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Political Science & International Relations

PSIR Crash Course- 2025

Test 1

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

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Test Submission Date	01.07.2025
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Test Start Time	3:30 PM
Test End Time	7:00 PM.
UPSC Roll Number	0309541
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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						

For any issue related to PSIR Test Series, write only at psirtestseries@shubhraranjan.com

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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

Postcolonialism is a counter-hegemonic school against the western liberal school. It can be seen in the states of post-colonial countries of Asia, Africa etc.

Edward Said's "theory of Orientalism" is the first/dominant post-colonial critique. Along with Wretched of the earth by Franz Fanon & Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's Can the subaltern speak? form the core of post-colonial literature.

The post-colonial theory of State can be seen in the works of Immanuel Wallerstein, AG Frank and Samir Amin who are Neo-Marxists.

State in postcolonial countries are nothing but instrument of the bourgeoise of the industrial countries. The World systems theory by Wallerstein and AG Frank, Samir Amin's "development of underdevelopment" provides insights into the continuing of imperialism.

They call it as "imperial ent" where the peripheral states are subjugated by the core states, and are reduced to merly being exporters of natural resources.

Thus, postcolonial theory of state of state provides insight into the new-age colonialism aided by globalisation. They, thus call for indegenous National Development.

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

Any discipline has two important aspects to it, namely, Nature and scope. While nature is about what the discipline studies, scope tells about how we study.

On this background, political science arrives as a 'master science' (Aristotle). The nature of discipline has been to study the normative values like justice, equality, liberty, and state.

That is why JW Garner says "political science begins and ends with state", while RG Gettel says "political science is science of state; study of states in the past, present and future"

Similarly, Harold Laswell who mainly studies political science from the viewpoint of power says

"political science is about who gets what, when, how much — it is the study of sharing and shaping of power"

The historical approach proponents of political science like GH Sabine, John Seelay and Plamanetz say "politics is present history and history is past politics" thereby linking the two. Others, says "if history is the root, politics is its shoot".

Thus, the nature of political science as a discipline is varied from how you wish to see it. That is why it is a master science.

David Easton thus remarks, "the responsibility of political scientist is more than a pure scientist"

Que.1(c) End of ideology. 10

Ideology was defined by Destutt de Tracy as "science of ideas", while Karl Marx calls it as 'false consciousness'.

The end of ideology is a hypothesis created by Seymour Martin Lipset in the 1950s-60s. It said ideology has served its purpose, and finds no more purpose in the modern world.

It is similar to Alexander Kojeve's end of ideology - who said the mankind's evolution will end with an omniscient state that take care of every need of man.

The same, was further propagated by WW Roustov who in his "NON-COMMUNIST MANIFESTO" said "all states irrespective of ideology

will go through same economic phases - where liberalism (or) communism.
∴ Ideology has lost its relevance.

Similarly, Dante Germino in Beyond Ideology and Alfred Cobban say, the nature of all states are becoming technocratic in nature - reducing the scope of ideology as they are perform similar function.

Critique like Alasdair MacIntyre says 'end of ideology' is itself also an 'ideology'. 'A subtle way of establishing liberalism.

This transmigrates in the 1990s as "End of history" By Francis Fukuyama, where he claims the end of humanity intellectual evolution with the victory of liberalism -

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

John Locke, who is considered as the intellectual father of classical liberalism, in his "two treatises on Civil government" gives citizen's Natural rights.

Natural Rights are those that are inalienable to the human for the mere fact of being born as human. They are indestructure, permanent - which include Right to Property, life and liberty.

The role of the state is to merely protect the rights and it is no "giver of the rights". The nature of man - he says - is rationale, reasonable, and this reason in man tells him not to harm the life, liberty and property of other.

Critics of Natural Rights are legal positivists like Jeremy Bentham who calls them as " Nonsense built upon stilts '.

Similarly, Alaisdair MacIntyre says those who believe in Natural rights, believe in witches " - discrediting these rights.

For others, like Edmund Burke, "rights are those that flow from state ". For them, source of rights is state.

However, natural rights by Locke forms the basis of modern democratic societies are important in the sense Laski says " Rights are those conditions without which no man can seek to be at his best "

John Locke's Natural Rights legacy can be seen in way they influenced the UDHR.

