#### Q1 (a) What is the meaning of True Freedom' according to Tagor?

Ans:

Rabindranath Tagore, the renowned Indian poet and philosopher, believed in a concept of "true freedom" that went beyond political freedom or independence. He believed that true freedom was a state of being that could be attained by individuals only through the cultivation of their inner selves.

For him, freedom was not merely political emancipation but the mingling of the individual with the universe depicted in his song- my freedom is in this air, in the sky and in this light of universe. The goal of freedom lay in making one perfect.

He significantly remarked that many nations and people were powerful but not free because realisation of freedom was something very different from merely using coercive power. It was the condition and attitude of life in which one might wish to develop his best. The humam being as a part of this great universe could enjoy real freedom only when he could harmonise his relations with the world. It is a bond of unity where power leads to disunity.

For Tagore, freedom of the individual was the basis or the growth of human civilisation and progress. It was the inner urge of a person to be in harmony with the great universe. Freedom was everything creative and spontaneous in human mind and spirit.

Tagore, like the early Indian liberals considered the real problem of India as social and not political. A narrow vision of political liberty would grossly be inadequate in establishing a good society for that would deny individual's moral and spiritual freedom.

## Q1 (b) Write short notes on "the Dalit Movement in Bihar".

Dalit movement is the organizational or institutional efforts made for the liberation and uplifting of the downtrodden masses who were traditionally subjected to invidious discriminations on grounds of untouchability, and categorized as the untouchables, depressed classes or Scheduled Castes. It is also seen as protest and rejection of the old traditional Hindu social order based on untouchability, socioeconomic inequality casteism, unscientific and irrational religious beliefs and customary servitude.

### The dalit movement in Bihar had faint beginning during British era:

- Unlike western and southern India, the dalit movement in Bihar began relatively late.
- From first half of 20th century, dalits in Bihar started to raise their voice through caste associations. But, the Dalits of Bihar remained with Congress with high hopes.
- During this period, Dalit leaders from Bihar such as **Jagjivan Ram** and **Jaglal Chaudhary** had been trying to put **pressure on the Congress leadership** with (what they considered) legitimate and reasonable demands of Dalits.
  - They believed that Congress represented the mainstream political space and that any development of Dalits could be possible only if along with attempts to raise the sense of unity among different Dalit castes, the efforts were made to impress upon the well-intentioned great national leaders of the country.
- Jagjivan Ram:

- In Bihar, Jagjivan Ram who emerged as the most important Congress leader formed Khetmajoor Sabha and All-India Depressed Class League (in 1935). This organisation was dedicated to attaining equality for untouchables.
- In the same year he proposed a resolution in the 1935 session of the Hindu Mahasabha demanding that temples and drinking water wells be opened up to Dalits.
- He was elected to Bihar Legislative Assembly in 1937. After which he organised agricultural laborers at Gopal Ganj in Bihar to fight for their right to move from one place to other for higher wages.
- He tried to provide ideological background to his activities. He revered **Ravidas** as an embodiment of a distinctive Dalit religious identity within Hinduism.
- In the Constituent Assembly he advocated for the rights of Dalits and argued for affirmative action based on caste in elected bodies and government services.

### • Jaglal Chaudhary:

- He was another important dalit leader and politician from Bihar. He was also a reformer who championed the causes of women's rights, emancipation of dalits, education and land reforms in Bihar.
- He was first elected to the Bihar Legislative Assembly in 1937 and became minister incharge of Public Health and Excise under congress ministry. During his tenure, he introduced prohibition in several districts of Bihar
- He was opposed to the caste system and advocated land reforms in Bihar calling for a land ceiling of three acres per family.
- Impact of congress Harizan movement under Gandhiji was also felt in Bihar.
  - o All India Anti-Untouchability League was established in 1932.
  - o Gandhi undertook 'Harijan Yatra' in Bihar in April-May 1934.
  - When a massive earthquake hit Bihar in 1934, Gandhiji linkedthe natural calamity of the earthquake and the social calamity of untouchability. He said that the Bihar earthquake is a divine chastisement for the great sin we have committed and are still committing against those we describe as untouchables.

## The dalit movement in Bihar post-independence:

- In the post-Independence decades, Dalit leaders in the Congress and Janata Party got to share power as representatives of a caste or community.
- Babu Jagjivan Ram was the labor minister in the central government, **Labor Act** was passed according to which **the minimum wages got fixed for laborers**.
  - He founded 'All India Backward Classes Federation', one of the biggest organisations of the downtrodden people. It works for the interest of backward classes.
- Dalit leaders such as Bhola Paswan Shastri and Ram Sundar Das rose from the grass roots to become chief ministers in Bihar. Both Shastri and Das belonged to mainstream national parties.
- The **Naxalite movement**, which attracted a large number of landless peasants, was the **vehicle of Dalit assertion till the 1980s**, but the rise of caste and social justice politics led to its marginalisation.

- o The new middle- and upper-class Dalits wedded the slogan of social justice with reservation and employment. This too weakened the Naxalite and communist mobilisations, which were focussed on the issue of land.
- **Bihar Dalit Development Organization** (Bihar Dalit Vikas Samiti) was founded in Bihar **by Jose Kananaikil in 1982.** 
  - o It worked for village level mobilization of Dalit men and women, solidarity building, the educational and economic empowerment of Dalits, and the elimination of caste discrimination.
- Dalit politicians, who were working in national parties, started to form caste-based parties after the 1980s.
  - Dalit assertions came to be mostly centred around the electoral politics of Dalit-Bahujan political groups and parties.
  - The phase of social justice politics in Bihar gave these leaders the capacity and space to **float their outfits** and, thereby, negotiate better bargains with bigger parties.
  - For instance, Ram Vilas Paswan, who was a leading figure in the anti-Emergency movement and the Janata party, founded his own party — the Lok Janshakti Party — in 2000.
  - As Mahadalit politics found resonance in recent years, leaders like Jitan Ram Manjhi, a member of the most marginalised Musahar caste, split from the Janata Dal (United) to form the Hindustani Awam Morcha.
  - o Similarly, Vikassheel Nishad Party by Mukesh Sahani.
- In Bihar, there is **absence of a Dalit ideological campaign** which was the case in some other parts of India under the inspiring leadership of Ambedkar.
- Further, **Dalit politics in Bihar continue to be dependent on mainstream parties**. It is mainly been a politics of negotiation for a "good deal" from mainstream political parties in terms of seats in a pre-poll alliance, and share in the government. In return, the transfer of caste and community votes was promised.
  - Most of the Dalit leaders of Bihar command support of only their caste and subcaste members. Leaders such as Ram Vilas Paswan, Shyam Rajak and Jitan Ram Manjhi claim that they can transfer votes of their caste.
  - However, previous poll results indicate that these leaders cannot transfer more than 40 per cent of caste votes.
- The **Ambedkarite radical consciousness is weaker** in the Dalit politics of Bihar and **Dalit assertion at the grass roots continues to be weak**.
  - Traditionally in Bihar, dalit social mobilisation arose in a few urban pockets and did not penetrate into rural areas. In rural areas, Dalit organisation was weak because Dalits, substantially dependent on the landed elite, were less likely to turn to political parties on their own.
    - So, historically, Dalits were not fully mobilized; their symbols were missing in electoral mobilisation, and parties did not recruit Dalit party workers.
  - Lately, dalit parties benefited from this absence, and all this changed with their arrival. Dalits came to be mobilised through their symbols and Dalit localities now had presence of political party workers.
- The Bihar government in 2007, set up State Mahadalit Commission to identify the castes within Scheduled Castes who lagged behind in the development process and to study educational and social status and to suggest measures for their upliftment.
  - o The Commission identified 21 out of **22 dalit castes** as Mahadalits. The Dusadhs (Paswans) are the only Dalit caste who were left out of this category.

- Another feature of Dalit politics in Bihar is that **only the numerically stronger groups among the 22 Dalit castes have become influencers in politics**. They alone managed to get representation in government. **Dalits constitute about 16 per cent of the state's population**.
  - Mainly the **Dusadh, Chamar, Dhobi, Mushahar communities** are visible in power politics. **Other Mahadalit castes** are numerically small and yet to find visibility in electoral politics.
    - The Dusadhs account for 5-6 per cent of the total population of the state and make up 37 per cent of the Dalit population.
    - Chamars are around 6-7 per cent of the state population and form 39 per cent of the total Dalit population.
  - o **Other Mahadalit castes (19 castes)** together are around 4-5 per cent of the state population and are 24 per cent of the Dalits.

To conclude, the dalit movement in Bihar have been limited in scope and impact. Caste associated discriminations is still deeply rooted in the socio-economic milieu in Bihar. Moreover, the dalit leaders have also failed to disseminate democratic ideals within their communities and behave like feudal leaders, almost copies of leaders of dominant communities and parties. Their failure in creating emancipatory conditions for marginal communities has led to the fragmentation of Dalit votes, which in turn has weakened Dalit assertion in Bihar.

# Q1 (c) Do you consider the suspension of non-cooperation movement a "national calamity"?

#### Ans:

The movement of Non-cooperation was launched on 4 September, in the year 1920 by the Indian National Congress (INC) under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi with the aim of obtaining Purna Swaraj as the Indian National Congress (INC) withdrew its support for British reforms following the Rowlatt Act of 18 March 1919, and the Jallianwala Bagh massacre of 13 April 1919. In September 1920, in Congress session in Calcutta, the party introduced the Non-Cooperation programme.

# Chauri chaura incident and suspension of Non-cooperation Movement:

- On 5 February 1922, during a Congress and Khilafat procession in Chauri Chaura in Gorakhpur, gathered to protest against police oppression and the sale and high prices of certain articles.
  - The police initially sought to deter them by firing in the air.
  - A section of the crowd attacked them. The police opened fire.
- At this, the entire procession attacked the police and set fire to the building. In all twenty-two policemen were dead.
- On hearing of the incident, Gandhiji decided to withdraw the movement. He also persuaded the Congress Working Committee to ratify his decision.
  - o The Non-cooperation movement was, therefore, withdrawn on 11 February 1922, followed by the Bardoli resolution, which emphasised the need for constructive work before beginning any political agitation.

### Was the suspension a national calamity?

- Gandhiji had promised Swaraj within a year if his programme was adopted.
  - But the year was long over, the movement was withdrawn, and there was no sign of Swaraj or even of any tangible concessions which disappointed and demoralized many.
  - o Revolutionaries had also watched the 'non-violent' mass movement unfold with admiration.
  - o But the **euphoria proved to be short-lived** as Gandhi revoked the movement abruptly in February 1922, when it was at its peak.
  - o Gandhi's action caused great dismay within the Congress and the country at large. It precipitated the violent revolutionary activities.
  - Revolutionary activity re- emerged with the aim of tapping into the strength of mass agitation, but through a technique diametrically opposed to Gandhi's 'ahimsa'.
- It was decided that **an experimental no revenue campaign** would be launched at Bardoli in Gujarat in February 1922.
  - o But this never happened, as before that the Non-cooperation movement was withdrawn.
- Gandhi was criticised by his own Congressmen, particularly the younger elements, for withdrawing the movement when it had reached its peak. But he stood firm in his faith in non-violence and refused to budge.
- Motilal Nehru, C.R. Das, Jawaharlal Nehru, Subhas Bose, and many others could not understand why the whole country had to pay the price for the crazy behavior of some people in a remote village.
  - Many in the country thought that the Mahatma had failed miserably as a leader.
- Many later commentators condemn the decision taken by Gandhiji, and seen in it proof of the **Mahatma's concern for the propertied classes** of Indian society.
  - Their argument is that Gandhiji withdrew it because the action at Chauri Chaura was a symbol and an indication of the growing militancy of the Indian masses, of their growing radicalization, of their willingness to launch an attack on the status quo of property relations.
  - So, in order to protect the interests of landlords and capitalists who would inevitably be at the receiving end of this violence, Gandhiji cried halt to the movement.
  - Argument against:
    - The crowd at Chauri Chaura had not demonstrated any intention of attacking landlords or overturning the structure of property relations.
    - Peasant unrest in most of Avadh and Malabar had died out long before this time, and the **Eka movement** that was on in some of the rural areas of Avadh showed no signs of wanting to abolish the zamindari system; it only wanted zamindars to stop 'illegal' cesses and arbitrary rent enhancements.
    - The no-tax movement in Guntur was within the framework of the Non-Cooperation Movement; it was directed against the government and remained totally peaceful. Moreover, it was already on the decline before February 1922.

