



IASBABA'S TLP CONNECT/ TLP PLUS 2020

MAINS TEST - 1

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1. The Mathura school of sculpture shows a striking use of symbolism in the images. Do you agree? Illustrate with the help of suitable examples.

The Mathura school of art flourished on the banks of the river Yamuna during 1st and 3rd century B.C. The sculptures are influenced by all the 3 major contemporary religions i.e., Hinduism, Jainism and Buddhism and showed the striking use of symbolism in the images in following ways:

- The images of saints, Jinas and Buddha in human form were remodelled in lines of earlier yaksha images. The initial image makers did not care for an anatomically correct Buddha image. Their images were a composite of 32 major and 80 minor laksana, or marks.
- Symbols and gestures were used in all the image sculptures signifying the evolution, philosophy and teachings of religions.
- The Hindu gods were represented using their Avayudhas Eg. Shiva is shown through linga and mukhalinga.
- Buddhist sculptures in Mathura, Sonkh and Kankalitila has shown Buddha in a spiritual state with
 - a) Muscular body with shaven head and face shows the delighted mood of buddha with a smiling face - symbolising the inner contentment and peacefulness of buddha's nature.
 - b) Protuberance on the head signifies the wisdom, holiness and the enlightenment of Buddha.
 - c) The right arm raised in Abhaya mudra is a gesture of reassurance.
- Buddha is surrounded by Padmapani holding a lotus and vajrapani holding a thunderbolt symbolising the protection of good and destruction of evil. eg. the standing buddha of Shravasthi, Bodhisattva Maitreya sculpture.
- The Jaina sculptures of the time are also carved in similar ways with images of the various Tirtankaras. eg. Sarvatobhadrika image in Mathura
- The Kushan king dressed in central Asian fashion with high boots and conical cap try to represent him as sun god or surya

Mathura school was developed indigenously and produced beautiful images of Buddha and various other saints. Influenced by Gandhara school, various symbolic features like the halo over the head, asanas etc., were depicted in the later sculptures.

2. The presence of several prominent temples outside India reaffirms the fact that India's cultural spread far exceeds her geographical boundaries. Elucidate.

The temples of Hindus, Buddhists and Jains developed distinctively in different parts of India. Further, the interaction of Mauryas, Cholas, Guptas and other dynasties led to the spread of Indian culture and temple architectural styles in different parts of South Asia, South-East Asia, Central Asia etc.

Temples within India:

- Sun Temple at Konark, Jagannath temple at Puri, Lingaraj temple at Bhubaneswar, Kandariya Mahadeva temple, Lakshman temple at Khajuraho, Brihadeshwara temple at Tanjore, Meenakshi temple at Madurai, Temples of Aihole and Badami etc.
- Buddhist monasteries at Nalanda, Lalitgiri etc.
- Jain temples at Mount Abu, Shravanabelagola etc.

(only for reference, there is no need to mention this in your answer.)

Temples outside India:

- **Indonesia:**
 - Prambanan Temple is one of the largest Shiva temples situated on the island of Java.
 - Borobudur temple built during the reign of Sailendra dynasty.
- **Cambodia:** Khmer rulers built several temples including
 - Angkor Wat temple dedicated to Lord Vishnu, which is the largest temple in the world.
 - Preah Vihear Temple dedicated to mountain gods Sirkharesvara and Bhadresvara.
- **Thailand:** Temples are found in Ayutthiya (Ayodhya) and Bangkok which has more than 400 temples in Indian style.
- **Korea:** two temples are built in Pyongyang city.
- **Pakistan:**
 - Katas Raj Temple, dedicated to Shiva is built in the Kashmiri architectural style.
 - Aditya Sun Temple of Multan even mentioned in chronicles of Huan Tsang.
- **Sri Lanka:** Muneshwaram temple.
- **Vietnam:** pho minh pagoda is built similar to Buddhist monasteries.
- **Afghanistan:** Bamiyan and Begram Buddhist Viharas.

As illustrated above, not only temple architecture flourished in different parts of India, but also the influence of Indian temple architecture style can be seen in almost every country in Asia and several parts of other continents as well. All these have resulted in everlasting spread of Indian culture inside and outside its geographical boundaries.

3. What are Navrasas? How do they feature in India's performing arts? Illustrate.

A Rasas are basic forms and manifestations of Bhava (state of mind) that is used to invoke emotions in the audience. e.g. a sad scene in a movie makes one cry - that is rasa. Navrasas are nine important **facial expressions or moods** which are intended to convey and invoke different emotions defined clearly in **Bharat Muni's Natya Shastra**.

