetual and restless desire of power after power that ceases only in death." Hobbes. Comment. 15

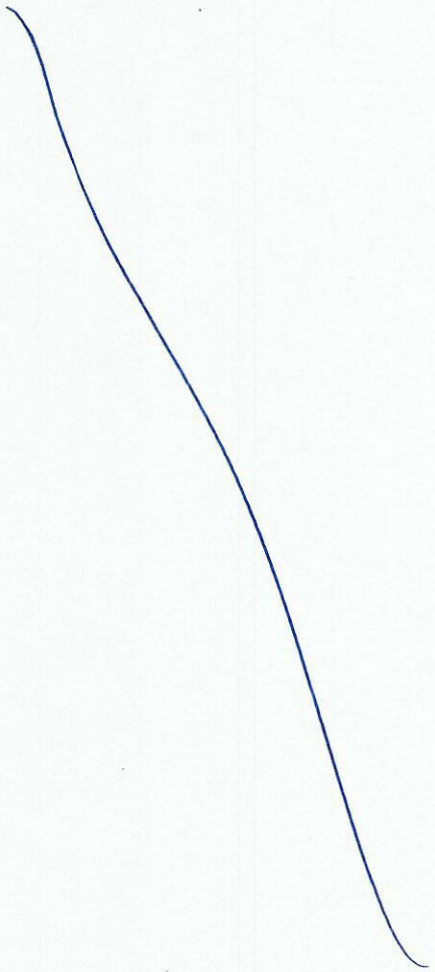


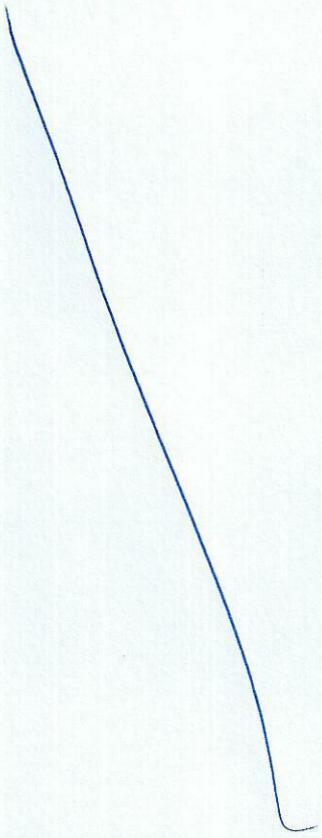


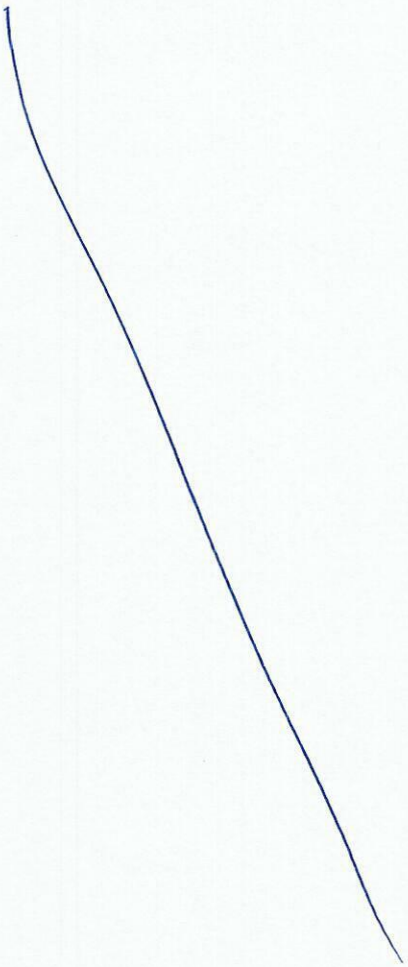


Que.7(a) **Discuss how Mahatma Gandhi revised his opinions from time to time though his conceptual framework remained the same.** 20



