INSTRUCTIONS TO CANDIDATES

1. Write your Hall Ticket Number in the OMR answer sheet given to you. Also write the Hall Ticket Number in the space provided above.

2. This question paper consists of 100 questions carrying 100 marks. Answers are to be marked on the OMR answer sheet following the instructions provided thereupon.

3. There is negative marking. Each wrong answer carries -0.33 mark.

4. Hand over the OMR answer sheet at the end of the examination to the invigilator.

5. No additional sheet(s) will be provided. Rough work can be done on the question paper itself or in the space provided at the end of the booklet.
1. Which of the following countries has the institutions of Supreme Leader, Guardian Council and the Assembly of Experts?
   A. Iran
   B. North Korea
   C. Sudan
   D. Afghanistan

2. Which of the following is/are TRUE about the Glorious Revolution?
   I. It established the Parliament as the primary ruling power
   II. It established the King as the primary ruling power
   III. It is also called the bloodless revolution
   IV. It led to the deposition of James II and the accession of Mary II
   A. I, III, and IV
   B. II, III, and IV
   C. III and IV
   D. Only I

3. The African National Congress (ANC) is a political party in
   A. South Africa
   B. Ethiopia
   C. Nigeria
   D. Congo

4. The manipulation of district boundaries to create a stronger partisan vote and gain political advantage is technically called
   A. Incumbent advantage
   B. Gerrymandering
   C. Politicising
   D. Electioneering

5. Rule of law is opposed to
   A. The procedure established by law
   B. Arbitrary power
   C. Restrictions on the power of the state
   D. Authority bound by laws

6. Which of the following is an advantage of a federal constitutional system?
   A. It minimises the administrative cost.
   B. It brings about centralization.
   C. It limits citizens’ freedom.
   D. It accommodates diverse cultural interests.
7. The governing parties emerge from the assembly. Government ministers are usually drawn from and remain members of the legislature. Such a government shall be described

   A. Presidential  
   B. Parliamentary  
   C. Semi-presidential  
   D. Autocracy

8. 'Civil Society' is best described as

   A. Civic values of family members  
   B. A set of voluntary associations  
   C. Political opinion of a housing society  
   D. A set of formal political institutions

9. Judicial Review is a feature of the constitutional practices in

   A. Saudi Arabia  
   B. China  
   C. UK  
   D. USA

10. Which of the following countries is an example of a mixed or semi-presidential system?

    A. Nigeria  
    B. Kenya  
    C. Argentina  
    D. France

11. Which of the following best describes the concept of Political culture?

    A. A set of attitudes and practices of the elites that shape political behaviour.  
    B. The social and economic interests of citizens that shape political behaviour.  
    C. A set of attitudes and practices held by a people that shape their political behaviour.  
    D. National Interest and how it shapes political behaviour.

12. Which of the following set of countries is an example of 'holding-together' federalism?

    A. Germany and Australia  
    B. Belgium and India  
    C. The United States and Switzerland  
    D. Argentina and Brazil
13. The Fifth Schedule of Indian Constitution deals with

A. Reservation for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes
B. Centre-State Relations
C. Administration and Control of Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes
D. Administration of Local Self Government

14. ‘Public-Private Partnership’ indicates the collaboration between

A. Market and civil society
B. UNO and various national governments
C. State and market
D. World Bank and civil society groups

15. Which of the following statement/s is/are TRUE about parliamentary proceedings?

(i) Prorogation of a session implies that pending bills in either house of Parliament are likely to lapse.
(ii) Prorogation of a session does not have any effect on pending bills in either House of the Parliament
(iii) Adjournment of a session does not have any effect on pending bills in either House of the Parliament
(iv) Dissolution of the Lok Sabha is not bound to have any effect on pending bills in either House of the Parliament

Answer:
A. Only (i)
B. Only (ii) and (iii)
C. Only (iv)
D. Only (iv) and (iii)

16. Identify the CORRECT statement/s about judicial activism and choose the right answer from below.

(i) Judicial activism is a condition where judges compete with legislators and the executives to make laws.
(ii) Judicial activism is a condition where judges become overactive in delivering judgments to expedite trials and deliver justice.
(iii) Judicial activism is a condition where judges are becoming increasingly restive and frequently resort to hartals and street protests to ensure delivery of justice.