The nine emotions included in Navarasa are

- Shringara - love
- Hasya - laughter
- Karuna - kind-heartedness or compassion
- Raudra - anger
- Veera - courage
- Bhayanaka - terror
- Bibhatsya - disgust
- Adbuta - surprise and
- Shantha - peace or tranquility.

Navrasas featuring in Indian performing arts:

- **Dance** (remember, when you are writing about dances think of classical as well as folk dance): Moods and expressions are emoted through the use of mudras – a combination of hand gestures and body postures. There are 108 fundamental mudras, a combination of which is used to depict a particular emotion.
 - In **Bharatanatyam**, **Kataka Hasta mudra** symbolise 'om' which try to invoke **Shanta rasa- calmness and devotion**.
 - **Kathakali** is remarkable in the representation of the rasas through **movements of eyes and eyebrows**, through which the story is conveyed.
 - **Shringara rasa** is invoked through tribhanga posture of Odissi and **Lasya** emphasis of Mohiniattam.
 - Similarly, the folk-dance forms like Yakshagana, Garba, Kalbelia etc., use navrasas to invoke emotions among audience.
- **Theatre**: The different rasas are presented on stage through stories and emotions are expressed in the eyes, the face and acts.

- Ritual theatre forms like Ankia Nat, Kala, Ramlila etc., depicts the grace, greatness of gods and goddesses and invoke the emotions of Love, compassion, peace through Shringara rasa, Karuna rasa and so on.
 - e.g. Krishna Radha love story - shringara rasa.
- Folk theatre like Powada, Garodas etc., depict valour of rulers and leaders through raudra rasa, veera rasa and so on.
 - e.g.: shivaji's escape from Delhi – valour.
- Theatre forms like Tamasha, Nautanki, Yakshagana etc., has elements of Humour which is invoked through Hasya, Bibhatsya and adbuta rasas. e.g.: Narration of Akbar-Birbal stories or tenali ramakrishna stories.
- **Martial arts:** like Kalaripayattu, Gatka, Silambam show the dedication, concentration, valor, anger through navrasa expressions in the acts of the performer.

Further, the tempo, pitch and rhythm of the music in the background is varied to match the situation and invoke corresponding emotions.

Note: You can include examples from puppetry also.

The Navrasas give all the performing arts a completeness that allows the performer and the rasikas (audience) to experience the full beauty and meaning of the entire act. It helps in conveying the message of the entire act through self-realization among the audience by feeling the emotions of the character.

4. Examine the factors that led to the annexation of Punjab into the East India Company's empire in India.

The state of Punjab was consolidated under Maharaja Ranjit Singh in late 18th century. Through Treaty of Amritsar and Tripartite treaty, he avoided the direct confrontation with British. However, his death in 1839 opened up opportunities for British to meddle into internal politics of Punjab which later led to its annexation in 1849.

Following factors were responsible for annexation of Punjab by the British:

- **Policy of Ring Fencing:** British viewed Punjab along with Afghan states as buffer states against aggression of Russia/France and were always looking for opportunity to take control of the state.
- **Successor of Ranjith Singh:** Kharakh Singh, the only legitimate son of Ranjith Singh was inefficient which led to formation of factions in court.
- **Death of successive kings** within a short period of time led to anarchy and chaos - with plans and counter plans of various groups to capture the throne. This provided the British an opportunity to align with the group of their interest.
- **Weakening of army:** Army, which was the pillar of Ranjith Singh's rule was

far weaker.

- Ranjit Singh's able generals— Mohkam Chand, Dewan Chand, Hari Singh Nalwa, and Ram Dayal—were already dead.
- Discontent was growing among the troops as a result of irregularity of payment
- Appointment of unworthy officers led to indiscipline and corruption
- **Policy of friendship:** permitted the British troops to pass through the territory of Punjab. These marches resulted in commotion (state of confusion) and economic dislocation (Economic shocks) in Punjab.
- **First Anglo-Sikh War (1845-46):** It was started due to action of the Sikh army crossing the River Sutlej. It was seen as an aggressive manoeuvre that provided the English with the excuse to declare war. This made Punjab submissive to the British
- **The Treaties of Lahore and Bhairawal** signed after the first anglo-sikh war had humiliating provisions. Along with this, the inhuman treatment of Rani Jindan who was sent to Benares as a pensioner, added to the resentment of the Sikhs.
- **Nationalism :** The rebellion of Mulraj and later Sher Singh who joined him to fight for an independent Sikh state
- **Policy of annexation:** followed especially by Dalhousie who looking for a reason to annex more territory.

All these finally led to Second Anglo-Sikh War (1848-49) which finally led to complete annexation of Punjab in 1849.

5. The slogan "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity" summed up the goals of the French Revolution. Elucidate.

The three ideals of freedom, equality and brotherhood were the foundation of the 'new France' that the revolutionaries sought, originally intended to unite and inspire revolutionaries.