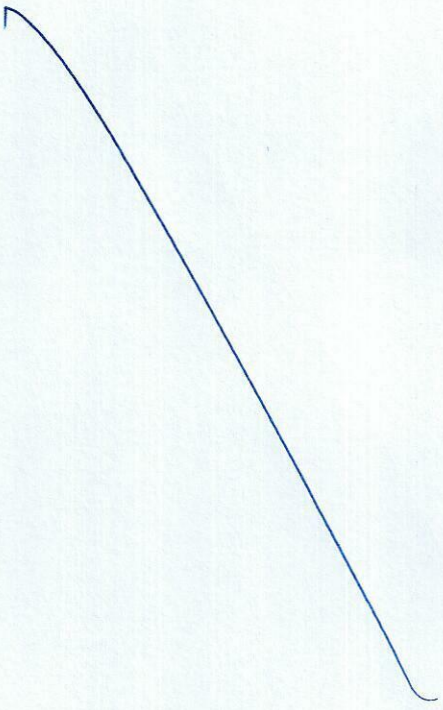


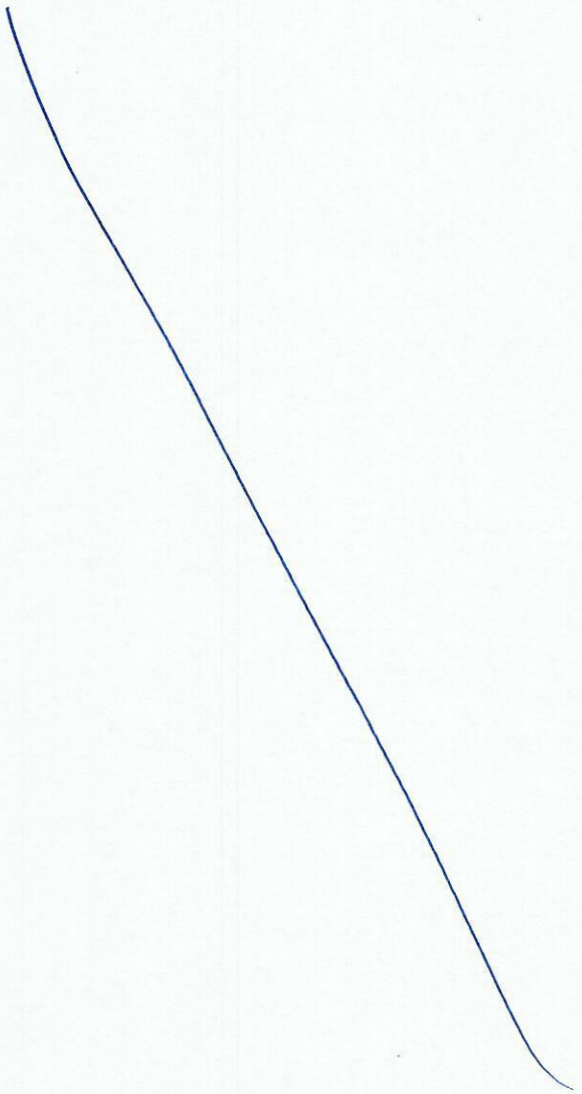


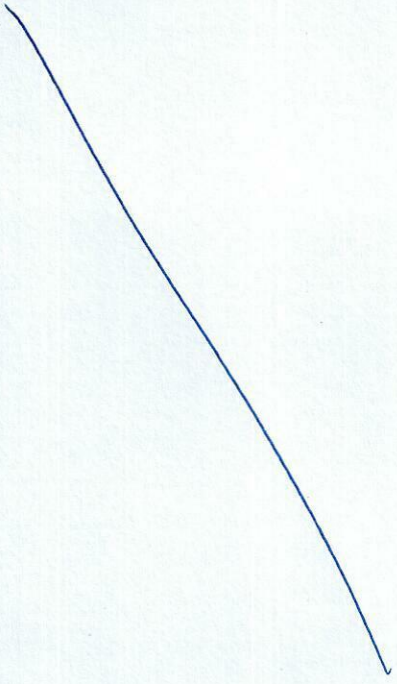


Que.7(b) **Marx's political thought is a people-oriented political philosophy. Examine**