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

"No where in the world, has a human mind thought about the ideas of universe to great depth as in India" | Max Muller |

This highlights the significance of Indian Political thought. The early thought is can be seen the age of Vedic time (1500-1000 BCE) in the form of Dharmasashtras, Upanishads, Manusmriti, Vedangas and ofcourse the Buddhist-Jaina Political thoughts.

While Dharma is one enduring characterstic of Indian political thought (IPT), the other end of spectrum deals with Danda - in the works of Chanakya's Arthashastra (360 BCE)

Thus, as Bhikhu Parekh says Dharma and Danda are two dominant characteristics of Indian political Thought (IPT)

The characteristics further include ideas of justice, equality, moksha (liberation) and peace. For example, Buddhist political thought likes of Digha Nikaya and Buddhacharita by Ashvagosha talks about republicanism, democratic values like equality, speech, liberty etc.

The Indian political thought is thus is not monolithic rather a continuum, exploring the questions of life (Rodney Jones)

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

Democracy, as Abhraham Lincoln calls it, is government of by people, by the people and for the people. And the basis of a liberal democracy goes back to John Locke - the father of classical liberation.

For Locke, the state gains as much control over citizens as much rights it seeks to protect. And man is not bound any authority - political or religious. He forms the consent of the governed as the basis of modern democracies.

Thus, the legitimacy of the state is only when the authority is accepted by the people. This is what differentiates between mere power and legitimate authority (Max Weber)

However, Radical Democrats, like ~~Jürgen~~ Habermas in his 'Structural Transformation of Public Sphere' has identified how states in modern liberal democracies are exposed to "legitimation crisis".

This crisis, he delves further, are because of the internal contradictions of the liberal democracy. For example, in ~~politics~~ economics, they advocate capitalism, whereas in politics they advocate socialism. This contradiction as seen in Greece crisis (2014) is one of the primary reasons.

Similarly, as Isaiah Berlin in his 'Two Essays on Liberty' warns against the paternalistic tendencies of the regimes in liberal democracies in the name of "positive liberty".

Paternalistic tendencies that choke the liberty of man is illegitimate in a liberal democracies.

The same is extended by Neo-liberals like Milton Friedman, who says "emergencies are the pretext under which the state curbs the liberty of its citizens". This has been witnessed time and again across the globe and closer to home in India as well during the 1975 to 1977 phase.

These crisis tendencies are the result of state overstretching as Paul Kennedy writes in "The Rise and Fall of Great Powers". When the militaristic ambitions of the state is not commensurately matched by its economic prowess, the state overreaches and falls. (eg) UK, USA, France.

Thus, in order to maintain the legitimacy of the state, Habermas calls reclaiming the 'public sphere in a free-speech situation', which is even echoed by Hannah Arendt in her 'on human Condition'. Man has to go back to being "Zoon politicon"

The crisis tendency across liberal democracies is what Larry Diamond calls "democratic backsliding" and Fareed Zakaria as rise of "illiberal democracies".

The solution to a crisis tendencies of democracies is more democracy. Because as they say "eternal vigilance is the price we pay for liberty"

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

Justice is an architectonic concept, in the sense, political theorists since the Socratic tradition have dealt on its centrality in political science.

In the background of decline of political theory in the 1960s–1970s, John Rawls comes with his magnum opus – Theory of Justice (1971) and not revives the declining discipline but also places justice on a pedestal much higher than any other value.

He conceptualised a universal, procedural and a normative justice. This, he brought with an imaginery concepts of original position and viel of ignorance – where people would decide on what is the conception of justice by ignoring their current virtues.

This, he says, is achieved by overlapping consensus among people with diverse background. And in order to protect the least advantaged, he comes up with "difference principle".

However, Communitarians like Alaisdair MacIntyre, Michael Sandel, Charles Taylor and Robert Michael Walzer - criticised it as "highly detached from the society." Sandel calls Rawls individual as "unencumbered self"

In this background, Amartya Sen too critiqued it as saying "abstract individuals in abstract situation/condition creating abstract justice"

Amartya Sen, thus, bases his foundation of justice on not just procedure equality, but "equality of capabilities"

For Sen, justice is achieved when people are capable of making their own choices. It can't be achieved by merely give equal rights, opportunities (Ronald Dworkin). He also, highlights the limitations of 'universal conception' of justice and individual is not divorced from his society. His world-view is indeed shaped by culture as well, echoicing the same as Communitarians.

Thus, both Rawlsian and Amartya Sen's conception continue to reflect in various debates and the Indian constitution imbibes both in fair measure.