Liberty:

- The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen of 1789 defined liberty. It consists of being able to do anything that does not harm others. Thus, the exercise of the natural rights of every man or woman has no bounds other than those that guarantee other members of society the enjoyment of these same rights.
- There was no liberty to start new profession or entrepreneurship in pre-revolution France without the permission of state. Even one could not increase the production on its own.
- As there was no scope for innovation, there was no industrial revolution and stagnation of agricultural which lead to stagnation in economy.

Equality:

- Equality was defined by the 1789 Declaration in terms of judicial equality and merit-based entry to government. The law must be the same for all, whether it protects or punishes. All citizens, being equal in its eyes, shall be equally eligible to all high offices, public positions and employments, according to their ability, and without other distinction than that of their virtues and talents
- In pre-revolution France, there was system lettre de cachet by which a subject was imprisoned without trial and without an opportunity of defense. It was prominent symbol of the abuses. Religious clergy was highly corrupt and ordinary people could not become part of higher clergy. Burden of tax was carried only by commoners. Little over 1% population of nobles and clergy owned 35% of resources and paid no taxes.

Fraternity:

- Fraternity was about moral obligations rather than rights, links rather than statutes, harmony rather than contract, and community rather than individuality.
- During the times of Louis sixteen, economic condition of France worsened, after the start of revolution king tried to flee and join coalition of European nation against revolution which helped Frenchman to resort to fraternity.
- Reign of terror of Robespierre came to an end due to violation of fraternity value in his rule and established peace.

The slogan of 'Liberty, Equality, Fraternity' destroyed the 'ancien regime' in France and French revolution marked as beginning of the end for despotic regimes. It helped to spread ideology of liberalism in Europe and across continents.

6. In the context of interwar period what do you understand by 'isolationism' and 'appeasement'? What effect did they have eventually? Analyse.

Interwar period referred as period between end of 1st world war in Nov, 1918 to Sep, 1939, start of 2nd world war. Isolationism and Appeasement are foreign policy measures adopted by western democratic nations to revive their own economy, integrate resources, respect public opinion and avoid conflict after World War 1.

1. Isolationism:

Isolationism is a category of foreign policies institutionalized by leaders who assert that nation's best interests are best served by keeping the affairs of other countries at a distance. One possible motivation for limiting international involvement is to avoid being drawn into dangerous and otherwise undesirable conflicts.

United States towards the end of 1st world war seemed quite interested in international affairs so, President Woodrow Wilson came up with liberal moral principle of 14 points and he was leading architect of League of Nations. Woodrow Wilson participated in Paris peace conference but French Prime minister Clemenceau and Britain side lined 14 points to follow revengeful and hawkish policies.

Eventually, US never joined League of Nations as US senate voted against League of Nations. It indicated the policy of isolationism by United States. It helped to increase the economic growth of United States as direction of cargo traffic shifted towards Europe as opposed to earlier. Many European nations also followed the protectionist policies to avoid currency crisis was kind of isolationism for brief period.

2. Appeasement:

Appeasement refers to an approach in which the illegitimate demands of a group or nation are accepted and illegitimate actions are neglected just to maintain peace by satisfying their power.

The policy of Appeasement was adopted by western democratic nations, like Britain in particular and France in general between 1922 to 1938 towards Germany and other fascist forces.

Britain followed appeasement policy as it considered the initial actions of Hitler are quite genuine to revive pride after humiliation in Paris peace conference. Germany was big market for British goods and fear of communism's spread in Western Europe maintained appeasement.

It was reflected in Young Plan to reduce the total war indemnity paid by Germany, Manchuria invasion of Japan and attack of Mussolini on Ethiopia. (You can mention other examples also)

Effect of policies of Isolationism and Appeasement:

1. Isolationism could not save US from the coming Great depression due to spill over effect of failed of European economies.
2. Despite of non-participation in League of Nations United States played critical role under Dawes plan and later Young plan in European diplomacy.
3. Policy of Appeasement allowed Hitler to destroy system created by peacemakers of Paris conference and League of Nations.
4. It convinced Hitler that western democratic nations neither have intention nor capacity to stand in front of Germany and He became more emboldened.

It was very clear at the time of Paris Peace conference that peace talk is just armistice for twenty years. Policy of Isolationism and Appeasement was temporary measures to delay the havoc of 2nd World War.

7. Consider the following statement published in a major journal in the US- “Perhaps it was inevitable that the bomb would ultimately be employed to bring Japan to the point of surrender. But there was no military advantage in hurling the bomb upon Japan without warning. The least we might have done was to announce to our foe that we possessed the atomic bomb; that its destructive power was beyond anything known in warfare.” How far do you agree with this assessment? Comment.