### • Justification of suspension of NCM:

 For Gandhi, event in Chauri Chaura confirmed the absence of an environment of non-violence, as the stench of the Bombay riot greeting the Prince of Wales in September 1921 was still fresh in his nostrils.

- Gandhian movement was meant to dislodge the British without disturbing social harmony, so local Congress leaders never did approve deviations towards violence or looting.
  - But they had little control over the events. Gandhi was sympathetic to the masses but he did not like their indiscipline. He condemned this mass exuberance as "Mobocracy".
  - In north Bihar, where the lower caste poor peasants were the most militant, messianic expectations led to a series of <u>market looting</u> incidents.
  - In Awadh, the peasants were uncontrolled. They interpreted Gandhi in their own varied ways and tried to combine the nationalist movement with their own struggle against taluqdari oppression.
    - Attacks on taluqdari property increased in the winter of 1921-22 and the Congress found it too difficult to control.
    - Gandhi visited UP and criticised the peasants for turning violent, but with no appreciable results.
  - So, after Chauri-Chaura event, Gandhi had little option but to withdraw the movement, as it had definitely by then got out of his control.
- o The argument that violence in a remote village could not be a sufficient cause for the decision is in itself a weak one.
  - Gandhiji had repeatedly warned that he did not even want any non-violent movement in any other part of the country while he was conducting mass civil disobedience in Bardoli.
  - One obvious reason for this was that, in such a situation of mass ferment and activity, the movement might easily take a violent turn, either due to its own volatile nature or because of provocation by the authorities concerned.
  - Also if violence occurred anywhere it could easily be made the excuse by the Government to launch a massive attack on the movement as a whole. It would justify the repression.
- This would upset the whole strategy of non violent civil disobedience which was based on the principle that the forces of repression would always stand exposed since they would be using armed force against peaceful civil resisters.
- o The masses often crossed the limits of Gandhian creed of non-violence.
  - Gandhi himself condemned the unruly mob, but failed to restrain them. And this was the main reason why he hesitated to begin a full-fledged civil disobedience or a no-revenue campaign.
- The chances of Gandhiji being allowed to conduct a mass civil disobedience campaign in Bardoli had receded further after Chauri Chaura.
  - The Government would have had excuse to remove him and other activists from the scene and use force to cow down the people.
  - Mass civil disobedience would be defeated even before it was given a fair trail.
- By taking the onus of withdrawal on himself and on the Working Committee, Gandhiji was protecting the movement from likely repression, and the people from demoralization.
- Though the withdrawal itself led to considerable demoralization, especially of the active political workers, but it is likely that the repression and crushing of the movement (as happened in 1932) would have led to even greater demoralization.

- After all, the Non Cooperation Movement was the first attempt at an all-India mass struggle against the British, and a serious reverse at this elementary stage could have led to a prolonged period of demoralization and passivity.
- o Gandhiji's decision may have been prompted by the fact that in many parts of the country, by the second half of 1921, the **movement had shown clear signs** of being on the ebb.
  - Students had started drifting back to schools and colleges, lawyers and litigants to law courts,
  - The commercial classes showed signs of weariness and worry at the accumulating stocks of foreign cloth, attendance at meetings and rallies had dwindled, both in the urban and rural areas.
  - The mass enthusiasm that was evident all over the country in the first part of 1921 had, perhaps, receded. The cadre and the active political workers were willing to carry on the fight, but a mass movement of such a nature required the active participation of the masses, and not only of the highly motivated among them.
- The mass movements have an inherent tendency to ebb after reaching a certain height, that the capacity of the masses to withstand repression, endure suffering and make sacrifices is not unlimited, that a time comes when breathing space is required to consolidate, recuperate, and gather strength for the next round of struggle>
  - Therefore, withdrawal or a shift to a phase of non-confrontation is an inherent part of a strategy of political action that is based on the masses.
  - Withdrawal is not tantamount to betrayal; it is an inevitable part of the strategy itself.
- o The movement had already gone on for over a year, the Government was in no mood for negotiations, and **Chauri Chaura presented an opportunity to retreat with honour**, before the internal weaknesses of the movement became apparent enough to force a surrender or make the retreat look like a rout.
- Suspension of NCM was also justified by problems due to Khilafat Movement
  - Khilafat Movement had proved to be problem for Gandhi, as the attitudes of the Khilafat leaders increasingly revealed that they had accepted the Gandhian creed of non-violence more as a matter of convenience to take advantage of Gandhi's charismatic appeal, rather than as a matter of faith.
  - By bringing in the ulama and by overtly using a <u>religious symbol</u>, the movement evoked <u>religious emotions</u> among the Muslim masses which was also percolating in NCM.
  - <u>Violent tendencies</u> soon appeared in the Khilafat movement, as the masses lost self-discipline and the leaders failed to control them.
    - The worst-case scenario was the Moplah uprising in Malabar, where the poor Moplah peasants, emboldened by the Khilafat spirit, rose against the Hindu moneylenders and the state.
  - By the end of 1921, with the outbreak of the Moplah uprising in Malabar, followed by other communal riots in various parts of the subcontinent in 1922-23, there was a visible breach in the Hindu-Muslim alliance.

Hence the suspension of Non-cooperative Movement, far from being a national calamity, was only a temporary and strategic retreat. The battle was over, but the war would continue against British which would finally lead to the Indian independence in 1947.

#### Q1 (d) Evaluate the concept of 'Sarvodaya' of Jaiprakash Narayan.

#### Ans:

"Sarvodaya" is a Hindi term that means "the upliftment of all." It was a concept introduced by Jaiprakash Narayan, an Indian independence activist and political leader who played a significant role in India's freedom struggle and later in the country's social and political movements. The concept of Sarvodaya is based on the idea of creating a society that is just and equitable for all, where everyone can live with dignity and in harmony. It aims to create a world where every individual has access to basic necessities such as food, shelter, and education, and where there is no discrimination on the basis of caste, creed, gender, or religion.

According to Jaiprakash Narayan, Sarvodaya can only be achieved through a process of non-violent social and political transformation, which involves active participation and cooperation from all members of society. He believed that the key to Sarvodaya lies in the empowerment of the poor and the marginalized, who are often the most vulnerable and oppressed members of society. Jaiprakash Narayan's vision of Sarvodaya has been influential in shaping India's social and political movements, particularly in the areas of land reform, decentralization of power, and the empowerment of women and other marginalized groups. His emphasis on non-violence, cooperation, and empowerment resonates with the core values of Indian democracy and has inspired many social and political activists in India and around the world.

However, some critics have argued that the concept of Sarvodaya is idealistic and difficult to achieve in practice, given the complex social and economic realities of India. They argue that the implementation of Sarvodaya would require significant changes in the political and economic systems, which may be difficult to achieve without creating new forms of inequality and exclusion. Overall, the concept of Sarvodaya introduced by Jaiprakash Narayan is a visionary and aspirational goal that seeks to create a society that is just and equitable for all. While the implementation of this concept may be challenging, its emphasis on non-violent social and political transformation, empowerment of the marginalized, and promotion of social justice continues to inspire many social and political activists in India and beyond.

### Q1 (e) Shri Krishna Sinha and the Independence movement.

#### Ans:

Shri Krishna Sinha was born at Maur village of Barbigha in present Sheikhpura district of Bihar. He became the first chief minister of Bihar. Along with the Rajendra Prasad and A.N. Sinha, Sinha is regarded among the 'Architects of Modern Bihar'. He was known as **Bihar Kesari** for his lionlike roars when he rose to address the masses. A.N. Sinha in his essay Mere Shri Babu wrote that, "Since 1921, the History of Bihar has been the history of the life of Shri Babu".

Since the student life he had the fire of patriotism due to Bang-Bandh and Swadeshi movement. He was greatly influenced by B. G. Tilak and Aurobindo Ghosh. He also participated in home rule movement.

Since 1920 he came in contact with Gandhi and started to cooperate with his programmes with great devotion. He vowed to work relentlessly to free India from the British rule. He gave up practicing law in 1921 to take part in Gandhi's non-cooperation movement.

He was arrested for the first time in 1922. He was released from jail in 1923. In the same year he became member of the **All India Congress Committee**. In 1927, Sinha became member of the Legislative Council and in 1929 became General Secretary of the Bihar Pradesh Congress Committee (BPCC).

In 1930, he played an important role in the **Namak Satyagrah at Garhpura**. While being arrested he was cruelly beaten in Sultanganj Thana and scalding injuries to his hands and chest. During the civil disobedience movement, he was imprisoned for six months and released after the Gandhi–Irwin Pact. During 2nd round of CDM, he was again arrested and imprisoned for two years.

In 1935, he became member of the Bihar Legislative Assembly. He was also the President of the BPCC in 1936 with A.N. Sinha as his deputy. In fact, Sinha and A.N. Sinha were the life and soul of the Provincial Working Committee and of the Congress organisation in the state for over thirty years. This long period of service is a proof of the great popularity and confidence which he enjoyed in the party and public.

In 1937, he became the Premier of Bihar province when Congress came to power. Under the Government of India Act of 1935, Sinha formed his Cabinet at Patna on 20 July 1937. But he and A.N. Sinha disagreed with the governor on the issue of the release of political prisoners and resigned. The then-governor had to accede to the demands for release of prisoners from Cellular Jail (Kalapani) and Bihar Tenancy Act was reformed in favour of peasants. They then resumed office. But they again resigned in 1939, over the question of involving India in the Second World War without the consent of the Indian people.

Impressed by his courage, in 1940 Gandhi selected him as "the first Satyagrahi" of Bihar during individual civil disobedience movement. He was again jailed for nine months.

When the Quit India movement started in 1942, he was arrested on 10 August. He was released in 1944 from Hazaribagh jail after he became seriously ill.

As the former chief minister of Bihar he attended the Simla Conference and also became the **member of Constituent Assembly of India** which framed the Constitution of India.

Thus, Shri Krishna Sinha played a pivotal role during the freedom struggle in Bihar. He underwent different terms of imprisonment for a total of about eight years in British India. In Post- independence era, his popularity continued and he remained Chief Minister of Bihar until his death in 1961. As a chief minister, he was the first chief minister in the country to abolish the zamindari system.

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Ans:

Mauryans were the earliest empire builders who ruled over a vast geographical area. Strong political base, centralized administrative system and favourable economic as well as other environmental conditions provided surplus production which led not only to urbanization but also paved the way for **renaissance in the field of art and culture**.

After an interregnum of more than a thousand years, since the demise of the Indus Valley Civilization, which had plenary command over stone cutting and sculpting, there was the **revival of sculptural art** during Mauryan period. And there was transition from use of wood to stone.

Mauryan Art basically flourished under the royal patronage. But, side by side, folk art was also well developed during Mauryan period. It would bebetter to study Mauryan Art by dividing it into two parts: (1) **Court Art** and (2)**Folk Art.** 

### **Court Art as found from Bihar:**

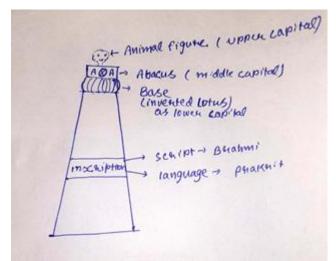
#### • Palace-

- The **80 Pillared Hall** discovered at **Kumhrar** (Patna) is supposed to be the site of Mauryan Palace.
- o The city of Patliputra was wooden fortified.
  - In the words of Megasthenese "..... the city formed a Parallelogram, nine miles by one and half miles surronded by a ditch, 200 yards wide, and protected by a timber palisade with Loop holes for the archers. The palisade was reinforced by 570 towers and had 64 gateways...."