A. (i), (ii) and (iii)
B. Only (ii)
C. (i) and (ii)
D. Only (i)
17. The State Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act is not in force in

A. Assam  
B. Tripura  
C. Nagaland  
D. Jammu and Kashmir

18. Which of the following defines ‘demonetization’?

A. Cashless economy  
B. Introduction of plastic money  
C. Stripping a currency unit of its status as legal tender  
D. Changing the security features of currency notes

19. Dyarchy, the system of double government for the provinces of British India, was introduced by

A. Government of India Act 1935  
B. Government of India Act 1919  
C. Government of India Act 1909  
D. Pitts India Act 1784

20. Which of the following is the constitutional procedure regarding the creation of Legislative Councils in the Indian states?

A. Rajya Sabha shall initiate the procedure by a simple majority, and later it shall obtain the ratification by the absolute majority in the state legislature.  
B. First, the state legislative assembly shall pass a resolution, and later the Parliament shall pass a law in this regard.  
C. The President is the sole authority to create a Legislative Council.  
D. The Governor of the state is the sole authority regarding the creation of Legislative Council.

21. Residuary power of legislation in India is with

A. Supreme Court  
B. Parliament  
C. President  
D. State Legislative Assemblies

22. In which of the following states, Indian National Congress was the leading party after the last assembly elections, but could not form a government?

A. Uttar Pradesh  
B. Haryana  
C. Goa  
D. Maharashtra
23. The Collegium comprised of the Chief Justice of India and the topmost four senior judges of the Supreme Court

   A. Fixes the salary and allowances of Judges
   B. Recommends appointment of judges of Supreme Court
   C. Supervises the procedure of Impeachment of judges of Supreme Court
   D. Decides the dates of superannuation of Chief Justice of India

24. The Goods and Services Tax is

   A. A Direct Tax
   B. An Indirect Tax
   C. A Gift Tax
   D. A Property Tax

25. Which of the following organizations is associated with the protest against the release of the Indian film ‘Padmavath’?

   A. Bhumihar Sena
   B. Bhim Army
   C. Patidar Andolan Samiti
   D. Karni Sena

26. According to Kautilya’s Arthasastra, “Gopa” is

   A. Revenue collector
   B. Army chief
   C. Diplomat
   D. Priest

27. Which of the following departments is under the Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India?

   A. Department of Official Language
   B. Department of Housing
   C. Department Atomic Energy
   D. Department of Ex-servicemen Welfare

28. Yoginder K. Alagh Committee Report submitted to the UPSC in 2001 is about reforms in

   A. Appointment of Members of Union Public Service Commission
   B. Civil Service Examination
   C. Administrative Tribunals
   D. Appointment of Members of State Public Service Commissions
29. Of the following, which was the first state in India to implement an e-Vidhan system to turn legislative assembly into a paperless one?

A. Maharashtra  
B. Madhya Pradesh  
C. Himachal Pradesh  
D. Punjab

30. The Comptroller and Auditor-General of India submits its report relating to the accounts of the Union to

A. Parliament  
B. Supreme Court  
C. President  
D. Finance Minister of the Union

31. Which of the following statements about Lokayukta in India is/are TRUE?

I. Lokayukta is an anti-corruption ombudsman in Indian states.  
II. Delhi is the first among the Indian states to create a Lokayukta.  
III. Lokayuktas of different states vary in their powers and functions.

Answer:

A. Only I  
B. Only II  
C. I and III  
D. I, II and III

32. Which of the following states has been exempted from the implementation of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989?