A Utility of atomic bomb could be unquestionable in application to force Japan to surrender. It was the best deterrent developed to avoid or stop war without actually using it.

Argument of no military advantage in hurling bomb upon Japan without warning is based on the facts that

- When atomic bomb was used, Japanese navy was already sunk and merchant navy was handicapped by allied submarine attacks as well as Japanese air force was already destroyed.
- It was believed that Japanese surrender was only a matter of time due to the surrender or defeat of its allies and Japan only wanted an honorable pact to end the war.

However,

- Together with the British Empire and China, the United States called for the unconditional surrender of the Japanese armed forces in the Potsdam Declaration on July 26, 1945 couple of days before nuclear attack and warned the alternative being "prompt and utter destruction". This could have been indirect signal to Japanese government. But the Japanese Supreme council for Direction of the War did not pay heed to the warning.
- Even after 1st attack on Hiroshima on 6th august, President Truman called again for Japan's surrender. But it did not happen until the 2nd attack on Nagasaki on 9th august, 1945.
- Along with above reasons, US wanted to avoid role of Soviet Union in occupation of Japan, hence second attack came without much time to think about surrender for Japanese as Soviet Union attacked Japanese territory in Manchuria immediately after Hiroshima attack. It gave diplomatic edge for US.

The argument about informing Japan about possession of the atomic bomb and its destructive power was based on the belief that it could have nudged Japanese leadership to surrender.

- As Japan was scientifically progressive state and industrialized one could have imagined the impact of nuclear destruction or it could have forced government of Japan through pressure of public opinion.
- Japan could have resorted to pragmatism as its allies were already surrendered.

This argument seemed somehow impossible before actual attack due to vow of Japanese leadership and people for fight until death.

Prior information could have led to surrender of Japan based on impact of atomic bomb and humanitarian crisis developed aftermath.

Even after considering all the arguments, US action remain morally indefensible because Japan became ground for testing of newly developed mass destruction weapon. It is evident that in choice of cities which are less affected by earlier bombing and gave chance to US for measurement of destruction by atomic bomb.

8. Is it fair to conclude that the lack of entrepreneurial skills amongst Indians led to India's underdevelopment under the British? Critically analyze.

It is often argued that underdevelopment of India is attributed to the inadequate entrepreneurial skills among Indians especially seen at the end of Mughal rule.

Lack of entrepreneurial skills among Indians:

- Unimaginative private enterprise: Indians were reluctant to enter the industrial field because of the comparative ease and secure scope for profit which existed in trading and money lending.
- They were also influenced by their trading background viz., high price and high profit margin rather than low prices and larger sales.
- Risk taking appetite: was less and they settled for risk free sales than on production.
- Indian Entrepreneurs lacked proper training and education to establish globally competitive industries.
- Scale of production was small. The production of goods and services were for self-sustenance without much emphasis for exports.
- Division of labour was based on caste rather than on merit - undermining the skill development. i.e., they were influenced by nepotism rather than ability in their choice of personnel.
- Market base was limited and entrepreneurs including artisans, Industrialists did little to expand their area of operation. E.g. Fall of Mughals led to unemployment of artisans.
- Technology adoption was small and slow led to incompetence of Indian products vis a vis western Industrial product. E.g. Hand-woven clothes vs clothes woven by spinning wheel.

However, the policies of British were more influential in underdevelopment of India than the lack of entrepreneurial skills among Indians. Indians were entrepreneurial from the early centuries which could be seen in British time as well:

- **Competitiveness:** The muslin of Dacca, the calicos of Bengal, the sarees of Banaras and other cotton fabrics were famous in Europe and other countries. If not for predatory tariff rates of British, they maintained competitiveness against industrially produced products of the west.
- **Skills:** Artistically, Indians possessed high skills. As T.N. Mukherjee remarked: "A piece of muslin 20 yards long and one yard wide could be made to pass through a finger ring and required six months to manufacture" which were very popular in Europe.
- India was also quite well-known for her artistic industries like marble-work, stone-carving, jewelry, brass, copper and bell-metal wares, woodcarving, etc
- **Entrepreneurial Industries:**
 - India was also quite well-known for her artistic industries like marble-work, stone-carving, jewelry, brass, copper and bell-metal wares, woodcarving, etc.
 - The cast-iron pillar near Delhi is a testament to the high level of metallurgy that existed in India.
- Late 19th and early 20th centuries saw investment from Indian industrialists
 - Jamshetji Tata: Tata steel limited
 - V O Chidambaram Pillai: Steam navigation company
 - Dr. Nilratna Sarkar: Bengal Chemical and pharmaceutical works
 - Lala Harikrishnan Lal: Bharat insurance, Lahore electric supply company limited

British policies that led to underdevelopment:

- **Annexation policies:** leading to disappearance of Princely Courts and the patronage thereby enjoyed.
- **Tariff policy:** Duty free import of British products and high tariff for domestically produced products.
- **State support to British enterprise and investors - Systematic destruction of industries.** e.g. a law was passed under which Indian built ships were refused to be considered 'British-registered vessels' which could trade with America and the European continent. So, the decline of the Indian shipping industry was ensured.
- **Capital:** Indian entrepreneurs faced disincentive against British investors who were given favourable tax incentives.
- **Skills:** In the absence of careful nurturing of technical education, the industry lacked sufficient technical manpower.