Justice thus has multiple meanings - viewed from different viewpoints. However, the end goal would what 'Kant' says "inviobility of human dignity"

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

Liberty is a foundational concept in political science and that can be seen from its influence in multiculturalism. However, their relationship is both complex and ambivalent.

For proponents of liberalism, like Locke, Mills, Green, Berlin etc, liberty is at the centre of it. For them, liberty cannot be compised for any other value - it is what they prophesise as the 'northern star'.

However, for multiculturalism, which is found on the bedrock of value pluralism (Isaih Berlin) and Franz Boas's cultural pluralism.

According to Berlin, there cannot hierarchy of values as values are 'incommensurable'. To prioritise one for the other is a tragedy of mankind. This is where, the relationship between liberalism and multiculturalism gets complicated and at worst antagonistic. (Equality vs liberty)

Similarly, the different schools of multiculturalism like Bhikhu Parekh and Will Kymlica advocate rights differently to immigrants/refugees and national minorities. This, again is at loggerheads with liberalism which advocates certain inviolable rights to everyone alike.

The relationship also is ambivalent at times. For example, with respect to state's involvement in to people's cultural/personal lives, both

the schools advocate supremacy of the individual over the state. First was John Locke says, State has no role in religious aspects of the citizens.

Both the schools, advocate non-interference of state in the religious affairs, giving equal rights to people

However, in the 21st century the relationship is turning hostile as seen in various parts of western European nations and even in USA/ Canada. This is captured best in "the silent death of Europe" by Bawer highlighting the rising antagonism by the liberal countries against refugees and immigrants.

Trump's rising restriction on H1B visas is also a manifestation of this complicated relationship.

Que.1(a) Plato is concerned about any thought that offers the ruling authority to common individuals. Comment. 20

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

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

SECTION 'B'

5.

Write approximately 150 words on each one of the following.

Que.5(a)

Arendt's Conception of Citizenship.

10

Citizenship since times of Aristotle is one of the contested concept in political science.

For Hannah Arendt, who through her phenomenology analysed the reasons for rise of totalitarianism in the form of Nazism & Fascism. She highlights the role of 'hollowed individuals' with civic illiteracy as the reason.

She divides the human action into two (in her work: On Human Condition) viz: Vita Activa and Vita Contemplativa. Man has to perform the role of Zoon politicon i.e active citizenship to keep the totalitarian tendencies in check.

For Arendt, citizenship is not being passive recieptents of the state's rights, but reclaiming, revitalising the public sphere through active participation.

In this regard she differentiates between power & violence. Power is when people act in concert — they come together for reclaiming public sphere — exercising being "zoon politicon".

Aristotle too had extended citizenship only to those who contributed to the state. — Hannah too echoes similar concerns.

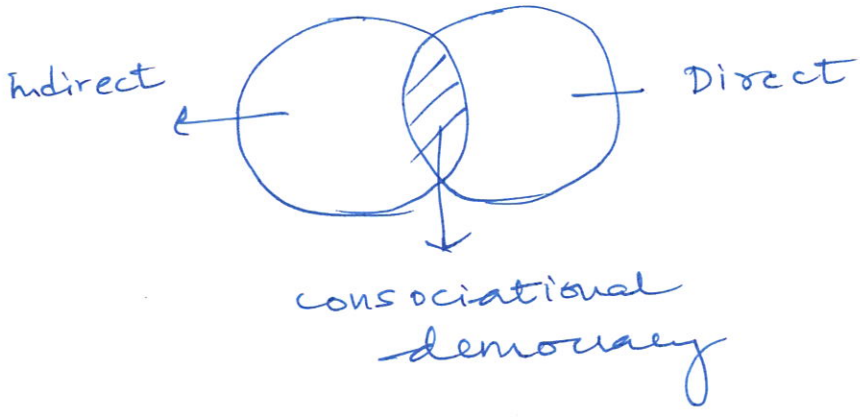
Thus, citizenship is a controversial issue as seen in NRC-CAA debates in India for) multicultural citizenship in Europe for) differentiated citizenship by IRIS MARION YOUNG (feminist)

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

Democracy is govt - by the people off the people and for the people. (Lincoln). But how this government represents its people is bone of contention among different school.

There are direct and indirect model of representation / democracy. Direct involves referendum, recalls, plebisite, initiative. While Representative govt. form the indirect democracy.

