### CBSE

### Class XII – Political Science All India - Question Paper 2017

### Time: 3 hrs

Max. Marks: 100

### General Instructions:

- (i) All questions are compulsory.
- (ii) Questions number **1 5** are of **one** mark each. The answers to these questions should not exceed 20 words each.
- (iii) Questions number **6 10** are of **two** marks each. The answers to the se questions should not exceed 40 words each.
- (iv) Questions number **11 16** are of **four** marks each. The answers to the se questions should not exceed 100 words each.
- (v) Questions number **17 21** are of **five** marks each. The answers to these questions should not exceed 150 words each.
- (vi) Question number **21** is a map-based question. Write its answers in your answerbook.
- (vii)Questions number **22 27** are of **six** marks each. The answers to these questions should not exceed **150** words each.

| 1. | What was the significance of 'Operation Iraqi Freedom'?   | [1]       |  |
|----|---|-----------|--|
| 2. | Why is violence between two communities considered as a threat to democracy                       | '?<br>[1] |  |
| 3. | Assess the impact of Valentine's Day on Indian culture.   | [1]       |  |
| 4. | Highlight any one feature of the multi - polar world as visualised by both Russia and India.      |           |  |
| 5. | Why does development have different meanings for different sections of the people?                | [1]       |  |
| 6. | Match the following meaningfully from the names in Column 'A' with the information in Column 'B': |           |  |
|    | Column 'A' Column 'B'<br>(a) Indira Gandhi (i) A Member of Parliament from 1952<br>till his death |           |  |

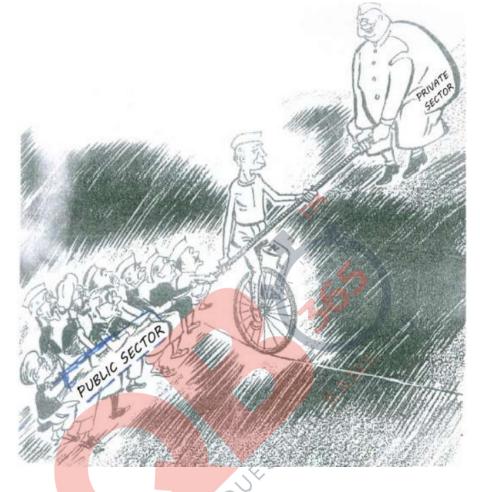
(b) Ram Manohar Lohia (ii) Symbol of opposition during emergency of 1975

|     | <ul> <li>(c) Jai Prakash Narayan</li> <li>(iii) Nationalisation of banks</li> <li>(d) Jagjiwan Ram</li> <li>(iv) Best known for his sharp attacks on<br/>Nehru</li> </ul> |  |
|-----|---|--|
|     | $[4 \times \frac{1}{2} = 2]$  |  |
| 7.  | In which way did the policy of Non - Alignment serve India's interests? [2]   |  |
| 8.  | Analyse the two political developments of 1940s that led to the decision for the creation of Pakistan. $[2 \times 1=2]$   |  |
| 9.  | What will happen if the regions are not given their due share in decision - making at the national level? [2]   |  |
| 10. | How far did the Rajiv Gandhi - Longowal Accord succeed in bringing normalcy in Punjab? [2]  |  |
| 11. | Describe Indo – China relations from 1947 to 1962. [4]  |  |
| 12. | . What is the full form of WTO? When was it set up? How does it function?<br>[1+1+2=4]  |  |
| 13. | Explain any four economic consequences of globalisation. $[4 \times 1=4]$   |  |
| 14. | What distinguished the dominance of the Congress Party in India from the one-<br>party dominance in other countries? Explain. [4]   |  |
| 15. | Examine the dramatic changes that took place in the party system in India during 1969 to 1977. [4]  |  |
| 16. | Highlight any four consequences of the partition of India in 1947. $[4 \times 1=4]$   |  |
| 17. | Study the following passage carefully and answer the questions that follow:   |  |

- Critics of popular movements often argue that collective actions like strikes, sit-ins and rallies disrupt the functioning of the government, delay decision-making and destabilise the routines of democracy. Such an argument invites a deeper question: why do these movements resort to such assertive forms of action? We have seen that popular movements have raised legitimate demands of the people and have involved large scale participation of citizens. It should be noted that the groups mobilised by these movements are poor, socially and economically disadvantaged sections of the society from marginal social groups.
  - (i) Popular movements resort to which two types of assertive actions?