In the book 'private investment in India', Kumar Bagchi observed that there was no shortage of entrepreneurship among Indians. There was a willingness to commit capital as well as to venture into risky industrial enterprise. However, the policies of

British were systematically designed to undermine Indian entrepreneurship. This led to underdevelopment of India.

9. Indian nationalist movement was a popular movement of various classes, not exclusively controlled by the bourgeoisie. Do you agree? Critically comment.

The Indian National Movement was an organized mass movement concerned with the interests of the people of India and affected by both internal and external factors. It was a result of series of Political, Socio-cultural and Economic factors that led to the rise of nationalism. Though it seems - at the beginning, the movement was confined to bourgeoisie - it was more a popular movement which saw the participation from various classes.

Initial movement controlled by bourgeoisie:

- The early political associations like Bangabasha prakashika sabha, Zamindari association, East India association, India league etc. were formed by upper classes or zamindars with limited voice of masses.
- Moderate phase had narrow social base and masses played limited role.
- The formation of congress itself involved rich and educated Indians as well as English leaders like AO Hume.
- Even the congress gave less emphasis on issues related to religion and traditions which undermined the class of Dalits, women etc. who played little role in early phases of national movement.
- The leaders like Dadabhai Naoroji, Pherozshah Mehta, Bipin Chandra pal etc. were from Rich class who were a part of struggle apart from the regular life of bourgeoisie.
- Most of the issues that were taken up especially in the early phases helped mostly the educated and middle-class Indians. e.g. the protest against lowering the age for ICS examination, education policies etc.,

However, it would be wrong to say Indian national movement was exclusively controlled by the bourgeoisie.

Popular movement of various classes:

- **Inclusion of Rural masses:** especially after the entry of Gandhiji - were instrumental in various struggles like Kheda satyagraha, salt satyagraha and so on.

- **Youth:** They boycotted schools and colleges. Their participation increased during the extremist phase and reached its peak during the quit India movement.
- **Educated Working class:** like the lawyers, teachers, government clerks and so on quit their jobs in support of Indian national struggle.
- **Capitalist class:** including leaders like V O Chidambaram Pillai, JRD Tata etc. helped in Swadeshi movement and Indian industrial development.
- **Women's** participation was seen in late extremist phase and they were instrumental in successes of Civil disobedience movement. This includes Gandhian protesters like Sarojini Naidu as well as revolutionaries like Bina Das, Pritilata Waddedar and others.
- **Revolutionary class:** Individuals like Chandrashekhar Azad, Sachin Sanyal as well as revolutionary groups like Anushilan samiti, Anubhav Bharat used the route of violence to instill fear amongst British officials and tried to overthrow the regime by force.
- **Lower classes struggled** for equal socio – political status e.g. Vaikom satyagraha, avarippuram movement etc.
- **Tribals:** stood against the exploitative policies of British.
- **Socialist class:** Including Bhagat Singh, J.Nehru, Subhash Chandra Bose and others raised their voice against the exploitative policies of British.

It can be concluded that even though the nationalist movement was started by the established bourgeoisie class, it became successful when it became more inclusive and a pan India movement.

10. Mahatma Gandhi offered a civilizational concept of Indian nation. What were the essential features of this ideology? How did it differ from the foundational principles of Western liberal political system? Examine.

Civilization is a subject of continuous development and this development is a state of mind. Sabhyatha as it is called has to be developed and evolved through assimilation of ideal and yet basic way of living. Gandhiji has offered a concept of civilised India beyond just a free Indian nation in his book **Hind swaraj**.

Essential Features:

- Ahimsa (Non Violence): He regarded it as eternal and natural, but also the first and essential fundamental of a civilization. He made statements like
 - “For progress, humanity must pace forward towards non-violence”
 - “Man has made constant development towards ahimsa”
 Even the struggle and protest against the establishment should be a non-violent satyagraha.