A. Mizoram  
B. Nagaland  
C. Himachal Pradesh  
D. Jammu & Kashmir

33. ‘Hawthorne experiment’ was conducted by

A. Henry Fayol  
B. Chester Barnard  
C. Elton Mayo  
D. Urwick and Gullick
34. The administrative principle, “no subordinate in an organization should report to more than one boss” is known as
   A. Unity of Command
   B. Span of Control
   C. Centralization
   D. One man army

35. The Government of India celebrates Good Governance Day in honour of
   A. Swami Vivekananda
   B. Deendayal Upadhyaya
   C. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee
   D. Atal Bihari Vajpayee

36. Pradan Mantri Ujjwala Yojana intends to provide
   A. Electricity to rural areas
   B. LPG connections to the poor
   C. Health insurance to workers
   D. Education to girls

37. Which among the following is not part of ‘Panchsheel’?
   A. Mutual non-aggression.
   B. Multilateral Engagements
   C. Equality and cooperation for mutual benefits
   D. Peaceful Co-existence

38. India is not a full member of
   A. ASEAN
   B. SCO
   C. SAARC
   D. BIMSTEC

39. ‘38th Parallel’ is the boundary line that demarcates
   A. The United States and Canada
   B. The United States and Mexico
   C. South Korea and North Korea
   D. North Vietnam and South Vietnam

40. The Mandate System was introduced by
   A. World Health Organisation
   B. League of Nations
   C. United Nations
   D. International Labour Organisation
41. '8-8-88 Uprising' is associated with
   A. China  
   B. North Korea  
   C. Myanmar  
   D. Vietnam

42. Which of the following is not an African regional organisation?
   A. ECOWAS  
   B. SADC  
   C. OAU  
   D. OAS

43. ‘Socialism in one Country’ is associated with
   A. Vladimir Lenin  
   B. Joseph Stalin  
   C. Mao Zedong  
   D. Antonio Gramsci

44. ‘Concert of Europe’ was based on
   A. Collective Security  
   B. Isolationism  
   C. Balance of Power  
   D. Non-alignment

45. The Genéva Convention deals with
   A. Disarmament  
   B. Environmental regimes  
   C. Humanitarian treatment in war  
   D. Laws against child trafficking

46. The Maastricht Treaty exemplifies the principles of
   A. Classical Realism  
   B. Feminism  
   C. Liberal Institutionalism  
   D. Structural Realism

47. The main objective of the Congress of Vienna was
   A. To provide a long-term peace plan for Europe post-Napoleonic Wars and French Revolutionary Wars  
   B. For European powers to divide African territories amongst themselves or the ‘scramble for Africa’  
   C. To provide a post-war peace to Europe that included self-determination for several East European territories  
   D. To introduce new trade treaties amongst European powers
48. The 123rd constitution amendment Bill passed by the Loksabha intended to give constitutional recognition to

A. Reservation for the Other Backward Classes
B. National Commission for Other Backward Classes
C. Exclusion of creamy layer from reservation
D. Economic reservation

49. The idea of 'tacit consent' was proposed by

A. John Locke
B. J-J Rousseau
C. Alexis de Tocqueville
D. Antonio Gramsci

50. Who is the author of "Two Concepts of Liberty"?

A. Isaiah Berlin
B. H L A Hart
C. Thomas Kuhn
D. Karl Popper

51. Match the following books with their authors:

i. The Republic
ii. Discourses
iii. Nicomachean Ethics

a. Aristotle
b. Plato
c. Niccolò Machiavelli

Which of the following combinations is the correct answer?

A. i-a; ii-b; iii-c
B. i-c; ii-b; iii-a
C. i-a; ii-c; iii-b
D. i-b; ii-c; iii-a

52. False consciousness is

A. Losing one's mind for good
B. Consciously telling a lie and not admitting it
C. Being in a state of incoherence because of the effects of intoxicants or medicines
D. An inability to see things as they are, especially social relations, as they really are
53. The term 'Fascism' is derived from

A. The Complete Works of Friedrich Nietzsche
B. The Dialogues of Plato
C. The Latin term *fasces* indicating a bundle of rods and axe
D. The film 'The Great Dictator'

54. Match the following books with their authors:

i. *Satyagraha in South Africa*  
ii. *Hind Swaraj*  
iii. *My Experiments with Truth*