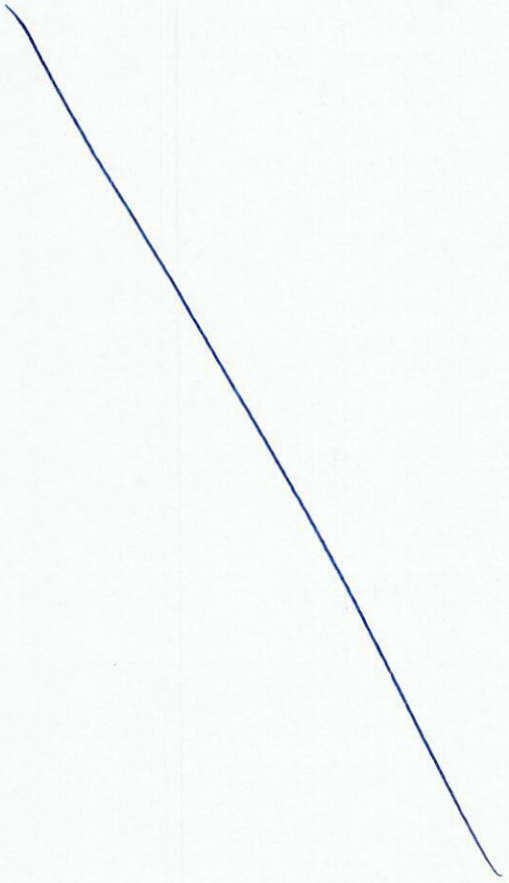
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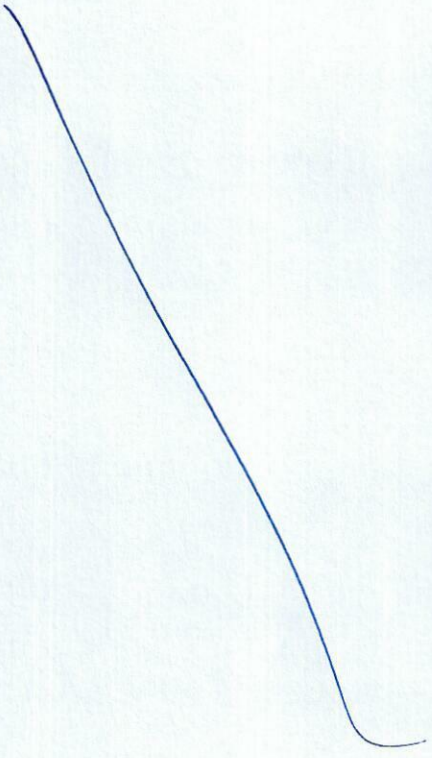


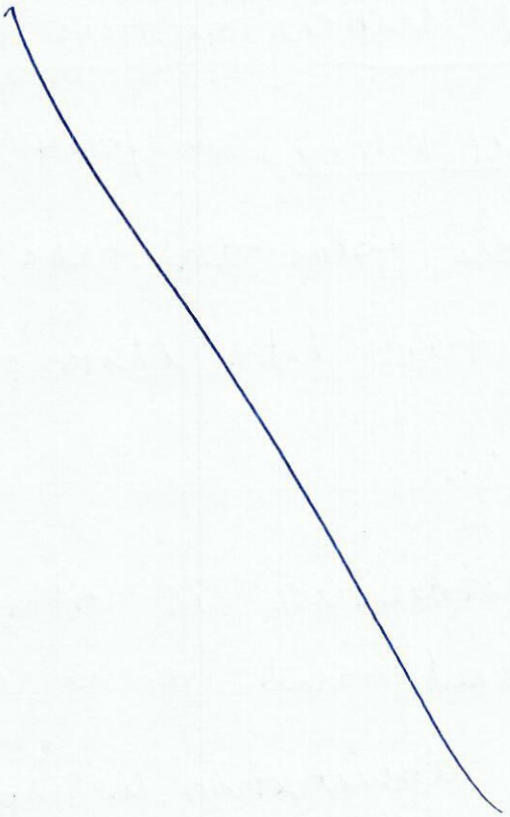




Que.7(c) **Comment upon how the ideas of authority and legitimacy are integral to the understanding of state politics.** 15







Que.8(a) **Discuss how Antonio Gramsci has influenced Marxist theorists of cultural and political domination in developed capitalism.** 20

Marxist theory of political domination in developed capitalism was based on base and superstructure model given by Karl Marx. As per this economic forces form the base and political structure like state form the superstructure.