- Morality in every action - public or private – It is the very essence of civilization which separates us from barbarism. The concept of Ram Rajya where every human being is respected and every human action is moral.
- Freedom as an important condition to live a meaningful life.
- Swarajya: It is a state where a man is self-controlled than State controlled. Every human being is moved by reason and conscience.
- Cleanliness: in heart as well as the physical surroundings. For Instance, Gandhiji asked Hindus to do penance for the atrocities committed against Dalits.
- Social Service: Concepts of Sarvodaya and Antyodaya. It refers to the empowerment of weaker sections and maintaining equitable distribution of resources. It is the duty of a civilized man, society to end inequality and work for the upliftment of the downtrodden.

Differing from the foundational principles of Western liberal political system

- Regulation in west is done by laws, rules and regulations whereas Gandhiji emphasized on self-regulation.
- Process-based liberty and equality in the west as against Gandhiji who advocated those to be based on morality and conscience.
- Idea of Secularism: Separation of religion from state affairs in the west - which was seen as impossible by Gandhi who said Religion is inherent in the political system.
- Distribution of Power: While the west believed in division of power, Gandhian philosophy advocated complete decentralization- concept of swaraj.
- Gandhiji criticized west for its materialistic interest and advocated spiritual life based on self-sustenance as a civilizational concept.
- West was based on capitalist principle which creates inequality according to Gandhiji who emphasized proactive state role in Sarvodaya.
- West - which supported mechanization, adoption of latest technology etc., was opposed by Gandhiji as it would result in unemployment, impoverishment of poor. (It is to be noted that Mahatma Gandhi was not opposed to all kind of technology. He was only against that technology that resulted in unemployment.)
- Means vs ends: While western ideology even supported utilitarianism (sacrificing individual liberty for the greater good), Gandhiji always viewed means as important as ends. e.g. Gandhiji opposed sedition law, official secrets act even in the name of National security.
- Violence which can be used as a means to establish peace (World wars) as per the western ideology is out rightly rejected by Gandhiji who advocates Ahimsa as universal teleological principle.

Mahatma Gandhi in his idea of civilisation gave an ideal Utopian state. Even though it is argued that all these ideas are not practical enough in current society, this belief is based on the inability of man to behave honestly and morally. Hence if individuals decide to follow the Gandhian path, an ideal civilisation can be achieved.

11. There has always been a debate whether freedom was seized by the Indians or power was transferred voluntarily by the British as an act of positive statesmanship. What are your views on this debate? Substantiate.

British decision to quit was partly based on the non - governability of India in the 1940s is beyond doubt. It is difficult to argue that there was consistent policy of devolution of power, which came to its logical culmination in August 1947 through the granting of independence to India.

Body:

Colonial historiography always believed that Britain will devolve power to Indian subjects but Indians are not politically mature enough for self-government until 1947.

To substantiate their view, they give evidence of 1917 Montague declaration that gradual development of self-governing Institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible governments in India remained objective of British rule in India.

Constitutional reforms after certain interval of time were again part of ultimate aim of self-government to India.

However, it is unlikely that British left India voluntarily in 1947 in pursuance of well-designed policy of decolonization or that freedom was gift to the Indians.

- Constitutional arrangements of 1919 and 1935 were meant to secure British hegemony over the Indian empire through consolidation of control over the central government rather than to make Indians masters of their own affairs.
- Even in 1950s British foreign office and colonial office were contemplating ways and means of protecting economic and strategic interests in Asia and Africa against the recent upsurge of nationalism. They even acknowledged that it is impossible to reverse the constitutional advancement in view of the rising tide of the political resistance.
- During World War two, India was considered as most strategic point for defense of empire and to use Indian resources, strong grip over India was necessary. PM Churchill was against the grant of self-government to India. He even went out to say that he did not become his Majesty's Chief Minister to preside over liquidation of British Empire.
- Signing of Atlantic charter was symbolic under the pressure of American population which acknowledged the right to self-determination for all people of the world. Churchill never wanted Cripps mission to succeed as he resorted to narrow interpretation.
- Pattern of post-war decolonization was profoundly influenced by the course

and impact of the war. Quit India movement and its brutal repression ruptured the relationship between the Raj and the Congress and destroyed whatever goodwill the former might have had among the majority of Indian population.

- The Bengal famine and the wartime food scarcity in other regions further damaged the moral foundations of the Raj.
- Anti-imperialist sentiments, generated by the very struggle against Nazi Germany and enshrined in the United Nations Charter and its strict trusteeship rules, made empire morally indefensible.
- After the war, Britain's debt to India started piling up, so that by 1946 Britain owed India more than £ 1,300 million, almost one-fifth of Britain's GNP. India had now certainly become less manageable as a colony henceforth it could only be kept under control at a heavy cost, both financial and military. Financial situation arose because of the increasing nationalist pressure for more resources and budgetary allocation for the development of India.
- Open trials of INA prisoner led to politically united march against the British rule. Royal Indian navy mutiny raised the threat of imperial defense. Britain realized widespread mutiny in armed forces could lead to anarchy in India.
- Increased communal violence after 1946 speed up the process of transfer of power as Britain wanted to maintain its diplomatic prestige with peaceful transfer of power.