Choose the correct the option:

A. i-b; ii-b; iii-b
B. i-b; ii-c; iii-a
C. i-c; ii-b; iii-a
D. None of the above

55. Identify the thinker who uses the term 'phronēsis'.

A. Antonio Gramsci
B. Aristotle
C. Antiochus of Ascalon
D. Anaximander of Miletus

56. Savarkar’s test of nationality includes

A. Pitrabhu, Matribhu, Punyabhu
B. Matribhu, Pitrabhu, Karmabhu
C. Pitrabhu, Matribhu, Karmabhu
D. Pitrabhu, Matribhu, Karmabhu, Punyabhu, Dharmabhu

57. The term ‘veil of ignorance’ is to be found in the work of

A. John Locke  
B. John Stuart Mill  
C. John Rawls  
D. Jeremy Bentham

58. Who is the author of *The Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844*?

A. G.W.F. Hegel  
B. Friedrich Engels  
C. Ludwig Andreas Feuerbach  
D. Karl Marx
59. The purusharthas include
A. Artha, Dharma
B. Artha, Dharma, Kama, Moksha
C. Artha, Dharma, Kama
D. Dharma, Kama

60. Who wrote the Manavadharmashastra?
A. Vyasa
B. Gautama
C. Shankara
D. Manu

Read the passages given below and answer the questions from 61 to 100.

Passage I

My humble submission is that, contrary to what this writer says, the very virtue of a religious ideal lies in the fact that it cannot be completely realized in the flesh. For a religious ideal must be proved by faith and how can faith have play if perfection could be attained by the spirit while it was still surrounded by its “earthly vesture of decay”? Where would there be scope for its infinite expansion which is its essential characteristic? Where would be room for that constant striving, that ceaseless quest after the ideal that is the basis of all spiritual progress, if mortals could reach the perfect state while still in the body? If such easy perfection in the body was possible all we would have to do would be simply to follow a cut-and-dry model. Similarly if a perfect code of conduct were possible for all there would be no room for a diversity of faiths and religions because there would be only one standard religion which everybody would have to follow. The virtue of an ideal consists in its boundlessness. But although religious ideals must thus from their very nature remain unattainable by imperfect human beings, although by virtue of their boundlessness they may seem ever to recede farther away from us, the nearer we go to them, still they are closer to us than our very hands and feet because we are more certain of their reality and truth than even of our own physical being. This faith in one’s ideals alone constitutes true life, in fact it is man’s all in all. Blessed is the man who can perceive the law of ahimsa in the midst of the raging fire of himsa all around him. (Source: M K Gandhi, *Collected Works*, Volume 43, 22.11.1928)

61. The above passage argues for
A. The religious ideal
B. The desirability of death
C. The fragility of the flesh
D. The difficulty of realising a spiritual ideal while being confined by the body
62. Infinite expansion is the essential characteristic of
   A. The spirit
   B. The body
   C. The very nature of expansion
   D. The nature of the world

63. The body restricts
   A. Constant striving
   B. Infinite expansion
   C. The raging fire of himsa
   D. Attaining the perfect state

64. A perfect code of conduct restricts
   A. The body
   B. The diversity of faiths
   C. Infinite expansion
   D. The religious ideal

65. The virtue of an ideal is
   A. A perfect code of conduct
   B. A cut-and-dry model
   C. Boundlessness
   D. The limits imposed by the body

66. Religious ideals remain unattainable because
   A. Humans are imperfect
   B. Religious ideals are cut-and-dry
   C. They rely on the body
   D. They have a perfect code of conduct

67. True life is signified by
   A. A cut-and-dry religious ideal
   B. The raging fire of himsa
   C. The fragility of the flesh
   D. Adherence to one’s ideals