- (ii) How far do you agree with the arguments given by the critics?
- (iii) Why are groups involved in popular movements mostly from marginal social groups? [1+2+2=5]
- **18.** Study the following passage carefully and answer the questions that follow: The smaller states in the alliances used the link to the superpowers for their own purposes. They got the promise of protection, weapons and economic aid against their local rivals, mostly regional neighbours with whom they had rivalries. The alliance systems led by the two superpowers, therefore, threatened to divide the entire world into two camps. This division happened first in Europe. Most countries of Western Europe sided with the US and those of Eastern Europe joined the Soviet camp. That is why, these were also called the 'western' and the 'eastern' alliances.
  - (i) Name one organisation each related to the 'western' and the 'eastern' alliances.
  - (i) Why were the smaller states interested in joining the super alliances?
  - (ii) How did the 'alliance system' threaten to divide the world? [1+2+2=5]
- **19.** Study the following passage carefully and answer the questions that follow: The lack of genuine international support for democratic rule in Pakistan has further encouraged the military to continue its dominance. The United States and other Western countries have encouraged the military's authoritarian rule in the past, for their own reasons. Given their fear of the threat of what they call 'global Islamic terrorism' and the apprehension that Pakistan's nuclear arsenal might fall into the hands of these terrorist groups, the military regime in Pakistan has been seen as the protector of Western interests in West Asia and South Asia.
  - (i) What is meant by 'global Islamic terrorism'?
  - (ii) Why did Pakistan lack genuine international support for democratic rule?
  - (iii) Why was the military regime in Pakistan considered as the protector of Western interests in West Asia and South Asia? [1+2+2=5]

**20.** Study the cartoon given below carefully and answer the questions that follow:



- (i) Identify and name the person who is holding the balancing beam between the public sector and the private sector.
- (ii) Why has a big tilt towards the public sector been shown in the cartoon?
- (iii) How did the over-emphasis on public sector adversely affect the Indian economy? [1+2+2=5]

Note : The following questions are for the Visually Impaired Candidates only, in lieu of Question No. 20:

(20.1) Distinguish between the public sector and the private sector with the help of at least one example each.

(20.2)Keeping in mind the Indian context, which type of economy would you prefer and why?

(20.3) Globalisation has promoted which type of economic sector? [2+2+1=5]

**21.** In the given political outline map of the **World**, five countries have been shown as A, B, C, D and E. With the help of the information given below, identify these countries and write their correct names along with the serial number of the

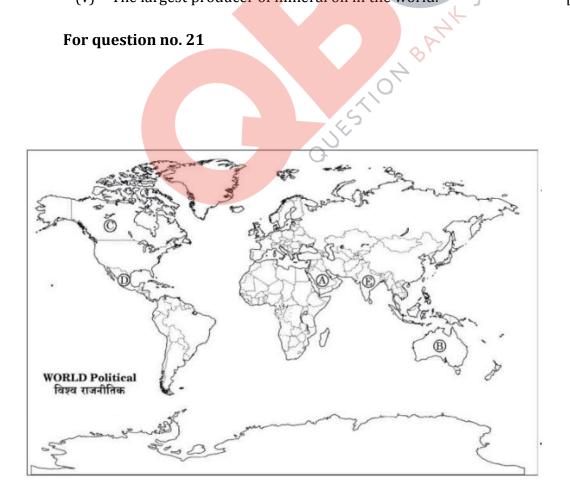
information used and the related alphabet as per the following format in your answer-book:

| Sr. No. of the   | Alphabet concerned | Name of the country |
|------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| information used |                    |                     |
| (i)              |                    |                     |
| (ii)             |                    |                     |
| (iii)            |                    |                     |
| (iv)             |                    |                     |
| (v)              |                    |                     |