Britain's interest in India could now best be safeguarded by treating it as an independent nation, through informal rather than formal control. Britain realized that continuation of power is not possible without repression and which is against the British public opinion. To save political power in home and to save face in International platform by compulsion Britain grant freedom to India.

12. What rural development really needed post-independence was land reform. Comment. What measures were taken by the government on this front? Were they successful? Critically examine.

Land reforms were necessary to ensure that the fruits of independence could reach the common section of population, as land was basic mean for living then. Political independence was meaningless in the absence of socio-economic independence.

Need of Land reform:

- They were counter measure against the colonial legacy by which millions of Indian peasants were impoverished resulted into concentration of land in few hands. For equitable distribution of land, reforms were necessary.
- Level of industrialization was quite low, Agriculture was the main stake of

Indian economy and to make agricultural activity profitable, changes were required in the agricultural system of India.

- Socialist ideology of independent leaders favoured equitable distribution of means of production. Empowerment of peasantry was the important slogan of national movement; to fulfill the promise made to peasantry land reforms were crucial.
- More than 85% population used to live in rural India in 1950s and agriculture was the centre for direct and indirect economic activity hence for rural development land reforms became necessary.

The process of land reform after independence basically occurred in two broad phases. The first phase started soon after independence and arguably continued till the early 1960s. This phase has also been called the phase of institutional reforms. It focused on the following features:

- Abolition of intermediaries—zamindars, jagirdars, etc.
- Tenancy reforms involving providing security of tenure to the tenants, decrease in rents and conferment of ownership rights to tenants.
- Ceilings on size of landholdings.
- Consolidation of land.
- Cooperativization and community development programmes.

The second phase beginning around the mid or late 1960s saw the gradual ushering in of the so-called Green Revolution and has been seen as the phase of technological reforms.

Success of Land reforms:

- As result of the abolition of intermediaries, about 2 crore tenants are estimated to have come into direct contact with the State making them owners of land. More lands have been brought to government possession for distribution to landless farmers.
- As per tenancy reforms, tenants cannot be evicted without any reason. They can be evicted only in accordance with the laws. Land can be resumed by the landlord only on the ground of personal cultivation. But the land-lord can resume the land only up to a maximum limit. The landlord should leave some area to the tenant for his own cultivation. The tenant in no case should be made landless.
- About 40 lakh tenants have already acquired ownership rights over 37 lakh hectares of land. They have become better-off economically and socially.

However, the success of land reform measures taken by the government at various levels was quite skewed.

- Large holders, articulate and capable, organized pressure in defense of their interests and the small cultivators and the landless were not only

unorganized but in most cases, ignorant of legal and constitutional process; the former were very often successful in getting the land reforms modified or even nullified both at the stage of legislation as well as implementation

- The Land reform laws enacted by various state governments differed quite significantly. In states of Andhra Pradesh, limit of Land ceiling was so high that most of the land owners remained unaffected. The concept of land ceiling was applied to only land under cultivation. The land under the trees was not taken into consideration.
- The big peasants resorted to benami transactions; the land was transferred into the names of various family members, relatives or even servants to escape the imposition of land ceiling.
- Land being the state subject tied the hands of the central government and state government could not show the necessary political commitment to implement land reform initiatives in letter and spirit.

India witnessed the unique phenomenon of wide-ranging land reforms being implemented within a modern democratic structure without any violence or use of authoritarian force. But the lack of thorough implementation became reason behind social crisis of even today in marginalization of farmers and landless communities.

13. The excessive centralisation of power by Indira Gandhi was responsible for the rise of the regional political parties between 1977 and 1984. Do you agree? Critically analyse.

The phenomenon of regional political parties was not new to India before 1977, but the authoritarian policies of Indira Gandhi as Prime Minister and within Congress party as leader fuelled growth. There is large number of reasons behind rise of regional political parties in country like India where huge diversity prevails.

- Regional parties are those which generally and exclusively operate within a limited geographical area or which represent the interests of particular linguistic, religious, ethnic or cultural groups whose population may be concentrated in an area as small as a single assembly constituency or as large as an entire state or a region.
- Removal of state governments of opposition parties, abuse of president's rule, central agencies and the excesses of emergency period, constitutional amendments to increase the power of parliament are some of the policies with tilt of centralization.
- Indian political system has a federal structure with a unitary spirit. The Union enjoys a predominant role in the Indian federalism. As a reaction against the spirit of centralism or Unitarianism evident in the policies of Indira Gandhi several regional parties have come into existence in India. Eg.