68. Perceiving the law of ahimsa amidst himsa is
   A. An unattainable religious ideal
   B. A cut-and-dry religious ideal
   C. Faith in one’s ideals
   D. A perfect code of conduct
The gloomy psychology of Continental diplomacy and the inevitable militarisation of its policy in part proceeded from, and in part reinforced, the militarist bias of the Continental states. The American state and diplomatic service took on different colouring. As we shall see, Jeffersonians and Jacksonians were revolted by the idea of an elitist diplomatic service; Hamiltonians had no such objections in principle, but the nature and the purposes of the state and the foreign service would be different in a commercial republic from those of a state in a military monarchy. Thus European states were heavily informed and penetrated by an ethos that was not only elitist and aristocratic but frankly and proudly military. The princes, chancellors, ministers, and ambassadors of nineteenth-century Europe, to say nothing of its generals and officers, were frequently descended from warrior aristocracies. Until the Eighteenth century it was not uncommon in Europe's monarchs to command their troops in the field; as late as 1743, George II of Britain appeared in person to oppose French in the Battle of Dettingen. Militaristic Prussia, in which the needs of the army drove the evolution of the state, was an extreme example, but with every great Continental power of early modern Europe the history of the state was to some degree the history of its armed forces, and the state was less involved in civilian affairs and proportionately more involved in military matters than now. Once again Britain, thoughfully committed to the cultivation and projection of military force, was the least militaristic of the great powers, and once again Hamiltonians, without repudiating British and even Continental ideas about the nature of humankind and the competition of states, came to very different practical conclusions about what needed to be done. (Source: Walter Russell Mead (2009), Special Providence: American Foreign Policy and How It Changed the World, New York: Routledge, p.104)

69. Which of the following can be a most suitable title for the passage?

A. International Relations of Great Powers
B. Diplomacy and Military Policies of Great Powers
C. Defense Systems of Continental Europe
D. American State and its Economy

70. According to this passage, the continental states were moved by

A. Military orientation
B. Peace Orientation
C. All the above
D. None of the above

71. According to this passage, American state's orientations is

A. Economic and Commercial
B. Militaristic
C. Isolationist
D. None of the above
72. European diplomats, rulers and military officials descended from

A. Elites and Aristocrats
B. Aristocrats and Commoners
C. Commoners
D. none of the above

73. According to this passage, until Eighteenth century, Europe’s monarchs, during the time of war

A. Remained in background
B. Did not show any interest
C. Confined to provide advice
D. Led from the front

74. Jeffersonians, Jacksonians and Hamiltonians could be:

A. Followers of different schools of thought on Commerce and Diplomacy
B. Followers of different schools of thought on Culture and literature
C. Followers of different schools of thought on legislative practices
D. Followers of different schools of thought on diplomacy and war

75. Which among the following is the suitable characterisation of European States?

A. Democratic Republics
B. Theocratic States
C. Military Monarchies
D. None of the above

76. According to this passage, Britain was

A. Non-militarised
B. The most militarised
C. Less militarised
D. Yet to be militarised

Passage III

In analysing democratic transitions in recent years, social scientists have distinguished between problems of “transitions from authoritarian rule” and problems of “democratic consolidation”. The first transition focuses on what undermines an authoritarian regime and will bring it down. The second transition focuses on “the broader and more complicated process associated with the institutionalization of a new and democratic set of rules for political life.” We distinguish between the two periods to understand the most important moments through which states evolve in democratic transitions, and to better understand why transitions start.

After much debate, political scientists have reached an apparent broad consensus that conflicts within the authoritarian coalitions are the primary reason for the advent of
transition, which is then advanced through a “series of bargains” between states and opposition elites. Scientific typologies are constructed around distinctions among different type of transitions – transitions through transaction, transitions through reform, transitions through regime defeat, transition through rupture, and transition through extrication. Gerardo Munck has argued, however, that only a detailed knowledge of intra-elite, establishment elite-opposition elite, and elite-mass interaction in specific countries will provide the basis for understanding what actually happened in those instances. Moreover, we cannot assume that “transitional democracies”, that is transitional from authoritarian regimes, will automatically, naturally, or inevitably become “consolidated democracies.” (Source: Lisa Anderson, ed. 1999. Transitions to Democracy. New York Chichester: Columbia University Press, p. 45).