### • Pillars:

- The Mauryan Pillars are of **two types**:
  - Attached to hall: e.g. pillars of 80 pillar hall at Kumhrar.
    - Pillars here are without any capital;
  - Independent or free standing pillars of Ashoka. This in turn is of two types:
    - One with animal capitals and
    - second without any capital.
- Free standing pillars are symbol of political power and authority. And the
   Objective was to disseminate the Buddhist ideology and court orders in the
   entire Mauryan empire.
- o Distribution:
  - Pillars found in Bihar at 4 places:
    - Kolhua (**Vaishalli**)- with lion capital but without any inscription.
      - This is the largest pillar of all Mauryan pillars.
    - Lauriya Areraj- Pillar is without any animal capital but with inscription. It is one of the first six pillar edict of Ashoka in early Brahmi character,
    - Lauriya Nandangarh-with Lion Capital
    - Rampurva- Here, two pillars with lion capital and Bull Capital have been found.

#### Features:



- Usually made of Buffgray coloured sandstone from Chunar region (near Banaras). Some are also made up of Spotted red and white sandstone from Mathura region.
- Language: While most Ashoka pillar edicts were in Pali and Prakrit language, few were written in Greek or Aramaic language also.
- Mauryan pillars mainly comprise of four parts:
  - **Shaft:** A long shaft formed the base and was made up of a single piece of stone or monolith.
  - Lower capital: On top of shaft lay the inverted lotus-shaped or inverted bell-shaped.
  - Middle capital (Abacus):
    - a circular or rectangular or circular base.
    - It has engravings on sides. These engravings are animal figures or floral designs.
    - Spoked wheels are engraved in Sarnath and Sanchi pillar.

### Capital Figure:

- All the capital figures (usually animals like a bull, lion, elephant, etc) are vigorous and carved standing on a square or circular abacus.
- Single Bull: at Rampurva.
- Single Lion at Koldihwa
- Single elephant: Sankissa.
- Technique: Polished by **Agate burnishing technology**.
- No base.
- Circular in shape.
- Upper side in narrowed i.e. Tapers above.
- Made of one piece of Stone. i.e. Monolithic.
- No ornamentation i.e. plain.
- Sarnath Pillar was constructed to mark the Buddha turning the wheel of law.

#### o Similarities with Persian (Achamenian) Pillars

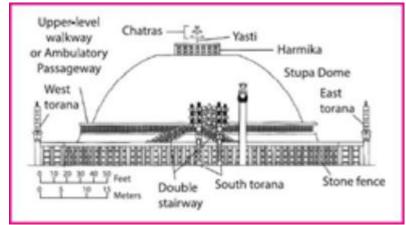
**Polished Stones and Motifs:** Both Maurya and Achaemenian pillars, used polished stones and have certain common sculpture motifs such as the lotus.

- Proclamations: Maurya's idea of inscribing proclamations (related to Buddhist teachings and court orders) on pillars has its origin in Persian pillars.
- **Third Person:** Inscriptions of both empires begin in the third person and then move to the first person.
- Both made of stone.
- Both has animal figures as capital.
- "80 pillar hall" at Kumhrar has mane similarities with "Hall of 100 pillars" built by Drius in his capital Petropolish.
- Scholars like D.B. Spooner and Ananda K. Coomaraswamy support the view that Mauryan pillars were prototype of Achaemeniam Columns:
  - Before 300 BC, such stone tradition was absent in India. They have attributed the sudden emergence of such tradition to Achaemenian influence.
  - Iran and India had cultural contacts. Darius had conquered north-western part of India which established closer relation.
- Some Ashokan Pillars employing Kharosthi script and Aramic language further strengthen such views.

#### Dissimilarities with Achaemanian Pillars:

- Another historian Niharranjan Ray questioned the above views about Achaemanian influence.
- The Capital Figure: It was absent in Mauryan pillars of the Kumhrar hall whereas pillars at Persepolis have the elaborate capital figures.
  - Capitals of Achaemenian pillar have two animals seating back to back. While That of Ashokan pillars have 4 animals or 1 animal.
  - Unicorn and inverted cup as capital in Achaemenian pillars but not in Mauryan pillar. Similarly. Elephant in Mauryan pillar but not in Achaemenian pillar.
  - No abacus in Achaemenian pillars.
- The Shape and Ornamentation: The shape of Mauryan lotus is different from the Persian pillar.
- Pillar Surface: Most of the Persian pillars have a fluted/ ridged surface while the Mauryan pillars have a smooth surface.
- Architectural Scheme: The Achaemenid pillars were generally part of some larger architectural scheme, and bit complex and complicated, while the Ashokan pillars were simple and independent freestanding monuments.
- **Shaft**: Unlike Mauryan shafts which are built of monolith (single piece of stone), Persian/Achaemenian shafts were built of separate segments of stones (aggregated one above the other).
- Achaemenian pillars has base (inverted lotus shaped) but Ashokan pillar doesn't have.
- Achaemenian pillars represents victory in military terms. While Ashokan pillars represents victory in terms of Dhammavijaya.
- Also the sudden emergence of this kind of stone tradition is explained in the light of growth of empire and imperial taste.

#### • Stupas:



- Stupa is a burial mounds covered with a structure in hemispherical shape.
   These are solid dome generally made up of bricks or stone.
- After the depart (Maha Parinirvan) of Lord Buddha, his physical remains were divided into eight parts and stupas were built over it. Pre Mauryan Stupas were built on metal; of the eight stupas, remains of on Piparwaha stupa is found.
- However, stupa were really built during Ashokas reign. It is said that he got built over 84000 stupas.
- o **Architecture:** Stupas consist of a cylindrical drum with a circular **anda** and a **harmika** and a **chhatra** on the top.
  - Anda: Hemispherical mound symbolic of the mound of dirt used to cover Buddha's remains (in many stupas actual relics were used).
  - **Harmika:** Square railing on top of the mound.
  - **Chhatra:** Central pillar supporting a triple umbrella form.
  - Vedika: Railing all round. it was build of stone and was sparkingly polished.
  - Torana: entry gateways at four sides.

#### Material Used:

0

- The core of the stupa was made of unburnt brick while the outer surface was made by using burnt bricks, which were then covered with a thick layer of plaster and medhi and the toran were decorated with wooden sculptures.
- Whole structure itself was a place of worship.
- Vedika and Torana has beautiful engravings in Stambha and Ushanisha related to folk symbols and Buddhist symbols.

### **Examples:**

- Stupa at Vaishali
- Dharmarajjika stupa at Sarnath by Ashoka.

#### Cave Architecture:

- Cave architecture started during Maurya by cutting rocks of hills.
- Though excavated in hard granite rocks. Interior walls are **polished like glass**.
- o During the Mauryan period, caves were generally used as **viharas**, i.e. living quarters, by the Jain and Buddhist monks.
- These caves were built by **Ashoka** and his grandson **Dasarath** for residing **Ajivakas**.
- o Examples:

- In Gaya, three caves on Nagarjuni hills and four caves on Barbara hills can be seen. Sudama cave, Karna Chaupra cave, Lomesh Rishi cave (most famous).
- The gateways of Lomash rishi cave at Barabar hills has ornamented arched entrance.
- Shape of Cave: two chamber-> one circular and other rectangular.

### • Sculpture:

- Mauryan Sculpture includes both court and folk art. The sculptures are made of stone, metal and clay.
- Court sculpture:
  - Stone sculptures are found in three forms by cutting stone, engraved or independently made on monolithic pillar and independently made sculptures.
- Elephant made by cutting **Dhauli stone of Orrisa** shows the excellence of stone sculpture. The Elephant appears quite natural and **ready to come out of stone**
- o Likewise, on **Kalsi** (Dehradun) **stone**, an image of elephant is found engraved.
- Both the images of elephant present the perfect example of the excellence achieved in the field of stone sculptures.
- Sculpture built upon the monolithic Pillar has already been discussed.
- Metal sculptures has been mentioned by Kautilya.
- Folk Sculpture:
  - Independently made sculptures are found mostly in folk art.
  - Clay made sculpture are found largely in folk art.

### **Folk Art:**

- Folk Art was developed by independent artisans without any royal patronage.
- Examples:
  - Yaksh idol found at Parkham village of Mathura district. Also called, Manibhadra
  - o **Didarganj** (Patna) **Yakshini Idol**, which is exhibited at Patna Museum. It is made of **sandstone** and is **polished**.
- A laughing boy at Bulandibag.
  - Two naked images of jaina saint found from Lohanipur (Patna)
- **Tri-mouth Yaksh idol** found from Rajghat (Varanasi).
- Above images are made of **gray sandstone** which are still sparkling with Mauryan polish. Their bodies are decorated with clothes and ornaments.
- Pottery of the Mauryan period is generally referred to as Northern Black Polished Ware (NBPW).
  - Mauryan pottery was characterized by black paint and highly lustrous finish and was generally used as luxury items.
  - o Kosambi and Patliputra were the centers of NBPW pottery.

# Impact on Bihar:

- The state's name Bihar has its root from the word Vihara i.e. residence of Buddhist monks.
- The Maurayn arts and inscriptions on them gives information about the idea of kingship during this period had its impact on idea of kingships on the coming monarchs in history of Bihar. Bihar continues to be a welfare state as it was during Mauryan period.

- The sites of Mauryan art forms continues to be important tourist destination. Places like Bodhgaya, Vaishali, Raigiri etc. has become part of the Buddhist circuit.
- The Mauryan arts reflects of amalgamation of diverse culture (e.g. sculpture of Yaksha and Yakshi), such diversity is still celebrated in Bihar.
- Impact is also present at important public officers like Rashtrapati Bhavan and other government offices.

The impact is not visible on Bihar only, even the national emblem of India is an adaptation of the Lion Capital of Asoka at Sarnath. The impact is also visible on the new parliament building recently constructed.

#### Q Examine the main features of Foreign Policy of Jawaharlal Nehru.

#### Ans:

Nehru is called the architect of India's foreign policy. Evolution of his foreign policy started even before Independence when he headed the **foreign department** of Indian National Congress formed in 1928. It was mainly due to Nehru's efforts that since the mid-twenties the Congress party began to take interest in international affairs. He kept a watchful eyes and actively participated in the international events. e.g. Participated in international congress against imperialism and colonial oppression, Brussels (1927), supported liberation movements worldwide, appreciation for soviet experiments etc. The experiences he got during this period shaped his world views.

After independence, he retained the foreign ministry with himself and shaped by foreign policy for India and build a basic foundation of over which the foreign policy was to be built upon after him. His Policy was necessarily conditioned by India's needs, derives also from a long history and thus fits into the framework of India's thought and tradition.

### The main features of his foreign policy:

- Followed principle of **non-alignment** i.e. not aligning to any other the groups during cold war.
  - It was a vision of independence, i.e., to act in independent manner, to pursue independent policies and to maintain independent status. Thus it represented national interests.
  - o It was not isolation and nor neutrality rather, it was an active response to prevailing international relations and affairs.
  - o It also represented a new alternative in international relation, i.e., that of international peace and international co-operation.
  - o It was more pragmatic approach rather than an ideological approach. A/c to Nehru, Non-alignment represented shared interest of newly emerged nations.
  - This vision was shaped by long-term colonial domination and cold war situation.
  - He was among the pioneer of the non-alignment movement (NAM). The NAM took a concrete shape with the holding of the first conference in 1961 in Belgrade.
- **Panchsheel** for peaceful co-existence.