The superstructure is influenced by base i.e mode and forces of production shaped domination in society. Thus Bourgeoisie rule over proletariat because of its economic dominance.

However, Marxist theory failed to explain no emergence of socialist

revolution in capitalist societies as predicted by Marx. This dilemma was solved by Antonio Gramsci.

Gramsci started neo-Marxism. His works are known through his prison notebooks. First he argued that superstructure has autonomy of its own. It comprise of civil society and political state. Thus not just base shape superstructure but superstructure also shape the base.

The role of civil society as per Gramsci is to build hegemony. Hegemony defines the limits of common sense. It builds consent among the masses. Hegemony is build through

institutions like school, family, church etc. Communism could not succeed in western capitalist societies because of hegemony of capitalist ideas.

Thus he highlights role of cultural factors and stopped criticism of Marxism as economic reductionism. He suggests role of 'organic intellectuals' to challenge this hegemony - leaders/managers in factors could play the role of organic intellectuals. They should develop "revolutionary consciousness" among proletariat. Thus "war of position" has to precede "war of movement".

Gramscian thoughts inspired critical school scholars like Theodor Adorno,

Max Horkheimer and Robert Cox. They highlight role of "culture factory" in shaping capitalist hegemony in West. Herbert Marcuse concept of "one dimensional man" also shows how capitalism promote consumerism and man forgets his own exploitation.

Gramsci's contribution can be understood from Chantal Mouffe statement that "we have entered the era of Gramscianism in the theory of Marxism"

Que.8(b) **The central function of Vita Activa is the disclosure of the identity of the agent. Analyse.** 15

Hannah Arendt has given the concept of Vita Active in her book "On human Condition".

She is concerned about the rise of Totalitarianism. Totalitarianism rises when people become superfluous masses i.e they don't participate in political life.

However, for her man is zoon politicon. he is a political animal. she distinguishes between labor (Homo laboradon), work (Homo Faber) and action (zoon politicon). For her real action is action.

Thus people exercise power when

they come together in spirit of civic republicanism. Man desires immortality. Immortality of his ideas and contribution is only possible when he moves among his peers and discloses his identity.

Thus participation in public sphere leads to not just accountability of state but also immortality of person/agent. Thus she favor direct democracy i.e participation of people in public realm.

She remains one of the most original thinker for her phenomenological perspective i.e understanding phenomenon through first hand experience. Her

ideas remain relevant in context of rise of Totalitarian tendencies the world over (Robert Paxton in the Anatomy of Fascism).

Her work influenced scholars like Nancy Fraser, Habermas ("communicative action") etc. However she has also been criticised as a cold war intellectual.

Nothetheless her focus on human liberty remains relevant as evident from works of Isiah Berlin.

Que.8(c) **Analyse how Fascism rejected everything and how it has been interpreted in multiple ways.** 15

Fascism is not an ideology but hodge podge. It is understood more as as a political pathology than a systemic ideology. It emerged in inter-war period in Germany (Hitler) and Italy (Mussolini).

Fascism rejects everything. It is an "anti" ideology. It is anti-communism and anti-capitalism at same time. It is also anti-rationalism as it relies on myths. It is anti-democratic as it subverts the political process that brought them to power.

Fascism also rejects international laws and norms. Thus it goes for expansionism in name of lebensraum.

Fascism is anti-peace - as Mussolini argued -

"War is to men as maternity is to women".

Thus fascism is rejection of order in general.

Fascism has been interpreted differently. Marxists argued that Capitalism in its last phase turns towards Fascism to protect bourgeoise. This view was upheld by scholars like H.J Laski.

Other marxist scholars like Althusser rejects this economic determinism and highlight role of social-cultural upheaval in rise of fascism.

Liberal scholars like Hannah Arendt explain Fascism as totalitarianism.

It is aimed at total control of all aspects of human life. It arises when masses are superfluous and disappears when people exercise power through civic resistance.

other liberal scholars like Robert Paxton (Anatomy of Fascism) and Joseph Stanley (How Fascism works) highlights role of weaking of institutions, rise of charismatic leader, economic crisis and religious polarisation for rise of fascism.

To tackle this challenge, people must participate in civic sphere through communicative action (Habermas) and stand for protection of liberal democratic ideals.

Space for Rough Work