77. Social scientists have distinguished between problems of “transitions from authoritarian rule” and of “democratic consolidation”

A. When studying elite politics  
B. While looking at different set of problems of political systems  
C. While studying democratic transitions  
D. When studying problems of transition in parliamentary system

78. The problem of transition from authoritarian rule focuses on

A. The fortification of authoritarian rule  
B. The consolidation of democratic rule  
C. The fall of political rule  
D. The fall of authoritarian regime

79. The second transition of democratic consolidation looks at

A. Institutionalization of democracy  
B. Institutionalization of power and influence  
C. Complicated process of transition  
D. Moment of state losing control

80. Scholars distinguish between the two periods to understand

A. The evolution of political systems  
B. The different stages that states go through when transition is happening  
C. The moments of trauma that changes bring about  
D. The dislocations sovereign states face when transitions come about

81. There is an apparent broad consensus among political scientists that democratic transitions start because of

A. Cracks in authoritarian coalitions  
B. Consensus in authoritarian coalitions  
C. Confidence in authoritarian coalitions  
D. Over-confidence in authoritarian coalitions
82. A “series of bargains” between states and opposition elites helps explain

A. The absence of transition
B. The gap in transition
C. The advent of transition
D. The advance of transition

83. Transition from authoritarianism might not necessarily lead to

A. Move towards consolidated social system
B. Consolidation of coercive power of the state
C. Move towards consolidated democracy
D. Consolidation of grass root power

84. This passage is about

A. Unstable political systems
B. Regime change
C. Inter-institutional problems
D. Breakdown of a state

Passage IV

The Minnowbrook Conference made a significant contribution in transforming the complexion of public administration by advocating client orientation, social sensitivity and normative concerns. The normative approach called for government's role to reduce economic and social disparities, and enhance life opportunities for everyone in society. The conference attempted to introduce new ideas in the administration by making it comprehend real life situations rather than being dehumanizing in nature. New Public Administration aimed at making the administration sensitive to political values. New Public Administration is, according to Frederickson (1971), what could be best described as 'second generation behaviouralism.' Unlike its predecessor progenitor, the second generation behaviouralist emphasizes the 'public' part of public administration. He is less 'generic' and more 'public' than his forebear, less 'descriptive' and more 'prescriptive,' less 'institution- oriented' and more 'client-impact oriented,' less 'neutral,' more 'normative' and is hoped to be no less scientific. Public administration, as we have just discussed, has been experiencing transformation since the 1960s in tune with socio-economic and environmental pressures. The circumstances in the beginning of the 1970s globally pushed or gave impetus-especially in the Western world- to embark upon some radical administrative reforms. The relevance of the classical public administration model with emphasis on hierarchy, structure, rationality, centralization, etc. was being questioned. Rational behavior, the hallmark of public administration, was being contemplated, as not relevant and feasible in the contemporary scenario. The post-Weberian approach to the discipline of public administration gives significance to public policymaking with emphasis on flexible organization structure, decentralization, goal achievement, efficiency and effectiveness. Public administration, which all along has given prominence to processes, procedures and public service orientation, seems to be giving way to efficiency, economy and effectiveness in the achievement of results. Managerial improvements aimed at ushering in business management techniques and market

85. Expand NPM.
   A. New Public Management
   B. Neo Public Management
   C. National Public Management
   D. National Private Management

86. The shift of public administration from service-orientation to ________ for better results.
   1. Efficiency
   2. Economy
   3. Effectiveness
   4. Processes
   A. 1, 2, 3
   B. 1, 2, 4
   C. 2, 3, 4
   D. 1, 3, 4

87. According to the passage, which of the following approaches emphasizes on goal achievement, decentralization and effectiveness?
   A. Weberian approach
   B. Public Policy approach
   C. Post-Weberian approach
   D. Minnowbrook approach

88. The New Public Administration stands for
   A. Stricter rules
   B. Disciplinary action on employees
   C. Sensitivity to political values
   D. Sensitising political class on ethics

89. Which of the following is termed as 'second generation behaviouralism'?
   A. New Public Administration
   B. NPM
   C. Public Administration
   D. Neo-liberal Management
90. Which of the following statements are true:

a. The circumstances in the beginning of the 1970s globally pushed or gave impetus—especially in the Western world—to embark upon some radical administrative reforms.
b. The relevance of the classical public administration model with emphasis on hierarchy, structure, rationality, centralization, etc. was being questioned.
c. Irrational behavior, the hallmark of public administration, was being contemplated, as not relevant and feasible in the contemporary scenario.