Consociational democracy is the middle ground between the two



"Arendt Lijphart" is the proponent of consociational democracy.

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

Power is the contested and contextual concept in political science. Harold Laswell says "political science is about shaping and sharing of power"

The earliest proponent who the two is Nicoloco Machiavelli. In his Prince, he makes a classical depiction between ethics and politics, which till then was superimposed by Socratic tradition scholars.

He said "politics is pursuit of power" and established the "Realpolitik"

The same is extended by "elitist theory of power" who like Pareto, Mosco, and Robert Michels says power is concentrated in hands of few political elite.

"The history of graveyard of politics is the history of power elite" — says Mosca in Power Elite.

Similarly, if we observe Michels gron Law of Oligarchy - power is circulated between two classes : foxes and lions.

"Power" as a concept is discussed by Marx (though indirectly) as the ideas of dominating class is the dominating ideas"

Even, Neo Marxist Antonio Gramsci's hegemony is nothing but the propagation and perpetuation of "power"

Power, is a dominant variable in the political science. Its influence on international relations can be seen in the works of Hans Morgenthau, John Mearsheimer.

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

"Workers of the world unite! You have nothing to lose except your chains" — Marx. This calls by Marx is to establish freedom of the working class.

Freedom for Karl Marx is freedom from basic necessities. And this can be achieved by establishing dictatorship of proletariat.

For freedom to be experienced, working class has to be "aware of their consciousness". Revolution is the key to establishing this freedom. The establishing of Socialism where class contradictions are reduced to where Communism ends the class conflict — is where freedom lies acc. to Marx.

"Capitalism doesn't guarantee true freedom. It is false consciousness. Capitalism has the seeds of its own demise and will crumble over its own weight of contradictions.

"From each according to his abilities to each according to his needs"

That is when, class in itself, becomes class for itself, that is when freedom is achieved.

Freedom is freedom from alienation - alienation from process, product, species-being and oneself. writes Marx in Economic & Philosophical Manuscripts

Marxist view of freedom still lies relevant in age of gig economy - leading to dehumanisation of society.

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

"Personal is political" was given by Carole Hanisch in 1969 – its a slogan of the Radical Feminism.

The idea of personal is political is that state perpetuates the patriarchal assymmetries / discrimination into the personal life.

"When I look at state, it appears male to me"
– Carole Pateman

This encapsulates the idea of personal is political. The laws made by the state / propagate – perpetuate the discriminatory practices, thereby continuing the subjugation of women
(J.S. Mills)

The argument is that, time immemorial, politics and personal life are separated by political scientists.

This artificial separation has led to the neglect of women and gendered the identities.

"One is not born as a woman, one becomes woman"
— Simone de Beauvoir

State gendered the sex, as the secondary sex. Not second sex.

However, they argue that it is State itself that can undo the injustice - structural injustice (Iris Marion Young). They thus, demand differentiated citizenship for women.

The Triple Talaq judgement in Shayara Bano (2015) and the women's reservation Act, 2024 (106th CAA) are the testament of personal is political where, women are brought into the political fold and ending the contradictions.

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

20

John Stuart Mill was a philosopher, utilitarian, political theorist and a feminist of the 19th c. It is said "if anyone is liberal, it is Mills" - highlighting his legacy in liberalism.

In his magnum opus 'On liberty' he extolls liberty as the lifebreath of individual and constitutional democracy. He is a proponent of negative liberty which focuses on "freedom from.." over "freedom to.." as advocated by positive liberals.

Liberty has both instrumental and intrinsic value and why explaining the instrumental aspect, he says liberty

is the right to self-discover, self-develop and become self-aware. Every individual, invariably possesses liberty that cannot be restricted by the state.

However, the only singular exception he brings to this via 'harm principle' - which he says consists of two actions: 1) self regarding 2) other regarding.

It is with these two, he makes a difference between paternalistic and moralistic restrictions on liberty.

Paternalistic restrictions are those, which he warns the state against where the state extends itself into the activities of the individual. In the process the state imposes what is majoritarian.

"just like the tyranny of one over many is unjust, the tyranny of many over one is also unjust"

This highlights that the state under the garb of regulation, imposes the majoritarian view on to the individual there by showcasing paternalistic tendencies. This is the same view that Isaiah Berlin makes in his 'two essays on Liberty'

The manifestation of such a tendency can be seen in modern democracies like liquor ban blanket on all.