Telugu Desam, AIADMK, Asom Gana Parishad and some others.

- In 1977, the Akali Dal and DMK were partners in the Janata government. This was the first time that regional parties shared power at the national level.
- Former PM Indira Gandhi was also said to have been unable to keep contact with an organization which gradually decayed, especially at the local and state levels became reason for formation of regional political parties. Eg. Congress for Democracy, INC(Ur), INC(socialist).

However, Policies of Indira Gandhi were not the only reason behind emergence of regional political parties. Some other factors were –

- **Cultural Pluralism:** Emergence of several regional political parties in India has been a natural development because of the presence of socio-economic, religious and cultural pluralism.
- **Religious factors:** The existence of several religions within India has helped the emergence of several regional parties like the Akali Dal of Punjab is mainly a religious party which stands for the preservation and promotion of Sikh religion and Punjab language.
- The emergence of **regional economic imbalances** in India has also been a factor in the emergence of regional parties. Several regions of the country have registered a relatively high level of economic development while many others continue to lag behind.
- Splits resulting from the emergence of sizeable dissident local groups in several national political parties have also been responsible for the emergence of some regional political parties. Eg. Janata Dal, Janata Dal Secular, Janata Dal (United), AIADMK etc. as regional parties in the Indian Political System can be explained in terms of this factor.

Personality cult politics, caste factors, developing nature of Indian political party system are some of the reasons behind rise of regional parties in India. Anti-Centrism is getting replaced by Centre-State cooperative-bargaining federation. It appears to be a healthy development in Indian politics.

14. Examine the factors behind the rising trend of nationalism in Southwest Asia after World War I. How did rising nationalism affect this region? Explain.

In the opening decade of 20th century spirit of nationalism became visible in Arab world, based on linguistic, cultural and ethnic identity. Arab nationalism was unique in nature as it simultaneously believed in the idea of pan-Arab unity and autonomy to every Arab state within it.

Rising trend of nationalism after World War I:

1. **Suspicion and Betrayal:** All Arab generals, the Sheiks and Sheriffs joined hands with the British on the promise in return to support their independence but Britain backtracked on its promise created sense of disillusion due to Sykes-Picot agreement between Britain and France and Balfour declaration for creation of Jewish homeland.
2. After fragmentation of Ottoman Empire by peace makers after World War I, **rise of protectorate states** with real power residing in protector strengthened nationalism in the southwest region of Asia.
3. World war created awareness amongst the masses of southwest Asia about their right of self government. People started seeing British plans in the region with suspicion.
4. **The European contact and the spread of education:** Christian missionaries, who introduced the western education to spread their religion and exploit the Arabs, led to Arab Nationalism.
5. **Revival of the past glory:** The spread of Arabic classic literature and the knowledge about their past contribution to science and Mathematics aroused the sense of pride among all Arabs and generated the feeling of nationalism among them.
6. **Emergence of Religious Reform movements:** Wahhabi movement received the support of Muhammad Ibn Sa'ud and got spreading speedily throughout the Arabian Peninsula. Abdul Aziz Ibn Saud unified all the territories which he conquered and called it Saudi Arabia. Thus, this led all Arabs to be into one nation means these developments helped to develop Arab nationalism.

Rising nationalism after World War one resulted into the rise of feeling of anti-Zionism, pan- Arabism and decolonization as response to the policies of European powers.

A number of Arab revolts against the European powers took place following the establishment of the British and French mandates. Resentment of British rule culminated in the Iraqi revolt of 1920.

In 1925, the Druze of southern Syria revolted against French rule. The revolt subsequently spread throughout Syria. The revolt was put down by the end of the year, but it is credited with forcing the French to take more steps to ensure Syrian independence.

In 1931, convention of a pan-Islamic conference in Jerusalem organized which highlighted demand of total independence within one single unit, pan-Arabism and opposition to colonization.

The Arab Independence Party was formed by Palestinian and Iraqi activists. Most of the AIP's activities were centred in the Palestinian political field, but the party also worked towards achieving Arab unity and solidarity as a means to strengthen Arab resistance against the British Mandate in Palestine.

In August 1933, the League of Nationalist Action (LNA) was founded in Lebanon by Western-educated professional civil service groups with the aims of creating a

common Arab market and industrial base as well as the abolishment of customs barriers between the Arab countries.

Britain had economic interest the resources of southwest Asia due to new found gold of oil along with the strategic importance of the region for the defense of India. Rise of protectorate state in the region gave impetus to nationalism due to revival of past glory of Arab civilization and realization of European motives in the region.