A. All the above statements are true
B. All the above statements are false
C. a, b are true
D. b, c are true

91. Which of the following was emphasized by the second generation behaviouralist?

A. Public part of public administration
B. Administration
C. More descriptive
D. More institution-oriented

92. By normative approach, the author meant

A. Enhanced role to government
B. Effective role for business
C. Shrinking role to the state
D. Withdrawal of the state

Passage V

The question I ask here is related but different. I want to enter a debate currently taking place in several democracies in the world. Liberals, it is said, are in decline because they intensely dislike nationalism, which is on the rise. It is also said that liberals defend all kind of rights—civil rights, women’s rights, minority rights—but they rarely, if ever, speak of the rights of national communities. With great pride, Hungary’s prime minister, Viktor Orban, has gone to the extent of calling himself an “illiberal democrat”, which for him means a democrat “with national foundations”. And in India, the term “anti-national” has also been used to describe liberals.

Are liberals really opposed to nationalism? To answer this question, two issues need to be dissected: What is liberalism? And how does one define nationalism? In a well-known text, The Making of Modern Liberalism, Allan Ryan, a political theorist, has argued that “we should be seeking to understand liberalisms rather than liberalism”. Liberals differ on the role of government; on which rights should be defended; on whether, instead of rights, the concept of utility, so dear to economic modes of thinking and central also to the 19th century liberalism of John Stuart Mill, can still be used in liberal politics.
While the argument about many liberalisms is not wrong, it is also true that it is impossible to imagine modern-day liberalism without at least three rights that should accrue to citizens and constrain governments: Freedom of speech, freedom of religion, and freedom of association. These freedoms, when enshrined in the constitution and laws, become the foundation of “limited government” which, to most liberals, is a defining feature of a liberal political order. For liberal modes of thinking, governments can’t take these rights away. Only in exceptional conditions, mostly triggered by demonstrable, not fake, national security considerations, can restrictions be placed.

Just as liberalism can come in several forms, nationalism, too, is not a unitary concept. In the vast literature on nationalism, a standard distinction is normally drawn between two types of nations and nationalisms: Civic and ethnic. Civic nations allow citizenship and equal rights to all those born inside the territory of a state regardless of ethnicity, religion or race. The US and France are often cited as examples that come closest to the concept of civic nations. Though their historical record is less than perfect, the French and American revolutions that led to the birth of these nations were indeed founded on civic ideals, not ethnicity, religion or race.

Ethnic nationhood is conceptualised differently. It says that an ethnic, racial or religious majority or group can “own” the nation, and minorities either do not exist, or must have a secondary status. Blood is the basis of such nationhood, not civic ideals. The literature cites Germany and Japan as key examples of this variant. In a famous comparison laid out in Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany, Rogers Brubaker showed how post-revolutionary France gave citizenship on the basis of birth within the French territory, whereas for Germany, German ancestry was the basis. Consistent with this historic principle, right up to the 1990s, Germany gave several million Turks, including those born in Germany, the status of “guest workers” only, not citizens.

Of the two, civic nationalism is compatible with liberalism. But ethnic nationalism, by relegating minorities to a secondary status or expressing hostility to minority rights, is inimical to modern liberalism. Liberals are opposed to ethnic nationalism, not nationalism per se.