- The policy of Non-alignment was based on the five principles of Panchsheela, enumerating international conduct. These were first envisaged and formulated in 1954.
- These principles were:
  - Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty.
  - Non-aggression
  - Non interference in each other's military affairs
  - Equality and mutual benefit
  - Peaceful coexistence
- By April 1955, Burma, China, Laos, Nepal, Democratic Republic of Vietnam,
   Yugoslavia and Cambodia had accepted the Panch Shila.
- Raising voice against imperialism and colonialism.
  - o Many conferences were organised to voice for liberation of nations:
    - Asian relations Conference 1947, New Delhi and Asian National Conference 1949, New Delhi.
    - Asian National Conference- 1954 Colombo.
    - Afro-Asian Conference- Bandung-Indonesia 1955.
    - 1st Summit of NAM at Belgrade in 1961.
  - Similarly, India supported the issue of independence movements in South East Asia and all over the world.
  - He also criticized the Soviet invasion of Hungary in 1956 and demanded it's withdrawal.
  - Voiced against Korean war.
- Pursued a policy of friendship with every country, whether of the American bloc (capitalist, system) or of the Soviet bloc (communist system).
  - o Its declared policy is not have preference for the one against the other.
  - India has adopted a democratic system of government. This, however, has not drawn India closer to those countries of the west, who have a similar system nor has this distanced it from the communist countries.
- India supported struggle for human rights and voiced against the policy of antiapartheid and anti-racism.
  - o Gandhi had fought against apartheid in South Africa, during the turn of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century.
  - o India had raised this issue for the first time in the United Nations in 1946.
- Recognized the useful role of the international organizations like UNO and Commonwealth of nations as he always believed in peaceful alliances and solution of international affairs based on discussions.
  - Committment to UN:
    - volunteering peace keeping force and subscription to UN principles. e.g. during Korean war.
    - Kashmir issue taken to UN.
  - India decided to stay in the commonwealth.
    - Under the London Declaration (1948), India agreed that, when it became a republic in January 1950, it would join the Commonwealth of Nations.
    - This decision was also in consonance with Gandhi's insistence that the quarrel of Indians was with English rule and not Englishmen and that "enmity against Englishmen or Europeans must be wholly forgotten".
- Relation with super-powers:

- He tried to maintained friendly relation with both USA and USSR but without aligning with them ideologically.
- o India benefited by getting help from both side. e.g.
  - U.S. funded in community development program, provided food support.
  - USSR also provided food aid to India, supported on Kashmir issue, supported construction of heavy industries e.g. in Bhilai and Bokaro
- **Relations with neighbours:** He always strived to have friendly relations with the neighbours.
  - o With **Pakistan**, the relation was always strained.
    - Major factor behind the strained relation was: borders, distribution of river waters, the questions of kashmir etc.
    - In 1960 Indus water treaty was signed with Pakistan with good effort of the world bank. It is the most successful water treaty in the world.
    - Pakistan decision to join the military alliance also contributed to the strained relation.
  - o India signed **the treaty of friendship** with both **Nepal** and **Bhutan**. Ans also assisted in their development.
  - With Sri-Lanka the only irritant in the relation was the problem of people of Indian origin in sri-Lanka. Sood after independence Sri-Lanka disowned the people of Indian origin as a result of which large number of them rendered stateless. The India government permitted those Indian citizens to come to India if they want. Those who came India was given Indian citizenship.
  - o The relation with **Myanmar** was also peaceful and issues related to border and Indian settlers were solved with discussion.
  - o With China:
    - India always showed keenness to develop a friendly relation despite it's military action in Tibet.
      - India supported the case of China's entry into the United Nations
      - In 1954, India concluded a treaty with China with regard to Tibet and recognised Tibet as region of China.
      - Both also showed determination to conduct their relation on the basis of Panch-Sheel.
      - China also supported India on the issue of Goa.
      - Food gains was also supplied by China to India.
    - But Later, the hostalities broke out due to border issues and war followed in 1962.

### • Nehru as international Mediator:

- During Korean war he mediated between both players. India also played helpful role in solving the problem of the repatriation of Koran Prisoners of war.
- Again in 1954, Indian emissary played a role of mediator between Indonesia and France.

### • Policy on Palestine and Israel:

- India did not subscribe to the Partitioning of Palestine plan of 1947 and voted against Israel's admission in the United Nations in 1949. India also did not recognize Israel as a nation till 1950.
- Nehru and Gandhi, both were pro-Palestine. They opposed the creation of Israel as he was against the creation of countries based on religion.

#### Limitations of his foreign policy:

- Defeat in Sino-India war-1962 led to criticism of his earlier policies like supporting China for UNSC.
- Kashmir issue was also not lingered on. Many criticized his decision to take the matter to united nations.
- Overall relation with Pakistan didn't improve.
- Following the non-alignment principle sometimes gone unfavorably for both side. e.g. During Korean war.

Overall Nehru's Foreign policy was based on **enlightened self-Interest**. And despite some limitations he could formulated a foreign policy which helped India to maintain its independence and to be treated respectfully by alomost all the nations.

# Q. Evaluate the contribution of Birsa Munda in the tribal movement in Bihar.

#### Ans:

- Birsa Munda, born in **1875** to a poor family of the Munda tribe, referred to often by Jharkhand's tribal residents as "**Birsa Bhagwan**," led what came to be known as "Ulgulan" (revolt) or the Munda rebellion against the British colonial government-imposed feudal state.
- In 1893-94, he had participated in a movement to prevent village wastelands being taken over by the Forest Department.
- His initial popularity was based on **medicinal and healing powers**, by which Birsa claimed to make his followers invulnerable.
  - o In 1894 **Birsa declared himself a god,** and began to awaken the masses and arouse them against the landlord-British combine.
  - o **Combining religion and politics** he went from village to village giving discourses and building a politico-military organisation.
  - o He declared an end to Victorian rule and the establishment of Munda Rule.
  - He organised the people to stop paying debts/interest to moneylenders and taxes to the British.
  - He **broke all links with the missionaries** and took the path of "Ulgulan" (revolt).
- The British retaliated and brought in the armed police. One night, while in his sleep, Birsa was arrested. He spent two years in jail.
- When he **left jail in November 1897**, he once again began organising the tribals.
  - o He now went underground.
  - He sowed the seeds of revolt against the landlords and British.
  - He raised the self-confidence of the tribals, who increased their attacks on the landlords.
  - He formed two military units:
    - one for military training and armed struggle,
    - the other for propaganda.
- Rumours spread about his occult powers, ability to heal diseases and perform miracles. In tribal imagination, he **appeared as a messiah** who could turn British bullets into water.

- He took tribals on a pilgrimage to Munda holy places and on the way **held large public meetings**, talking about a **golden past** or *satjug* that was gone and the dark *kaljug* that had befallen, when the Munda land or *disum* was ruled by Queen Mandodari, the wife of the demon King Ravana-probably a metaphor for the Raj under Queen Victoria.
- What came out in these meetings was the tribal peasants' antipathy towards
  the foreigners, the dikus— the landlords and the moneylenders and their
  patrons, the sahibs (Europeans)— both officials and Christian missionaries.
- The grounds were thus prepared for a massive anticolonial tribal uprising that started during the Christmas of 1899.
- He declared December 24, 1899, as the day for the launching of the armed struggle.
  - o On Christmas eve the attacks began.
  - o It targeted churches, temples, policemen and other symbols of the new regime.
  - o In the first phase police stations were attacked at Khunti, Jamar, Basia, Ranchi, etc.
  - Eight policemen were killed, while 32 fled; 89 houses of landlords were burnt down; churches and British property were reduced to ashes.
  - The flames of the struggle spread to 550 sq. miles in the Chota Nagpur region.
  - o The struggle was so intense that on the fourth day itself, Ranchi's deputy commissioner called in the Army.
- Not only were attacks launched on the **moneylender-landlord-mahajan-contractor combine**, but directly **against the British**.
- Using poisoned arrows many police and Britishers were killed; many traders' houses were burnt; the flames of armed struggle spread far and wide. But, the British army entered with their guns, brutally massacring the tribals.
- Finally, on February 3, 1900 Birsa was caught. Severe cases were put on him, and 482 others. On June 9, 1900, Birsa Munda became a martyr in Ranchi's Central Jail, aged just 25. **British declared he died of cholera.**
- What was important, however, about the Munda ulgulan was their **greater awareness** of the wider political realities of the colonial state.
  - Tribal territoriality notwithstanding, Birsa's ambitions were no longer localised.
  - The aim of his movement was not merely to drive out the dikus, but "to destroy their enemies and put an end to the British Raj" and establishing in its place "a Birsa Raj and a Birsaite religion".
- It was this political awareness and ability to connect to the broad picture that was new in the late nineteenth century tribal movements.

## Result of Munda Ulgulan:

- Government enacted Chotanagpur Tenancy Act 1908.
- Government recognized Khuntkatti rights
- Government banned Beth Begari (forced labour)

Birsa Munda became a legend to the tribals of Chota Nagpur, and a symbol of the anti-feudal, anti-colonial struggle of that time.

### Q. "Champaran Satyagraha was watershed in the freedom struggle." Explain.

Ans:

Champaran district of Bihar attained prominence in the freedom struggle of the country as Gandhiji, in 1917, after his returning from South Africa, chose it for experimenting with his Satyagraha as the weapon of mass movement. Unlike the earlier peasant movements like Indigo farmer strike (1860), Deccan riot (1875) and moplah uprising, which had violent character, the Champaran Satyagraha was very well organised and non-violent. ©crackingcivilservices.com

### Causes behind Champaran Satyagraha:

- The story of Champaran begins in the early nineteenth century when European planters had involved the cultivators in agreements that forced them to cultivate indigo on 3/20th of their holdings (knwon as tinkathia system).
  - Peasant received price for it based on written agreement. But overall this system was highly exploitative and heavily favoured the interest of planters.
  - The indigo price was fixed by planters, which used to be very less. If peasants refused to grow, heavy fine was imposed or the tenancy of tenant farmers ended.
- Towards the end of the nineteenth century, German synthetic dyes forced indigo
  out of the market and the European planters of Champaran, keen to release the
  cultivators from the obligation of cultivating indigo, tried to turn their necessity to
  their advantage by securing enhancements in rent and other illegal dues as a price
  for the release.
- Meagre payment, Begar, infliction if heavy fine for failure to grow indigo etc further resulted in resentment.
- Indigo cultivation also resulted in the decline of fertility of soil due to indigo cultivation.
- During first world war, German dye was in short supply.m Hence, again the demand for indigo increased and again the exploitative system was revived.
- **Resistance had surfaced in 1908** as well, but the exactions of the planters continued till Raj Kumar Shukla, a local man, decided to follow Gandhiji all over the country to persuade him to come to Champaran to investigate the problem.

### Champaran Satyagraha(1917):

- During Lucknow congress (1916), Rajkumar Shukla persuaded Gandhiji to visit Champaran.
- Gandhiji visited (with Rajkumar Shukla) Patna on 10 April, 1917. He reached Muzaffarpur and tried to know the official side of the story from commission of Tirhut division. But, commissioner didn't cooperate and asked him to leave.
  - But, Gandhiji refused and preferred to take the punishment for his defiance of the law.
  - This was unusual, for even Tilak and Annie Besant, when externed from a
    particular province, obeyed the orders even though they organized public
    protests against them.
  - To offer passive resistance or civil disobedience to an unjust order was indeed novel.

- Defying the order Gandhiji visited Champaran (with Rajkumar Shukla, Rajendra Prasad, Braj Kishore Babu, J.B Kripalani etc).
- He visited villages and inquired atrocities by the planters. He was summoned be the Magistrate to appear before him for violating section 144 of Cr.P.C.
- Gandhiji, demonstrating Satyagrahi spirit, appeared and accepted all the accusation and was ready to go to prison.
  - o Thus, it was first novel experiment of civil disobedience in India.
- The Government of India, not willing to make an issue of it, ordered the local Government to retreat and allow Gandhiji to proceed with his enquiry.
  - A victorious Gandhiji embarked on his investigation of the peasants' grievances. He and his colleagues toured the villages and from dawn to dusk recorded the statements of peasants, interrogating them to make sure that they were giving correct information.
- Champaran agrarian committee was appointed by lieutenant governor and Gandhiji was nominated as it's member. It was a committee of Inquiry to go into the whole issue.
- Armed with evidence collected from 8,000 peasants, he had little difficulty in convincing the Commission that the tinkathia system needed to be abolished and that the peasants should be compensated for the illegal enhancement of their dues.
- Committee revealed the exploitation of peasant and **recommended to abolish tinkathia system** and peasants should be compensated for illegal dues extracted.
- As a compromise with planters, Gandhiji agreed that only 25% of money taken should be compensated.
  - Answering critics who asked why he did not ask for a full refund, Gandhiji explained that even this refund had done enough damage to the planters' prestige and position.
  - o Gandhiji's assessment was correct and, within a decade, the planters left the district altogether.
- Thus, Gandhiji peacefully resolved the century long exploitation of peasants.