- (i) The county where Montreal Protocol was signed in 1987.
- (ii) This country is of the view that the major responsibility of curbing gas emissions rests with the developed countries.
- (iii) This country is known for its forest movements.
- (iv) The first anti-dam movement aimed to save the Franklin River and its surrounding forests was launched in this country.
- The largest producer of mineral oil in the world. (v)

[5 x 1=5]

For question no. 21



| <b>22.</b> Describe any three areas of tension which are yet to be solved to retain |   | nity in      |
|---|---|--------------|
|   | diversity in India.   | [3 x 2=6]    |
|   | OR  |              |
|   | Describe any three elements of growing consensus among most of the poparties of India after 1989.   | litical      |
| 23.   | "Resistance is the only option available to overcome the U.S. hegemony."  |              |
|   | the statement by comparing it to other anti-hegemony strategies.<br>OR  | [6]          |
|   | "Nepal and India enjoy a very special relationship that has very few para   | llels in the |
|   | world. " Justify the statement with any three suitable arguments.   | [3 x 2=6]    |
| 24.   | Trace the evolution of the United Nations since its establishment in 1945   | . How        |
|   | does it function with the help of its various structures and agencies?  | [4+2=6]      |
|   | What is meant by global poverty? Suggest any two ways to reduce dispar  | ity          |
|   | between the poor and the rich at the global level.  | [2+4=6]      |
| 25.   | Highlight the circumstances which gave birth to the idea of New Internat  | ional        |
|   | Economic Order (NIEO). Explain any two factors that weakened this initi   |              |
|   |   | [4+2=6]      |
|   | OR  |              |
|   | In what thr <mark>ee wa</mark> ys did th <mark>e collapse of</mark> the Soviet Union affect the world p   | olitics?     |
|   | Explain.  | [3 x 2=6]    |
| 26.   | Do you agree with the statement that "the foreign policy of independent<br>pursued the dream of a peaceful world"? Support your answer with any t |              |
|   | suitable arguments.   | [3 x 2=6]    |
|   | OR  |              |
|   | Give any three suitable arguments in favour of "India being a staunch sup   | porter of    |
|   | the decolonisation process and in firm opposition to racialism".  | [3 x 2=6]    |
| 27.   | Highlight the acts of dissent and resistance to the Emergency imposed in  |              |
|   | your opinion, how did these acts affect the public opinion?<br>OR   | [4 + 2=6]    |
|   | Analyse the issue 'Indira vs. the Syndicate'. What type of challenges did the   | ne issue     |
|   | pose before Indira Gandhi?  | [2 + 4=6]    |
|   |   |              |

# **CBSE** Class XII – Political Science **Board Paper Solution - 2017**

#### Answer 1

'Operation Iraqi Freedom' was launched by the US in March 2003 to prevent Iraq from developing Weapons of Mass Destruction.

### Answer 2

Violence between two communities is considered as a threat to democracy because it challenges the secular nature of the country. Apart from it, the rights and freedoms of the individuals are violated.

#### Answer 3

Valentine's Day, a day when love is celebrated, to a certain extent has westernised the Indian culture. 'Love' has begun to be publicly celebrated by mainly young people in the country.

#### Answer 4

Feature of the multi-polar world as visualised by both Russia and India:

- a. Co-existence of several powers in the world
- b. To take measures together for collective security

#### Answer 5

Development have different meaning for different sections of people because what is development for one section may not be development for the others. For example, lands are taken away from the villagers for building highways and dams. Building highways and dams are the symbol of development for the urban population but for villagers, it is a symbol of oppression.