Let us now examine the implications of this reasoning for India. The first question we need to pose is one of conceptual categorisation. What kind of a nation is India — is it civic or ethnic? If we go by the Constitution, India chose more of a civic than an ethnic model at Independence. In the 1950s, Indians living in East and South Africa and Malaysia were not granted Indian citizenship, even though they had Indian ancestry. Rather, they were encouraged to remain committed to their adopted lands. Equally important, no ethnic or religious groups was given political primacy in the constitutional settlement. All groups and citizens were legally equal.

In Hindu nationalist circles, it is often suggested that this view of Indian nationhood was a Nehruvian imposition. It is forgotten that whatever their differences on other matters, Nehru, Gandhi and Ambedkar were in agreement that all religious communities were equal partners in the Indian nation. It should also be noted that the RSS intensely criticised India’s Constitution, whose writing Ambedkar had led, stating that the Manusmriti, which in ancient India provided one of the earliest rationales of the awful inequalities of the caste system and whose copies Ambedkar had publicly burned in the 1920s, should have been the basis for India’s Constitution.
Liberals are opposed to Hindu nationalism because it is a form of ethnic nationalism; it is not civic nationalism. It privileges India’s Hindu majority in the political order and is hostile to minority religions, especially those that were born outside India, such as Islam and Christianity. All basic texts of Hindu nationalism— from Savarkar to Golwalkar to Deen Dayal Upadhyaya— carry this message. In contrast, no modern-day liberal can deny equality to minorities and support majoritarianism.

Nehru’s biographers have noted that he used to keep two statuettes on his desk: One of Mahatma Gandhi, the other of Abraham Lincoln. The point was clear. Nehru would offer Gandhi’s heart to all those who were members of the Indian nation formed by the Constitution, but he would use Lincoln’s hand against anyone who sought to break up the nation. There would be no concessions made.

Nehru’s tale is an allegory of Indian liberalism. Liberals disapprove of Hindu nationalism, but they support the constitutionally consecrated view of the nation—and would battle against those who seek disintegration. (Source: Ashutosh Varshney, ‘Liberalism and Nationalism’, The Indian Express, New Delhi, 29 March 2018.)

93. Which one of the following is true about liberal rights?

A. They impose limitations on government
B. They are not alienable
C. The state is not prevented from imposing restrictions on rights of citizens in exceptional conditions
D. All the above

94. Why, according to the author, liberals are opposed to Hindu nationalism?

A. Because it gives primacy to minority religious community
B. Because it gives unequal treatment to religious communities
C. Because it extols Savarkar, Golwalkar and Deen Dayal Upadhyaya
D. Because it gives equal treatment to religious minorities

95. What, according to the author, makes India a civic nation?

A. Equal treatment to equals and unequal treatment to unequals
B. Giving primacy to Indian ancestry as the basis of Indian nation
C. Giving equal legal treatment to groups and individuals
D. It encourages Indians living abroad to remain committed to their adopted lands

96. What led the Hungarian prime minister, Viktor Orban, to label himself an “illiberal democrat”?

A. Because of his dislike for nationalism
B. Because he fails to defend all kind of rights
C. Because he takes great pride in being a Hungarian national
D. Because he is anti-national
97. Which of the following is NOT true of liberalism?

A. There are many variants of liberalism
B. Freedom of speech, expression and religious constitute the core of liberalism
C. Liberalism differs on the role of government
D. Liberalism is opposed to nationalism of any kind

98. What, according to author, is common between Nehru, Gandhi and Ambedkar?

A. Their mutual dislike for RSS
B. Their commitment to treat religious communities as equal partners in the Indian nation
C. Their affirmation of Manusmriti as the basis of India’s Constitution
D. None of the above

99. Why is ethnic nationalism not considered to be compatible with liberalism?

A. Ethnic nationalism supports nationalism
B. It gives equal primacy to the rights of minorities and majority groups
C. It is hostile to minority rights
D. It promotes secondary status for majority groups

100. Which of the following makes the French variant of citizenship different from the German citizenship?

A. French citizenship is based on ethnic, racial or religious majority
B. Blood is the primary basis of French citizenship
C. Ancestry is one of the primary bases of French citizenship
D. Birth within the French territory is the basis of French citizenship