# Significance / Champaran Satyagraha as a turning point in the history of freedom struggle in India:

- **The Champaran Agricultural Act** was passed in November 1918. It abolished tinkathia system.
- It is considered as the start of Gandhian era in Indian national movement. Gandhi gained nationwide popularity after victory at Champaran.
- Even before this Satyagraha, there were peasants uprisings (1867-68, 1876-78, 1907-08) against but these uprising were crushed by police and army. It was a major victory of of peasants in a totally novel way.
- Champaran Satyagraha was the first popular successful satyagraha movement. The Champaran Satyagraha gave direction to India's youth and freedom struggle, which was tottering between moderates who prescribed Indian participation within the British colonial system, and the extremists from Bengal who advocated the use of violent methods to topple the British colonialists in India.
- Served as **demonstrations of Gandhiji's style** and method of politics to the country at large. i.e. first time India tasted fruit of Gandhian strategy.
- Helped him find his feet among the people of India and study their problems at close quarters.

- He came to possess, as a result of these struggles, a surer understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of the masses, as well as of the viability of his own political style.
- First time **peasants issue raised on national level**. And first time peasants got a national level leader to speak for them.
  - The arrival of Gandhi broke the barrier of fear in the minds of poor peasants, who now dared to defy the authority of the British Raj and the European planters.
  - From now onwards, the peasants issue became inseparable part of the nation issues.
- It **enhanced Gandhian stature**: He earned the respect and commitment of many political workers, especially the younger ones, who were impressed by his identification with the problems of ordinary Indians, and his willingness to take up their cause.
- This movement also demonstrated Gandhian constructive work:
  - Gandhiji also inaugurated welfare work for the rural folk. Looking as pathetic, unhygienic and in-sanitary conditions, Gandhiji started program for village education for permanent solution.
  - Voluntary teachers were brought in from Bombay, Karnataka and Maharashtra.
  - Several schools started at different places e.g. in Bhitharwa and Barharwa village.
  - Kasturba stayed in Champaran for months working, primarily, among women of the village.

#### **Limitations:**

- Only 25% of money taken by the planters were compensated
- This satyagraha was limited to 'an attempt by the rich peasantry to remove those hurdles in the way of the profitable cultivation of food grains and sugar cane which had been placed by the deposition of the English planters'. However, **this could not break the exploitative power of the rulers**.

Despite few limitations, the Champaran Satyagraha proved to be turning point in the history of freedom struggle as well as peasant's struggle. Even after the movement, the local peasant leaders continued to mobilise support by invoking the name of Gandhi, **making this area a strong base for future Gandhian movements**. Champaran thus became a nationalist legend.

#### **SECTION-II**

#### Q. Regional disparity in Bihar Economy.

Ans:

According to Bihar economic survey 2022-23, in spite of this strong growth process in the recent decade, Bihar economy is characterised by considerable regional (inter-district) disparity and benefits of the growth process are yet to reach evenly across its 38 districts.

- According to the Multidimensional Poverty Index, 2021:
  - Kishanganj is the poorest district of Bihar, where 64.75 percent of the population is poor. On the other hand, Araria (64.65 percent), Madhepura (64.35 percent), East Champaran (64.13 percent) and Supaul (64.10 percent) are the poorest districts.
  - Patna is the least poor district of Bihar, where only 29.20 percent of the population is poor. Bhojpur (40.50 percent), Siwan (40.55 percent), Rohtas (40.74 percent) and Munger (40.99 percent) are the least poor districts of Bihar.
- Regional disparities can be judged using some key indicators:
  - The Per Capita Gross District Domestic Product (GDDP) of various districts:
    - In 2020-21, the highest Per Capita GDDP is recorded for Patna (Rs. 1.15 lakh), whereas Sheohar has the lowest Per Capita GDDP (Rs. 0.19 lakh).
    - It may be noted that the highest Per Capita GDDP (Patna) is nearly 6 times the lowest Per Capita GDDP (Sheohar).
    - The three most prosperous districts in Bihar are Patna (Rs. 1.15 lakh), Begusarai (Rs. 0.45 lakh) and Munger (0.43 lakh) and three least developed districts are Sitamarhi (0.21 lakh), Araria (0.20 lakh) and Sheohar (0.19 lakh).
  - Consumption of Petroleum Products (Petrol, Diesel and LPG).:
    - The three most prosperous districts in terms of consumption of petrol (per persons) are Patna, Muzaffarpur and Purnea; at the other end, the three least developed districts are Banka, Lakhisarai and Sheohar.
  - Per Capita Small Savings as an indicator of economic disparity:
    - In the Indian financial system, the Post Offices are allowed to accept financial deposits from the people as small savings. As a proxy for income, one can also use Per Capita Small Savings as an indicator of economic disparity.
    - Based on this indicator the three most prosperous and least developed districts — Patna, Saran and Bhojpur (most prosperous), and Araria, Kishanganj and West Champaran (least developed).
- Northern Bihar is generally considered to be poorer than the rest of Bihar as it is more
  prone to flooding and natural disasters, which can disrupt agriculture and
  infrastructure. Additionally, historical and social factors, such as land distribution,
  caste dynamics, and lack of access to quality education and healthcare, have also
  contributed to the economic disparity within the state.

• Bihar's **economy is less diversified and primarily agrarian**. However, productivity varies across regions. Prevalence of flood and draught in different regions further causes the regional disparity.

Apart from the above indicators, the regional economic disparity is also linked with the disparities in the development of industries, infrastructure, health and education etc. Addressing the regional disparities requires a comprehensive approach involving infrastructure development, education, healthcare, and targeted economic policies. Bihar government is already putting efforts in bridging these economic disparities but still there is a long way to go.

### Q. Trend of the expenditure on social services in Bihar.

#### Ans:

The expenditure by the State government on Social Services is on the sectors that are essential for the overall welfare of the people. The level of development of this sector directly affects the level of human development of the state.

The key sectors covered under the Social Services expenditure are — Education, Sports, Arts and Culture, Health and Family Welfare, Water Supply, Sanitation, Housing and Urban Development.

The total spending by the State government on Social Services has increased from Rs. 50,028 crore in 2017-18 to Rs. 81,268 crore in 2021-22. The percentage increase in the expenditure on Social Services in 2020-21 over the previous year was 15.7 percent and the corresponding figure for 2021-22 is 15.9 percent.

Out of the total expenditure of Rs- 81,268 crore on the Social Services in 2021-22, Rs. 76,115 crore was revenue expenditure, and Rs. 5154 crore was the capital outlay. The share of capital outlay in the total expenditure on Social Services was 6.3 percent. The capital outlay in the Social Services sector has increased from Rs. 4258 crore in 2017-18 to Rs. 5154 crore in 2021-22.

The percentage share of expenditure on salaries in the revenue expenditure has come down from 17.6 percent in 2017-18 to 13.8 percent in 2021-22. The expenditure on salaries under the head 'Health and Family Welfare' was 41.8 percent of the revenue expenditure on it in 2021-22. On the other hand, the salary component in the revenue expenditure for 'Education, Sports, Arts & Culture' and 'Water Supply, Sanitation, Housing and Urban Development' was 15.6 percent and 2.1 percent, respectively in 2021-22. The expenditure on 'Education, Sports, Arts and Culture' increased from Rs. 24,833 crore in 2017-18 to Rs. 35,530 crore in 2021-22.

The share of expenditure on non-salary component has increased from 79.6 percent in 2017-18 to 84.4 percent in 2021-22.

The percentage increase on the expenditure under this head over the previous year was 3.8 percent in 2020-21 and 29.9 percent in 2021-22. The share of capital outlay in the expenditure under this head has also increased from 2.7 percent in 2020-21 to 5.0 percent in 2021-22.

# **Q.** The Supreme Court's verdict on same-sex marriage and its implications for queer community. Ans:

Recently, a 5-judge constitution bench of the Supreme Court (SC) in Supriya Chakraborty vs Union of India case unanimously refused to accord legal recognition to marriages between persons of the same sex.

### The Supreme Court's verdict on same-sex marriage:

- The Supreme Court, in a 3:2 verdict, **denied constitutional validity to same-sex marriages**, as it is a statutory right but not a fundamental right. Therefore, it's a matter for Parliament and state legislatures to address through legislation.
- The court can neither strike down nor read words into the Special Marriage Act (SMA) 1954 to include same-sex members within the ambit of the SMA 1954, only the legislature can do that
  - Marriages in India can be registered under the respective personal laws (e.g., Hindu Marriage Act, 1955, Muslim Personal Law Application Act, 1937) or under the Special Marriage Act, 1954.
  - The Special Marriage Act, 1954 has provisions for civil marriage for people of India and all Indian nationals in foreign countries, irrespective of religion or faith followed by either party.
  - When a person solemnises marriage **under this law**, then the marriage is **not governed by personal laws but by the Special Marriage Act.**
- The relationship of marriage is not a static one: Queer persons have an equal right and freedom to enter into a "union"
- However, there is **no fundamental right to marry** under the Constitution.
- The court favoured the government's proposal of a **committee headed by Cabinet Secretary** to look into entitlements for same-sex couples.

### The implications for queer community:

- In concluding that **there is no fundamental right to marry**, the Court has negated the expectation that it would not allow discrimination against same-sex couples in the marital domain to continue.
- Marriage is indeed a social institution, with its own legal requirements and conditions for what constitutes a valid marriage.
- The right to seek social and legal validation through marriage is a matter of individual choice protected by the Constitution, but the Court still views it as being subject to statutory limitations.
- The majority disfavours the position that queer couples have a right to adopt children, but agrees with the minority that there is no bar on transpersons entering into heterosexual marriages.
- There is no disagreement among the judges about the right of such same-sex couples to cohabit and be free from coercion and threats.
- Given that large sections of India may be opposed to the legalisation of same-sex marriages on religious and cultural grounds, the possibility of Parliament taking the initiative to do so is quite bleak.
- The LGBTQIA+ community may now have to take heart from the Court's direction that the government should form a committee to decide the rights and entitlements of queer couples.

Though the judgement came as a setback for LGBTQIA+ rights, particularly in the context of marriage and adoption, the assurance by the Union Government to constitute a committee under the chairmanship of the Cabinet Secretary gives a ray of hope in the struggle for equality.

# Q. The evolving equation between India and Taliban-ruled Afghanistan. Ans:

Its been more than two years since the Taliban's takeover of Afghanistan. States not having diplomatic engagement with the Taliban stood to lose more from the situation, including India. However, after two years, it seems that the Taliban are here to stay as they have few internal or external threats to their regime.

India has not yet recognised the Taliban set up and has been pitching for the formation of a truly inclusive government in Kabul.

Realising that the Taliban is a long-term reality now countries including **India have been easing their relations** with them.