#### Answer 6

- a. Indira Gandhi
- (iii) Nationalisation of banks
- b. Ram Manohar Lohiva c. Jai Prakash Narayan
- d. Jagjiwan Ram
- (iv) Best known for his sharp attacks on Nehru
- (ii) Symbol of opposition during emergency of 1975
- (i) A Member of Parliament from 1952 till his death

### Answer 7

The policy of Non Alignment Movement served India's interests in the following ways:

- a. It allowed India to independently pursue her foreign policy as she did not become the part of any of the Cold War Alliances.
- b. India was often able to balance one superpower against the other. If one superpower ignored her, she had the option to tilting towards the other superpower. Thus, even if she was not a part of any of the Cold War Alliances, she still managed to remain an important power. <u> QB365 - Question Bank Software</u>

### Answer 8

Two political developments of the 1940s that led to the decision of creating Pakistan were:

- a. There was competition of power amongst two political parties- Congress and the Muslim League.
- b. The British played a prominent role in dividing the nation. Through out the 20<sup>th</sup> century, they sowed the seeds of communal disharmony amongst both communities which finally resulted into the partition of British India in 1947.

### Answer 9

If regions are not given a share in the national level decision making, it will develop a feeling of alienation amongst the people of the region. They will not feel the part of the nation and may develop secessionist tendencies.

#### Answer 10

The Rajiv Gandhi-Longowal Accord succeeded in bringing normalcy to Punjab. Rajiv Gandhi agreed to the demands of the Sikhs. It was agreed to transfer Chandigarh to Punjab, appointing of a separate commission to resolve the border dispute between Punjab and Haryana and sharing of Ravi-Beas river water among Punjab, Haryana and Rajasthan. However, peace did not come immediately in Punjab. It was only after a decade later that Punjab became to normalise.

### Answer 11

India after becoming independent in 1947 shared a cordial relations with China. She was among the first countries to recognise the communist government of China in 1949. On April 1954, Nehru and China's premier, Zhou Enlai signed the 'Panchsheel', the five principles of Peaceful Coexistence. China's invasion of Tibet in 1950 marked the beginning of strained relationship between the two nations. The spiritual leader of Tibet, the Dalai Lama took shelter in India in 1959. China alleged that the government of India was allowing anti Chinese activities to take place in India. At this time, a boundary dispute also broke out between the two nations. In October, 1962, China launched a massive military operations against India in Jammu and Kashmir and in Arunanchal Pradesh. India was defeated in this war.

#### Answer 12

The full form of WTO is 'World Trade Organisation'. It was set up in 1995 as the successor to the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT) created after the Second World War. WTO has 150 members. Though all decisions are taken unanimously, it is dominated by the US, European Union and Japan. These countries have managed to use the WTO to frame rules of trade to drive their own interests. The developing countries often complain of non-transparent procedures and are not seriously heard by the developed nations.

#### Answer 13

Four important consequences of globalisation are:

a. The process of globalisation more or less has profited Western countries more than the Asian and the African nations. It is because international organisation like the WTO and the IMF have framed rules and policies in the favour of rich Western nations.
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- b. Globalisations has reduced the trade barriers and restrictions that were imposed on imported goods. This has also increased the choices of costumers.
- c. Companies can now invest their money or set up a business in countries other their own. Business houses from various Western countries have set up business in Asian nations in hope of getting better returns.
- d. Globalisation has also led to the flow of ideas across national boundaries. The spread of internet and computer related services has been a cause and a result of the process of globalisation.

### Answer 14

Congress party dominated the Indian politics roughly for three decades after independence. Several other countries in the world have experienced one party dominance. But there is a fundamental difference between these two. In countries like China, Cuba, Syria and North Korea, there was a domination of one party as these parties ruled the state in a dictatorial manner. They did not allow formation of other political parties or declared these as illegal. There were no free and fair elections to provide a right choice to the voters. As against these countries, the dominance of the Congress party happened under the democratic conditions. Congress ruled over majority of Indians for a long period of time because they were voted to power by the people in elections that were held in an impartial manner.