Similarly, he differentiates moralistic restrictions on liberty which can be summed up below:

"Your liberty to swing the hand ends where another's ~~nose~~ nose begins"

This he puts them under the category of 'other regarding' actions where the liberty can be constrained in view of protecting the others and such actions by the state are legitimate.

This, in current Indian context can be seen in SC's judgement in Amit Sahni vs Commissioner of Police, Delhi (Shaheen Bagh) — where the citizen's right to protest is valid but could not be seen to violate others' right to mobility

Thus, John Stuart Mills is the founding father of liberty in the modern context, whereby he maintains the sanctity of liberty. In a world where illiberal democracies (Fareed Zakaria) are rising, his legacy is a reminder to protect its sanctity.

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

Samuel. P. Huntington demonstrates the propagation of democracy throughout world, across space and time in his concept of "waves of democratization".

He takes us back to the early 1800s to 1900s, during the American war of independence and French revolution (1789-97) with their clarion calls of liberty, equality and fraternity (pursuit of happiness in Americas' case) as the first wave of democracy.

This along with other early european nations like United Kingdom, dominated the first phase of democratisation, marked by vocation to liberty, freedom and other values

of the Renaissance and Scientific Revolution.

This wave saw a reverse wave of democratisation during the mid-war phase of 1920 to 1938 where the countries in Europe underwent waves of totalitarianism and authoritarianism. (Hannah Arendt)

The second wave came in during the post-colonial period after the Atlantic charter, that supported the independence of many countries in Asia, Africa, South America, India, Indonesia, Ghana being a few prominent ones.

This wave also was followed by wave of democratic failures in the form of coups - military takeover, authoritarianism and military-civilian govt. nexus.

This is the wave that led to rise of overdeveloped state as Hamza Alavi calls them in Pakistan.

The third phase, was remarkable, which started in the Africa's mediterranean countries like Tunisia - later become an Arab Spring with Egypt, Algeria, and others joining in. However, they were suppressed brutally and turned them into Arab Summer - which now can be seen in the form of rising coups/conflicts

The Arab peninsula, remains an "exceptionalism" in these waves.

Various, scholars like Ivor Jennings and leaders like Churchill had written off India's future as democracy. Today, it remains an island of democracy in the sea of failed states

(Sunil Khilnani)

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

Hobbes, who is credited as the first modern political philosopher (along with Machi.) - takes a pessimistic view of man's nature. If anyone is a child of his times, Hobbes is one.

He witnessed the British war in the 17th century, which made him take a pessimistic view. Man, according to Hobbes is selfish, individualistic, powerseeking, reckless and thus his life in state of nature is short, brutish and chaotic.

Man, by nature, is utilitarian and in pursuit of this perpetual pleasure, he seeks power. This desire of power is endless and his material needs do not end.

Man suffers, thus, from the dilemma of "limited means and unlimited desires" In this regard, because of impending competing interests, man gets into conflict with one another.

This conflict results in capturing power after power, to secure his self interests leads to chaos and conflict and everything in between.

In order to curb this and find security, man comes in agreement to create a sovereign. For this sake, Hobbes creates an absolutist state in his "Leviathan"

Hobbes, is criticised for his absolute sovereign of state but one has to understand that his absolutism is not for the sake of absolutism, rather a derivative of his individualism (GH Sabine)

It is death at which man stops seeking the pursuit of power.

In the current contemporary times, this echoes in the form of hypermaterialism, consumerism, power capture by elite, the industry-military complex and the pursuit of Comprehensive National Power (CNP) by nations — leading to the stage of Nuclear Brinkmanship.

Thus, as Gtt Sabine has said his ideas are rooted in the times he lived.

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**

15

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

Antonio Gramsci is a Neo-Marxist of Italy - who's ideas are captured in his "PRISON NOTEBOOKS"

Gramsci, wanted to study the reasons for failure of Marx's prediction of "failure of Capitalism under the weight of its own contradictions" (Das Capital).

In his pursuit, he found the reason to be the shortcoming of the Marx's binary of base-superstructure model - where the superstructure acc. to Marx is nothing but merely reflection of the base - which is dominated by economic relations of production in the society.

For Gramsci, however, the superstructure, consisting of church,

education, media is not just a reflection. They are integral part of the bourgeoise state.

The state according to Gramsci rules not just through coercion but also through consent. This consent is established by the hegemony of state.