- Anticipating the future of the Afghan war tilt in favour of the Taliban, Indian officials started meeting Taliban representatives long before August 2021. Not that India was desirous of welcoming them, but it was to prepare the grounds in case the Taliban gained control in Afghanistan.
- India believes its absence will give Islamabad an uncontested space in Kabul. Other
  regional players' presence, such as that of China, Russia, and Iran, also motivates
  India to regain its lost place in Afghanistan, more so as it has regional and global
  ambitions.
- After the August 2021 takeover by the Taliban, appeals made by United Nations and other international organisations provided India with the grounds to send humanitarian aid to Afghanistan. India committed to sending wheat and other essential items. Sending humanitarian assistance was the first practical step in India-Taliban warming up.
- India evacuated its embassy in Kabul in August 2021 and has maintained a "technical team" in the mission to assist its large-scale humanitarian assistance to Afghan people. It also has not allowed Taliban to appoint any diplomatic staff in the Afghan mission in New Delhi.
- After small sympathetic gestures of providing aid, India started to open up diplomatically.
  - o On 2 June 2022, an Indian foreign ministry delegation made its first official trip to Afghanistan, where they discussed diplomatic and trade relations with Afghan Foreign Minister Amir Khan Muttaqi.
  - After this maiden meeting between Indian and Taliban officials, India reopened its embassy in Kabul on 23 June 2022, on the pretext of monitoring and coordinating assistance to Afghanistan.
- Both parties have realised the benefits of engagement against the extreme positions they had taken in the past. For India, the absence from Afghanistan has given Pakistan an open field, and for the Taliban, India is important as a source of aid and legitimacy.
- India was completely cut-off from Afghanistan during the last rule of the Taliban in 1996 and after their recent return to power. India could only see events happening in Afghanistan from the outside. This time it seems to have realised its disadvantageous one-sided position in Afghanistan and decided to have an uninterrupted presence in the country.

- It is not only India that wants to make inroads in Afghanistan, but the Taliban are also welcoming the resumption of contacts with India.
  - Afghan ministers have, in several instances, shown their willingness to work with India. Afghan Defence minister has <u>signalled</u> to send Afghan army personnel to India for training.
  - In a recent statement, the head of the Political Office of the Taliban called for
    positive traditional relations with India as it has been the case for decades but
    we expect her to support our cause for economic stability and recognition.

As per the Indian external minister, India's approach to Afghanistan continues to be guided by historical relations, friendship with Afghan people. Going forward, both the parties should evolve there relation which can address the key concerns of India and help in the development of Afghanistan.

Q. Significance and challenges associated with the caste census.

Ans:

### Significance of the caste census:

- Beneficial in Policy Making-Caste census will generate exhaustive data which will
  allow policymakers to develop better policies and implementation strategies for
  upliftment of marginalised classes. Caste census will lay the foundation for datadriven affirmative policy formulation in a society ridden with exclusion,
  discrimination and marginalization based on group identities.
- Rationalisation of reservation- The current policies are based on the last caste census which was conducted in 1931. New caste census can help the government in identifying the most benefited section and reduce their share in the overall reservation to provide an opportunity to other castes.
- Better targeting of Government welfare schemes-The government welfare schemes can be better targeted towards the most marginalised sections of the community with the help of data gathered from the socio economic caste census. For example- Under the National Food Security Act, 83.92% of the population of Bihar is entitled to subsidized food grain. The Bihar survey reported that the population of the state has increased from 103.8 million in 2011 to 130.7 million in 2023. Thus by current population estimates,109.7 million persons are eligible for the subsidy. However the current beneficiary count is just 87.1 million. That is, in Bihar alone, 22.6 million persons have been excluded from this benefit at a time when food inflation is high.
- Caste has an Important Position in Indian Society- While census data has been captured for Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, religions and linguistic profiles, there has been no profiling of all castes in India since 1931. Caste has an important position in the Indian society and the data on caste can be helpful in ascertaining the socio-economic positions of different castes in India.
- Addressing the prevalent Inequalities- Unequal distribution of wealth, resources and education has meant an acute shortage of purchasing power among the majority of Indians. The census will help to address these issues in a democratic, scientific and objective manner. This will lead to social justice in the country.
- Fulfilment of Constitutional Mandate- Our Constitution favours conducting a caste census. Article 340 mandates the appointment of a commission to investigate the conditions of socially and educationally backward classes and make recommendations as to the steps that should be taken by governments.

- which was formed to examine the socio-economic and educational status of the Muslim community in India, mentioned that the availability of data on religion was useful in highlighting the relative deprivation of minorities. So, similar data on caste is also desirable to identify vulnerable sections within castes. This data will be useful for Justice Rohini Commission which has been formed for the sub-categorisation of OBCs.
- Addressing Intersectionality- Caste intersects with other factors such as gender, religion, and region, leading to compounded disadvantages. The census can reveal these intersections which will lead to more nuanced policy approaches that target multiple dimensions of marginalisation.
- Break the myths associated with castes- The caste census will reveal the actual data on castes and remove ambiguities associated with the caste. For instance, In Karnataka, there were claims that among the castes, the Lingayats are the most numerous. So the census can reveal the true information on that.

### The challenges associated with the caste census:

- Caste based political mobilisation- The data can be used by the political parties for their narrow political gains. This will encourage caste based mobilisations in the country. As India seek to eliminate and weaken the notion of caste, a caste census would only strengthen it. There will be from every caste group for share in the power at the cost of administrative efficiency.
- Hardening of caste identities may hamper growth of national integration- There have been concerns that counting caste may help solidify or harden identities. Due to these repercussions, nearly a decade after the SECC, a sizable amount of its data remains unreleased or released only in parts.
- Strengthen demands for further reservations- Caste census may increase demand for larger or separate quotas. For instance, Patels, Gujjars, Jats and other castes are demanding reservations. The caste census might induce more such demands in future. The census would put pressure on the SC to lift the 50% ceiling.
- Collection of caste data is not an easy task- Enumerating the caste numbers in India is a complex task as the same caste is spelt in different ways in different states. Also one caste maybe extremely backward in one state and can be backward in the other state.
- **Potential Stigmatization** Disclosure of caste identities could lead to individuals being stigmatized or discriminated against based on preconceived notions associated with certain castes. This can deter honest responses and undermine the survey's accuracy.

To conclude, a caste census may not sit well with the goal of a casteless society, but it may serve as a means of addressing inequities in society. However the census must aim at gradual elimination of castes by uplifiting the socio-economically marginalised sections of the society.

Q. Do you think SAARC is a defunct institution? What can India do in the current scenario to have a secure and prosperous South Asia? Critically Analyse.

Ans:

SAARC was mooted in 1985, which created the hope that trade, cultural activity and

intellectual exchange would gradually diminish the political legacies of Partition by nourishing a regional fraternity. The dream is still relevant, but SAARC has remained incapable of responding to the unabated rise of identity-based aggression and violence. Along with this, a remarkable degree of indifference to others' woes has grown.

### **Body**

#### The Future of SAARC remains bleak:

- The region is beset with unsettled territorial disputes, as well as trans-border criminal and subversive activities.
- It remains a theatre for ethnic, cultural, and religious tensions and rivalries.
- A current rise in **ultra-nationalism** is taking place against the backdrop of a bloody history of repeated inter-state wars and myriad intra-state conflicts.
- Nuclear-armed neighbours India and Pakistan are at loggerheads.
- Cross-border terrorism has again made the region, as former US President Bill Clinton once deemed it, "the world's most dangerous place."
- Allowing SAARC to become dysfunctional and irrelevant greatly distorts our ability to address the realities and mounting challenges facing SAARC nations.
- The failure of South Asian nations to act in accord will plunge South Asia into a perilous theatre of discord and escalating tensions with jihadi militias at the forefront, placing the entire region in turmoil.

# **SAARC** is imperative for South Asian countries:

- SAARC is needed as **institutional scaffolding to allow for the diplomacy and coordination** that is needed between member-states in order to adequately address the numerous threats and challenges the region faces.
- Though SAARC's charter prohibits bilateral issues at formal forums, **SAARC** summits provide a unique, informal window the retreat for leaders to meet without aides and chart future courses of action.
- The coming together of leaders, even at the height of tensions, in a region laden with congenital suspicions, misunderstandings, and hostility is a significant strength of SAARC that cannot be overlooked.
- SAARC members are among the top troop-contributing countries to UN peacekeeping missions. With the US withdrawal from Afghanistan, a joint peacekeeping force from the SAARC region under the UN aegis could be explored to fill the power vacuum that would otherwise be filled by terrorist and extremist forces.

# **Reviving SAARC is in India's interests:**

- India should take the lead and work with its neighbors to slash the tariff and non-tariff barriers.
- SAARC should also seek **free and preferential trading arrangements** with other regional bodies, notably the EU and the ASEAN. It should also remain fully focused on the **SAARC social charter to spread out its reach to the common man.**
- There is a need to focus on small politics instead of big politics to resolve conflict in conflicting regions. This would mean that they focus on **economic cooperation and other small ways that can create cooperation and more peace**
- SAARC cannot be effective unless it places itself on a managerial position to achieve regional order, forcing all the members to act mutually in making the region a 'zone of peace' and the center for world business.

- All countries should come together to sort out their differences, either multilaterally or bilaterally. It's not necessary to sort out the differences but despite that, it is necessary to work with the differences like that of India-China, Japan and China, Russia and Japan.
- The **bilateral issues** between member nations should be resolved. Bilateral Issues between India- Pakistan, India- Sri Lanka, Pakistan- Afghanistan etc. must be improved with serious engagement and collaboration working together to bring peace and stability as a common good in the region.
- Information on terrorism, trafficking, smuggling etc. must be shared and joint exercises must be conducted to build mutual trust and capability.
- SAARC needs to work on **Improving infrastructure and regional connectivity** Collaboration in scientific research, universities exchange programs, tourism etc. will have a positive effect on relations among countries.

#### **Conclusion:**

SAARC has the potential to transform the South Asian Region. Mutual mistrust and non-cooperation should not be allowed to undermine this potential. Deeper regional economic integration will create greater interdependence with India acquiring the central role, which, in turn, would serve India's strategic interests too. SAARC should function as an autonomous institution by which driving principles, strategic actions, and rules of law can be implemented in a way that is relevant to both, its own members and other rising powers.

# Q. While India and Bangladesh have deepened their ties over the years, the countries have failed to resolve long-standing issues. Comment.

#### Ans:

On 16 December 1971, Pakistani forces surrendered to Indian forces and Bangladesh was liberated. This week, Indian and Bangladeshi diplomats have jointly celebrated the 50th anniversary, and Indian leaders have praised Bangladesh's development record. India and Bangladesh share bonds of history, language, culture, and multitude of other commonalities. The excellent bilateral ties reflect an all-encompassing partnership based on sovereignty, equality, trust, and understanding that goes far beyond a strategic partnership. On the occasion of, Sheikh Hasina's much-anticipated visit to India, countries are expected to sign at least one **major river agreement.** 

### **Indo-Bangla relations:**

- Liberation war: Bangladeshis are grateful for Indian support and sacrifices in 1971
- Cultural ties: Triveni of events of epochal significance the goldenjubilee of the Liberation War of Bangladesh, the birth centenary of Bangladesh Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and the 50th anniversary of our diplomatic ties. India and Bangladesh are celebrating it jointly.
- **Development partner:** Bangladesh is the biggest development partner of India today. India has extended **3 Lines of Credits (LOC) to Bangladesh in the last 8 years** amounting to **US\$ 8 billion for development of infrastructure** in various sectors including roads, railways, shipping and ports.

- Amicable relations: The year 2020, despite onset of the COVID-19 pandemic, witnessed intense high level engagements at political and official levels beginning with the exchange of New Year greetings between Prime Minister Modi and Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina on 01 January 2020.
- Connectivity: Both the governments are undertaking various measures to restore the pre-1965 rail links and other connectivity links that existed between India and Bangladesh.
  - The two Prime Ministers jointly inaugurated the newly restored railway link between Chilahati (Bangladesh) and Haldibari (India) on 17 December 2020.
  - To enhance people to people contacts, the frequency of twopassenger trains, i.e., Maitree Express and Bandhan Express was increased from 4 days a week to 5 days a week and from one day a week to two days a week respectively from February 2020.
- **Trade**: Bangladesh is India's biggest trade partner in South Asia and India is the second biggest trade partner of Bangladesh.
  - Bilateral trade between India and Bangladesh has grown steadily over the last decade and the exports of Bangladesh have tripled over the last decade to cross \$1 bn in 2018-19.