#### Answer 15

The dramatic changes that took place in the party system in India during 1969-77 are:

- a. The factional rivalry between the Syndicate and Indira Gandhi became visible in 1969 during Presidential elections. Indira Gandhi and her supporters voted for V.V. Giri to become the President while Congress party and its syndicate wanted Sanjeeva Reddy to become the President. Thus, there was a split in the Congress Party.
- b. Indira Gandhi projected he split as an ideological divide between socialists and conservatives, between the pro-poor and pro-rich.
- c. Since 1969, the Congress party started shedding its character as an umbrella party which accommodated leaders and workers following different ideologies.
- d. As the nature of Congress changed, the other opposition parties relied more and more on the ideology of 'non-Congressism'. They also realised the need to avoid a division of non-Congress votes in the elections.

### Answer 16

Four main consequences of partition were:

- a. The partition of British India into India and Pakistan led to the tragic transfer of population on a large scale. While Hindus moved from newly created Pakistan into India, Muslims moved from India to Pakistan. This kind of mass migration is unparalleled in the human history.
- b. The partition saw communal frenzy in many parts of the country. Lahore, Amritsar and Kolkata became divided into 'communal zones'.

- c. Migrants left their homes and came to another side of the border securing temporary shelter in refuge camps. They often dealt with unhelpful local administration.
- d. Women from both communities were deeply affected by partition. Thousands of women were abducted, raped and killed. There were also several instances of honour killing.

#### Answer 17

- (i) Popular movements resort to strikes, rallies and protests to assert their claims.
- (ii) The assertive actions disrupt the functioning of the government and delay decision making. It also destabilised the democratic principles. But it is also to be noticed that then movements are also about making people aware of their rights and the expectations that they can have from democratic institutions. However, the real life impact of these movements on the nature of public policies seems to be very limited.
- (iii) Groups involved in popular movements are mostly from marginal social sections because these groups are adversely impacted by the so called 'developmental' policies of the government. After repeated requests, the government does not listen to them and hence they have to take politically assertive forms of actions.

#### Answer 18

(i) One Eastern Alliance: Warsaw Pact

One Western Alliance: North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO)

- (ii) The smaller states were interested in joining super alliances because they received protection, military and economic aid against their local rivals and neighbours.
- (iii) These alliance systems threatened to divide the world because countries favouring Russia joined the Eastern Bloc and mostly western European countries joined USA. Most of the Asian and African nations were also forced to join either of the two groups. This alliance system also brought the world on the verge of the war several times.

#### Answer 19

- (i) Global Islamic terror refers to the fear of threats of radical Islamic outfits and groups aided by various Islamic nations.
- (ii) Pakistan lacks genuine international support for democratic rule because Western nations have supported military rule in Pakistan for advancing their own interests in the region.
- (iii) The western nations fear that nuclear weapons in Pakistan may fall into the hands of Islamic terrorists. Thus, the military regime in Pakistan is seen as the protector of Western interests in West Asia and South Asia.

#### Answer 20

(i) The person ion ion is owe stick when the software

- (ii) A big tilt towards the public sector has been shown in the cartoon because at this time the state government controlled most of the heavy industries, provided industrial infrastructure, regulated trade and made some interventions in agriculture.
- (iii) Over-emphasis on public sector adversely affected the Indian economy because the state controlled too many aspects of production leading to inefficiency and corruption among the employees.

#### Answer 21

| Sr. No. of the   | Alphabet concerned | Name of the country |
|------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| information used |                    |                     |
| (i)              | С                  | 🔨 Canada            |
| (ii)             | E                  | India               |
| (iii)            | D                  | Mexico              |
| (iv)             | В                  | Australia           |
| (v)              | A                  | Saudi Arabia        |

#### Answer 22

Three areas of tension which is yet to be resolved are:

- a. **Insurgency, separatism and terrorism in the state of Jammu and Kashmir**: By 1989, the state of Kashmir had come in the grip of a militant movement mobilised around the cause of a separate Kashmiri nation. The insurgents got moral, material and military support from Pakistan. Of late, there have been emergence of various separatists groups. While some of them want Kashmir to become independent, others want to merge with Pakistan. There have also been terror launching activities by the militants. All the terror and separatism activities are yet be resolved by the state.
- b. **North East States' demand for autonomy and movement against outsiders**: There have been various cases of insurgencies and secessionist demands by the people of North east. The issue of the 'outsiders' continues to be a live issue in the politics of Assam and many other places in the North-East. For example, in Tripura the original inhabitants have been reduced to being a minority in their own land.
- c. Accommodation and National Integration: There have been demands for the formation of states based on linguistic and regionalism in different parts of India. For example, there have a demand for the creation of Vidarbha in Maharashtra and Gorkhaland in West Bengal. Though India has been responding to regional aspirations through a democratic process, a large and diverse democracy like India has to deal with regional aspirations on a regular basis.

#### OR

Three elements of growing consensus among most of the political parties of India after 1989 are:

- a. The Congress Party in 1989 secured only 197 seats in the Lok Sabha elections. Though Congress emerged as the single largest party, it did not have a majority to form the government. As a result, began an era of **coalition government**. National Front in 1989 formed the government at the center after receiving support from the BJP and the Left parties.
- b. The nineties also saw the emergence of powerful parties and movements that represented the Dalit and backward castes (Other Backward Classes or OBC). Many of these parties also represented powerful regional forces.
- c. There was also an acceptance of the role of state level parties in governance of the country. State level parties were sharing power at the national level and had played an important role in the country's politics.

#### Answer 23

Resistance is the only option available to overcome hegemony. This can be done by following Bandwagon hegemony. It implied that the best way to resist hegemony is to work with rather against the hegemony. Rather than protesting against a hegemonic power, it is better to extract benefits by operating within the hegemonic system.

Another way is to stay away from a hegemonic power as far as possible. It is expected that the challenges to the US hegemony will emerge in the economic and cultural realms and will come from social movements and Non-Governmental Organisation. Resistance may be offered from the section of media and intellectuals, artists and writers.

#### OR

India and Nepal enjoy a very special relationship that has few parallels in the world. The argument for this are:

- a. A treaty has been signed by both countries according to which citizens of the two countries can travel and work in the other country without visa and passport.
- b. Despite differences, trade, scientific cooperation, common natural resources, electricity generation and interlocking water management grids hold the two countries together.
- c. Indo-Nepal relations are fairly stable and peaceful. There is a hope that the consolidation of democracy in Nepal will lead to improvements in the ties between the two countries.

#### Answer 24

The United Nations organisation (UNO) was formed in 1945 after the Second World War. The organisation was set up through the signing of the United Nations Charter by 51 states. Its main object is to prevent international conflict and to facilitate cooperation among states. . It was founded with the hope that it would act to stop the conflicts between states escalating into war and, if war broke out, to limit the extent of hostilities.

UNO has several organs and agencies. There are 192 member states of the UNO. Each country has one vote in the **General Assembly**. In the **Security Council**, there are five members- USA, Russia, France, Britain and China. They have the veto power. The **Secretary General** heads the Secretariat and is the famous public figure. International Court of Justice consists of 15 elected judges. ICI's main aim to settle legal issues amicably.

Various agencies of the UNO are the WHO (World Health Organisation), UNDP (the United Nations Development Programme), UNICEF (United Nations Children's Fund) and UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation). Agencies like WHO and UNICEF carry on humanitarian work in many developing and underdeveloped countries. UNESCO promotes educational, scientific and cultural contacts among nations of the world.

OR

About half of the world's population lives in China, India, Pakistan, Nigeria, Bangladesh and Indonesia. Global poverty refers to low per capita income and high populations in developing and developed nation. Among the world's poorest countries, population is expected to triple in the next 50 years.

Two ways by which disparity can be reduced between the rich and the poor countries at global level are:

- a. To reduce the level of poverty, the developing and the underdeveloped countries should work towards slowing down their population rate and has to increase its income.
- b. The poor countries also need to increase its income. Educating its children and providing vocational knowledge to adults will benefit them in a positive way and will reduce the financial disparities amongst them.