Antonio Gramsci, influenced the future Marxists like Althusser, who further built the theory of structual Marxism. Althusser, says state rules not just with the iron hand of state apparatus like police, military but also through ideological state apparatus like Culture.

These cultural apparatus dominate the ideas in the society thereby making them commonsense. The ideas are "interpellated" across

all sphere of life, that the domination of ideas of bourgeoise appear natural and common sense to the working class.

Similarly, Herbert Marcuse comes with the ideas of Consumerism and "mass culture" where, the capitalist way of life of extravagance and materialism is ingrained in the minds of working class through Pop culture, movies, advertisements.

On the political realm, Marxists like Noam Chomsky in his "Manufacturing Consent" — extends the Gramscian idea of cultural hegemony into the political domination of capitalism.

The media in particular, Chomsky argues, builds narrative after narrative, to guard the contradictions

of capitalism and extolling its virtues as the way of life in modern capitalism ruled society.

The Modern Marx "Thomas Pikketty" too in his book "Capital & ideology" says "every inequality needs a justification to survive in society, and capitalism provides that" This is reiterated by another Marxist, Terry Eagleton and Eco-Marxist/Eco-Socialist "Andreas Malm" in his "FOSSIL CAPITAL"

The Marxists theorists inspired by Gramsci have produced rich literature about the cultural-political domination of capitalism - ~~learning~~ & reviving the legacy of Gramscian hegemony.

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

Hannah Arendt, who studied the "Origins of Totalitarianism" comes up with the reason for it, in her book "On human Condition"

"Man, by nature, is political" said Aristotle and the same extended by Hannah Arendt. She classifies man's activity into two:

Vita Activa | Vita Contemplativa

- homo faber (labour)
- work
- zoon politicon (Action)

The first two viz labour and work are not so significant for men, while zoon politicon is an imperative.

When the man / forgets his function of zoon politicon – therein starts his masking of his identity. This leads to creation of civil illiteracy – where people are not exercising their political functions of 'active civic participation'.

The hollowing out of individuals due to their inactivity, leads to the rise of demogogues as seen during FASCISM (or) NAZISM which is manifestation of vulgar form of power.

She says, power is when people come together, when people 'act in concert' – disclose the identity of agents, coming out from being hollowed men – banal of any immorality.

In order to disclose the identity, she calls for reclaiming, revitalising the public sphere through active citizenship. — this is what is "vita activa". Man's true identity.

The same is reiterated by Jurgen Habermas in "Transformation of Public sphere" through reclaiming public sphere in a "free-speech-condition"

In a world that is witnessing democratic recession (FRANCIS FUKUYAMA) and democratic backsliding (LARRY DIAMOND), where democracy are reduced to mere elections (Illiberal democracies — Fareed Zakaria), Arendt calls for exercising the function of vita activa is a wake up call.

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

"If 19th century belonged to liberalism, 20th century belongs to FASCISM" — Mussolini in his "Theory of Fascism"

Fascism was the ideology that rose during the mid-wars-period of (1919 to 1938). It saw the rise of ultranationalism; obedience of the people and ideas like expansionism of territory through war.

It rejected everything that dominated the discourse before it. It was not a consistent ideology, far fetched to be called one. That is why Laski calls it as "hodgepodge" of an ideology.

George Orwell says for Fascism, its strength lies in making

people believe that freedom is slavery, war is peace and liberty is might".

Thus, it rejected every theory in the textbook.

Different scholars thus interpret it differently. For example, Hannah Arendt calls it as "crisis of modernity" with totalitarian tendencies.

Harold Laski - says "Fascism is Capitalism's last act" - comparing to another variant form of capitalism, that manifests to continue dehumanising people.

Karl Popper, calls the ideology of Fascism as "Thinking from blood" because of its subjugation of man, under the collective ego of nation; where sacrifice for the 'nation is the highest contribution.

Similarly, Gustave LeBon in his THE CROWD, talks about how crowd mentality is tamed through propaganda and violence to make believe it as "NORMAL & NAIVRAL"

Nolte, talks about "circumstantial theory" - where unlike others he tries to understand the conditions for its origin. He says, the enduring socio-economic crisis/circumstances are the reasons for fascism.

The fact that today Fascism is used by political opponents/rulers against each other, shows its "pejorative weight".

the rise of ethnic-nationalism, competitive populism in democracies are all early signs of Fascism in the 21st century.

Space for Rough Work

Space for Rough Work