### Significance of relations today

- Security of North East: A friendly Bangladesh can ensure that its soil is not used for anti-India activities. Bangladesh's action resulted in the arrest of many top leaders of the NE insurgent groups like United Liberation Front of Assam & National Democratic Front of Bodoland.
- Connectivity of North East: The north eastern states are land-locked & have shorter route to sea through Bangladesh.Transit agreement with Bangladesh will spur socio-economic development and integration of North-East India.
- Bridge to Southeast Asia: Bangladesh is a natural pillar of Act East policy. It can act as a 'bridge' to economic and political linkages with South East Asia and beyond. Bangladesh is important component of BIMSTEC and BBIN initiatives.
- Strengthening South Asia as a regional power: Bangladesh is important for strengthening of SAARC, for promoting cooperation among its member nations to economic growth and securing strategic interests.
- Securing sea lines of communication: Bangladesh is strategically placed nearby important sea lanes. It can play significant role in containing piracy in the Indian Ocean.
- **Fighting terrorism and deradicalization:** Stable, open and tolerant Bangladesh helps India in stopping extremists from flourishing there and also in cooperation in deradicalization efforts, sharing intelligence, and other counter-terrorism efforts.
- **Balancing China:** A neutral Bangladesh would ensure containment of an assertive China in this region, and help in countering it's string of pearls policy.

### **Challenges in bilateral relations**

• **River disputes:** India shares 54 trans-boundary rivers with Bangladesh. Some of the major disputes include: Teesta River water sharing issue, Tipaimukh Hydro-Electric Power Project on the Barak River, Ganga river dispute etc.

- Illegal immigrants: The National Register of Citizens (NRC) has left out 1.9 million Assamese from the list with a group labelled as "illegal immigrants from Bangladesh" living in Assam post-1971.
  - Bangladesh remains firm in its stance that no migrants travelled to Assam illegally during the 1971 war of independence and that the controversial NRC risks hurting relations.
- **Border Management:** The Indo-Bangladesh border is of porous nature which provides pathway for smuggling, trafficking in arms, drugs and people and cattle.
- **Delay in project execution:** As of 2017, India had extended three lines of credit worth approximately \$7.4 billion.**However**, less than 10% of the cumulative commitments have been disbursed so far.
- China factor: China sees Bangladesh as strategic focal point to make inroads into South Asia as an alternative to India.
- Increasing radicalisation: Presence of groups like Harkat-alJihad-al-Islami (HUJI), Jamaat-e-Islami, and HUJI-B fuel Anti-India sentiments in Bangladesh. Their propaganda could spill across border.

Deepening relationship with Bangladesh has become a necessity in the face of shifting geoeconomics. Bangladesh, with its growing economic success, and with its 8 percent growth
rate provides a vital partnership in the region. There is scope for India-Bangladesh ties to
move to the next level, based on cooperation, coordination and consolidation as Prime
Minister has termed the present period of relationship between the two countries as 'Sonali
Adhyay'.

Q. What is Carbon Border Adjustment Mechanism (CBAM)? Highlighting its significance explain India's concerns with its imposition?

Ans:

The European Union's (EU) Carbon Border Adjustment Mechanism (CBAM) is a policy tool designed to ensure that importers of certain goods into the EU pay a price for the carbon emissions embedded in those goods, similar to what EU companies must pay under the EU Emissions Trading System (ETS).

CBAM is intended to prevent "carbon leakage," which refers to situations where companies move their production to countries with less stringent climate policies to avoid paying for emissions. By levying a carbon price on certain imported goods, the EU aims to create a level playing field for domestic producers and prevent carbon leakage while also incentivizing producers outside the EU to reduce their carbon emissions.

The CBAM is scheduled to be implemented in phases starting in 2023, initially covering a limited number of sectors, such as cement, steel, aluminum, fertilizers, and electricity. The mechanism will work by requiring importers of these goods to purchase certificates reflecting the amount of carbon emissions associated with the production of those goods. The price of the certificates will be linked to the price of EU ETS allowances, providing an economic incentive for companies to reduce their carbon emissions.

#### Significance:

- Encourages non-EU countries to adopt more stringent environmental regulations, reducing global carbon emissions.
- Prevents carbon leakage by discouraging companies from relocating to countries with weaker environmental regulations.
- Generates revenue that could be used to support EU climate policies.

#### India's concerns:

- From an equity perspective, it increases costs in poorer countries, due to the need to remit new taxes, etc.
- Such schemes are still rare in most of the world and introducing them will be a major policy challenge for lower-income countries.
- For countries reliant on one of the targeted industries like Mozambique's aluminium extraction, this could be a major **economic shock.**
- If enacted unilaterally, it is likely to unfairly protect domestic industries from international competition a practice known as 'green protectionism.'
- BASIC countries have emphasised that carbon border taxes could promote market distortion and worsen the trust deficit among countries.

Overall, India is concerned that the CBAM could have a negative impact on its economy and its efforts to address climate change. While India recognizes the need to reduce global emissions, it has called for a more collaborative and consensus-based approach to achieving this goal, rather than the imposition of unilateral measures by individual countries or regions.

Q. New Delhi Declaration underscores the importance of India's role on the global stage. Discuss the contribution of this declaration to India's international standing.

### Ans:

At the G20 Summit in New Delhi, leaders from member countries reached a consensus and adopted the New Delhi Declaration. This declaration outlines significant commitments and agreements on various global issues.

### **Background**

- On 9 September, G20 leaders adopted the New Delhi Declaration.
- India's diplomacy made a major success by fostering consensus and avoiding falling back on 'Chair summary' as it happened in a few previous G20 meetings when it was impossible to reach an agreement on the text about the war in Ukraine.
- It starts with "We are One Earth, One Family, and we share One Future."

### **G20** New Delhi declaration

- War in Ukraine
  - o **Peaceful Resolution**: The G20 countries emphasize the importance of peace and call on all states to uphold the principles of international law, including territorial integrity and sovereignty.
  - Humanitarian Concerns: The declaration expresses deep concern about the human suffering and adverse impacts of wars and conflicts worldwide, specifically addressing the war in Ukraine.

- UN Charter Principles: It emphasizes that all states must act in accordance with the Purposes and Principles of the UN Charter, refraining from the threat or use of force to seek territorial acquisition.
- Nuclear Disarmament: The use or threat of use of nuclear weapons is deemed inadmissible.

# • Countering Terrorism and Money Laundering

- o **Condemnation of Terrorism**: The G20 condemns terrorism in all its forms, including those rooted in xenophobia, racism, and intolerance or carried out in the name of religion.
- Holistic Approach: A holistic approach based on international law is advocated to effectively counter terrorism, with an emphasis on strengthening international cooperation to deny terrorist groups safe haven, freedom of operations, and financial support.
- o **Illicit Trafficking**: Concerns about illicit trafficking and diversion of small arms and light weapons are addressed, with an emphasis on international cooperation among states to combat these phenomena.
- Financial Action Task Force (FATF): The G20 leaders commit to supporting the resource needs of the FATF and FATF Style Regional Bodies to combat money laundering and terrorist financing.

## • Economy & Climate

- o **Sustainable Growth**: G20 leaders call for strong, sustainable, and inclusive growth in response to the uneven recovery from the pandemic.
- Climate Action: Trillions of dollars will be required for countries to meet their climate goals and invest in clean energy technologies.
- Reforming Financial Institutions: Reforms of international financial institutions are urged, along with efforts to manage debt vulnerabilities in low and middle-income countries.
   Crypto Asset Taxation: The exchange of tax-relevant information on crypto
- Crypto Asset Taxation: The exchange of tax-relevant information on crypto assets is set to begin by 2027.
- Energy Transition: The declaration calls for accelerated efforts to phase down unabated coal power and eliminate inefficient fossil fuel subsidies.
- Financial Stability: Emphasis is placed on the need for well-calibrated monetary, fiscal, financial, and structural policies to promote growth, reduce inequalities, and maintain macroeconomic and financial stability.

### Global Growth

- **Policy Coordination**: The G20 leaders reiterate the need for well-calibrated monetary, fiscal, financial, and structural policies to promote growth, reduce inequalities, and maintain macroeconomic and financial stability.
- Central Banks Commitment: They also stress that central banks remain committed to achieving price stability in line with their respective mandates.
- Financial Stability Board (FSB): Initiatives by the FSB, Standard Setting Bodies (SSBs), and jurisdictions to examine lessons from recent banking turbulence are welcomed.

## • Multilateral Development Banks

- o **Enhancing MDBs**: G20 leaders emphasize the importance of delivering better, bigger, and more effective multilateral development banks (MDBs).
- Leveraging Private Capital: Financial institutions are encouraged to leverage private capital through innovative financing models and partnerships for maximum development impact.

 Capital Adequacy Frameworks (CAFs): The roadmap for implementing the recommendations of the G20 Independent Review of MDBs CAFs is endorsed.

## • Cross-border Payments

- o **Payment Improvements**: The G20 reaffirms its commitment to achieving global targets for faster, cheaper, and more transparent cross-border payments by 2027.
- CBDC Discussion: Discussions on the potential macro-financial implications of Central Bank Digital Currencies (CBDCs) are welcomed, especially concerning cross-border payments and the international monetary and financial system.

#### Education

- Digital Education: The G20 recognizes the importance of investing in human capital development and supporting digital technologies to bridge educational divides.
- Scientific Collaboration: The promotion of open, equitable, and secure scientific collaboration and mobility of students, scholars, researchers, and scientists is encouraged.
- Inclusive Education: Emphasis is placed on inclusive, equitable, high-quality education and skills training, with foundational learning as a primary building block.

## Agriculture

- **Trade Facilitation**: Rising commodity prices contributing to cost of living pressures are addressed.
- Rules-Based Trade: The G20 leaders commit to facilitating open, fair, predictable, and rules-based trade in agriculture, food, and fertilizers, in line with relevant WTO rules.
- Food Security: Support for developing countries' efforts to address food security challenges is emphasized, aligning with the G20 Deccan High-Level Principles on Food Security and Nutrition 2023.

### • Religion

- Religious Tolerance: The G20 strongly condemns acts of religious hatred against individuals, religious symbols, and holy books.
- o **Cultural Diversity**: Emphasis is placed on promoting respect for religious and cultural diversity, dialogue, and tolerance.
- **Rights Interdependence**: The interdependence of freedom of religion or belief, freedom of opinion or expression, peaceful assembly, and freedom of association is recognized as a means to combat intolerance and discrimination based on religion or belief.

### Corruption

- Zero Tolerance: The G20 reaffirms its commitment to zero tolerance for corruption.
- o **International Cooperation**: Strengthening international cooperation and information sharing for combating corruption is urged.
- **Asset Recovery**: The joint Declaration also called for strengthening asset recovery mechanisms for combating corruption.

- **Global Economic Cooperation**: The G20, or Group of Twenty, is a forum for major economies that includes 19 individual countries and the European Union. It represents a significant portion of the global economy. G20 declarations are important because they often address pressing economic issues that have global implications.
- **Policy Coordination**: The G20 provides a platform for member nations to discuss and coordinate policies related to international financial stability and economic growth. The declarations typically include commitments and recommendations on areas like fiscal policy, monetary policy, trade, and investment.
- **Crisis Response and Recovery**: G20 declarations can be especially significant during times of economic crisis or uncertainty. They often include measures and strategies to stabilize the global economy, mitigate the impacts of financial crises, and promote recovery.
- **Multilateralism and Diplomacy**: G20 meetings and declarations serve as opportunities for leaders of major economies to engage in diplomatic efforts. They allow for the exchange of ideas, negotiation of policies, and the building of relationships that can have broad geopolitical implications.
- Global Challenges: In addition to economic matters, G20 declarations may address broader global challenges such as climate change, public health crises, poverty alleviation, and other issues that require international cooperation and coordination.
- Setting Agendas for International Organizations: G20 declarations can influence the priorities and agendas of other international organizations like the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank, and World Trade Organization (WTO). The G20's policies and recommendations can carry substantial weight in these institutions.
- Market Confidence and Investor Sentiment: Statements and commitments made in G20 declarations can impact market confidence and investor sentiment. Investors often look to G20 meetings for signals about the direction of global economic policies.
- Normative and Regulatory Frameworks: G20 declarations can influence the development of normative and regulatory frameworks in various areas, including financial regulation, trade rules, and sustainable development goals.
- Addressing Inequalities: Declarations may focus on inclusive growth, reducing
  income inequality, and promoting social development. These aspects are crucial for
  creating sustainable and equitable economic systems.

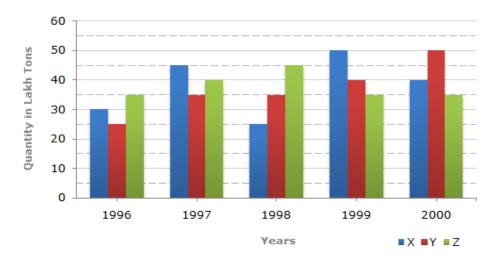
#### Conclusion

In essence, the New Delhi Declaration serves as a testament to the collaborative efforts of G20 member countries in addressing global challenges and striving for a more prosperous, peaceful, and sustainable world.

#### **SECTION-III**

Q. The bar graph given below shows the data of the production of paper (in lakh tonnes) by three different companies X, Y and Z over the years.

Production of Paper (in lakh tonnes) by Three Companies X, Y and Z over the Years.



Ans:



Percentage change (rise/fall) in the production of Company Y in comparison to the previous year, for different years are:

For 
$$1997 = \left[\frac{(35 - 25)}{25} \times 100\right]\% = 40\%$$
.  
For  $1998 = \left[\frac{(35 - 35)}{35} \times 100\right]\% = 0\%$ .  
For  $1999 = \left[\frac{(40 - 35)}{35} \times 100\right]\% = 14.29\%$ .  
For  $2000 = \left[\frac{(50 - 40)}{40} \times 100\right]\% = 25\%$ .

Hence, the maximum percentage rise/fall in the production of Company Y is for 1997.

(b) What is the ratio of the average production of Company X in the period 1998-2000 to the average production of Company Y in the same period?

Ans:

Average production of Company X in the period 1998-2000

$$=$$
  $\left[\frac{1}{3} \times (25 + 50 + 40)\right] = \left(\frac{115}{3}\right)$  lakh tons.

Average production of Company Y in the period 1998-2000

$$= \left[\frac{1}{3} \times (35 + 40 + 50)\right] = \left(\frac{125}{3}\right)$$
 lakh tons.

$$\therefore \text{ Required ratio} = \frac{\left(\frac{115}{3}\right)}{\left(\frac{125}{3}\right)} = \frac{115}{125} = \frac{23}{25}.$$

# (c) The average production for five years was maximum for which company?

Average production (in lakh tons) in five years for the three companies are:

For Company X = 
$$\left[\frac{1}{5} \times (30 + 45 + 25 + 50 + 40)\right] = \frac{190}{5} = 38$$
.  
For Company Y =  $\left[\frac{1}{5} \times (25 + 35 + 35 + 40 + 50)\right] = \frac{185}{5} = 37$ .  
For Company Z =  $\left[\frac{1}{5} \times (35 + 40 + 45 + 35 + 35)\right] = \frac{190}{5} = 38$ .

· Average production of five years is maximum for both the Companies X and Z.

# (d) In which year was the percentage of production of Company Z to the production of Company Y the maximum? Ans:

The percentages of production of Company Z to the production of Company Z for various years are:

For 
$$1996 = \left(\frac{35}{25} \times 100\right)\% = 140\%$$
.  
For  $1997 = \left(\frac{40}{35} \times 100\right)\% = 114.29\%$ .  
For  $1998 = \left(\frac{45}{35} \times 100\right)\% = 128.57\%$ .  
For  $1999 = \left(\frac{35}{40} \times 100\right)\% = 87.5\%$ .  
For  $2000 = \left(\frac{35}{50} \times 100\right)\% = 70\%$ .

Clearly, this percentage is highest for 1996.

# (e) What is the percentage increase in the production of Company Y from 1996 to 1999? Ans:

Percentage increase in the production of Company Y from 1996 to 1999

$$= \left[ \frac{(40 - 25)}{25} \times 100 \right] \%$$

$$= \left[ \frac{15}{25} \times 100 \right] \%$$

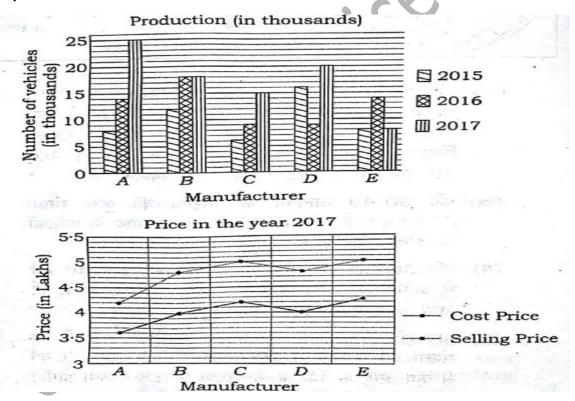
$$= 60\%$$

# (f) What is the difference between the production of Company Z in 1998 and Company Y in 1996?

#### Ans:

Required difference =  $[(45 - 25) \times 1,00,000]$  tons = 20,00,000 tons.

Q. The following multiple bar chart shows production of same type of vehicle (in thousands) for a period of three years by selected manufacturers and the in line chart shows prices of vehicles in the year 2017:



Production (in thousands)

Manufacturer	2015	2016	2017	Total
Α	8	14	35	47
В	12	18	18	48
С	6	9	15	30
D	16	9	20	45
E	8	14	8	30
Total	50	64	86	200

### (a) What is the percentage increase in the production of vehicles in 2017 from 2015?

Ans:

Total production of vehicles in 2015 = 50

Increase = 86-50 = 36

% age increase = 36\*100/50 = 72%

# (b) Which manufacturers have produced the same number of vehicles during the period under consideration?

#### Ans:

It is clear from the data given in the table that manufacturer C and E have produced same number (30 thousand) of vehicles during the period under consideration.

### (c) What percentage of the total production of vehicles is produced by manufacturers A and D?

#### Ans:

Total production = 200 thousands

Production by manufacturer 'A' = 47 thousands

Production by manufacturer 'D' = 45 thousands

%age of production by 'A' in the total production = 47\*100/200 = 23.5%

%age of production by 'D' in the total production = 45\*100/200 = 22.5 %

### (d) For which manufacturer, the profit percent is maximum in the year 2017?

#### Ans:

For manufacturer 'A',

Cost price = 3.6 lakh

Selling price = 4.2 lakh

Profit = 0.60 lakh

So, the profit percentage of manufacturer 'A' = 0.60\*100/3.6 = 16.67%

Similarly,

The profit percentage of manufacturer 'B' = 0.80\*100/4.0 = 20%

The profit percentage of manufacturer 'C' = 0.80\*100/4.2 = 19.04%

The profit percentage of manufacturer 'D' = 0.80\*100/4.0 = 20%

The profit percentage of manufacturer 'E' = 0.75\*100/4.25 = 17.65%

So, it is clear from the above calculation that in 2017 the manufacturer 'B' and 'D' had maximum percentage profit.

# (e) If the manufacturer D had to call back 4000 of its vehicles due to some defects, what is percent profit/loss of the company?

#### Ans:

Total production of manufacturer 'D' in 2017 = 20,000

Cost price of manufacturer 'D' in 2017 = 4.0 lakh

Total cost price for 20,000 units = 20,000\*4 = 80,000 lakh

After calling back 4000 units of vehicles due to defects, the number of units sold = 20,000 - 4,000 = 16,000

Per unit Selling price = 4.80 lakh

Selling price of 16,000 units = 16,000 \* 4.8 = 76,800 lakh

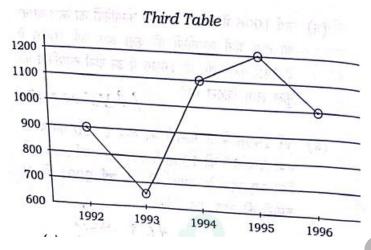
%age loss = 3200\*100/80,000 = 4% ans

### Q. Answer the following questions based on the information given below:

The first table gives the percentage of students in MBA class, who sought employment in the areas of finance, marketing and software. The second table gives the average starting salaries of the students per month (in Rs.) in these areas. The third table gives the number of students who passed out in each year.

0.	Finance	Mar-	Soft-	Out of	
1992	00	keting	ware	Others	
1993		36	19	23	
		48	23	12	
1994	1 ~0	43	21		
1995	1 13	37		13	
1996	32		16	28	
	02	32	20	16	

am	Second	l Table	
s 131	Finance	Mar- keting	Soft- ware
1992	5450	5170	5290
1993	6380	6390	6440
1994	7550	7630	7050
1995	8920	8960	7760
1996	9810	10220	8640



# a. Calculate the numbers of students who get jobs in finance less than the students getting marketing job in five years.

Ans: No. of finance students employed in 5 years: 22% of 900 + 17% of 650 + 23% of 1100 + 19% of 1200 + 32% of 1000 = 1109

Total No. of marketing students employed in 5 years: 36% of of 900 + 48% of 650 + 43% of 1100 + 37% of 1200 + 32% of 1000 = 1873

Required difference= 1873 - 1109 = 764

## b. What was the percentage increase in the average salary of finance from 1992 to 1996?

Ans:

Required %age = (9810-5450)x100/5450 = 80%

c. Find the average annual rate at which the initial salary offered in software increases.

Ans:

In software,

Yearly increase in 1993 = (6440-5290)x100/5290 = 21.74%

So, average annual rate = (21.74% + 9.47% + 10.07% + 11.34%)/4 = 52.62/4 = 13.15%

#### d. What was the average monthly salary offered to a management graduate in 1993?

Ans: Required average salary = (6380 + 6390 + 6440)/3 = 6403.33

e. Calculate the difference in earning by students seeking jobs in finance from those opting for software (per annum) in 1994.

Ans:

In 1994, total students in finance = 1100x 23/100 = 253

Total annual income in finance = 253 x 7550 x 12 = 22921800

In 1994, total students in software = 1100x 21/100 = 231

Total annual income in software = 231 x 7050 x 12 = 19542600

The required difference = 22921800 - 19542600=3379200

Q. The following pie-chart shows the sources of funds to be collected by the National Highways Authority of India (NHAI) for its Phase II projects. Study the pie-chart and answers the question that follow.

Sources of funds to be arranged by NHAI for Phase II projects (in crores Rs.)



a. Through which source near about 20% of the funds are to be arranged?

Rs. 11486 crores is the amount of funds to be arranged through External Assistance.

b. If NHAI could receive a total of Rs. 9695 crores as External Assistance, by what percent (approximately) should it increase the Market Borrowing to arrange for the shortage of funds?

: Increase required in Market Borrowing = Rs. 1791 crores.

Percentage increase required = 
$$\left(\frac{1791}{29952} \times 100\right)\% = 5.98\% \approx 6\%$$
.

c. If the toll is to be collected through an outsourced agency by allowing a maximum 10% commission, how much amount should be permitted to be collected by the outsourced agency, so that the project is supported with Rs. 4910 crores?

d. What is the central angle corresponding to Market Borrowing?

Central angle corresponding to Market Borrowing = 
$$\left(\frac{29952}{57600} \times 360^{\circ}\right)$$
 = 187.2°

e. What is the approximate ratio of the funds to be arranged through Toll and that through Market Borrowing?

Required ratio = 
$$\frac{4910}{29952} = \frac{1}{6.1} \approx \frac{1}{6}$$
.