### Answer 25

Circumstances that gave rise to the birth of NIEO were:

- After the end of the Second World War, many Asian and African countries became independent. These countries however emerged poor as these countries were exploited by colonial powers.
- The World Bank and the IMF began to shift their focus towards the development of newly independent nations. However, many western nations also secured the rights to exploit the natural resources of the poor countries and further exploited them.
- Many developing nations did not benefit from the rapid growth of the western nations, and thus, they organised themselves into a group of 77 or New International Economic Order with an aim to protect their trading interests in the long term.

Factors which weakened this initiative were:

- a. Stiff competition from the developed countries who acted as a strong group.
- b. The Non-Aligned countries struggled to maintain their unity in the face of this opposition.

#### OR

Three ways did the collapse of the Soviet Union affect the world politics were:

- **a. End of the Cold War**: After the collapse of the Soviet Union, US became the lone superpower bringing an end of the Cold War and any kind of ideological confrontations.
- **b.** Change in the Power relations in World Politics: After the disintegration of the USSR, the US became the sole superpower making the capitalist economy a dominant economic system. Institutions like the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) became powerful as they gave loans to various countries and also advised them on operating their economy.

**c. Emergence of several new Countries**: Several new countries emerged after the disintegration of the USSR. These countries had their own political, economical and social aspirations which dominated the world politics.

### Answer 26

Yes, I agree that the foreign policy of independent India has pursued the dream of a peaceful world. It is because:

- a. The foreign policy of independent India vigorously pursued the dream of a peaceful world by advocating the policy of non-alignment, by reducing the Cold War tensions and by contributing human resources to the UN peacekeeping operations.
- b. India wanted to stay away from the military alliances led by the US and the former USSR. She thus started a non alignment movement whereby she decided not to join any of the military blocs.
- c. During the Cold War, the North Atlantic Treaty Charter (NATO) led by USA and Warsaw Pact led by Soviet Union came into existence. India advocated Nonalignment as the ideal foreign policy approach.
- d. In 1956, when Britain attacked Egypt over Suez Canal, India protested. But when USSR invaded Hungary, India did not publicly condemn it. Barring some instances like this, India did take an independent stand over various international issues.

#### 0r

India being a staunch supporter of the decolonisation process and in firm opposition to racialism. Points to justify the statement are:

- a. India supported freedom struggles of all Asian and African nations. Throughout the 1940s and 1950s, Nehru remained an ardent advocate of Asian unity.
- b. It was under the leadership of Nehru that India convened the Asian Relations Conference in March 1947, five months before it gained independence. India made sincere efforts for the early realisation of freedom of Indonesia from the Dutch colonial regime by convening an international conference in 1949 to support its freedom struggle.
- c. India firmly denounced the apartheid policy of the South African government. The Afro-Asian conference held in the Indonesian city of Bandung in 1955, commonly known as the Bandung Conference, marked the zenith of India's engagement with the newly independent Asian and African nations.

### Answer 27

Some acts of resistance and dissent to the Emergency were:

- a. Several political workers who were not arrested immediately after emergency went 'underground' and organised protests against the government.
- b. Newspapers like the Indian Express and the Statesman protested against the press censorship by leaving blank spaces where news items were censored. Magazines like the Seminar and the Mainstream chose to close down rather than submit to censorship.

c. Many pamphlets and newsletters were published secretly to bypass censorship. Kannada writer Shivarama Karanth, awarded with Padma Bhushan, and Hindi writer Fanishwarnath Renu, awarded with Padma Shri, returned their awards in protest against the suspension of democracy.

These acts of resistance deeply affected the public opinion. Many middle and lower class people came to believe that emergency was focused on the non- democratic character of the rule. In the backdrop of arrests of thousands of persons and the censorship of the Press, the public opinion was against the Congress. Jayaprakash Narayan became the popular symbol of restoration of democracy. The formation of the Janata Party also ensured that non-Congress votes would not be divided. It was evident that the going was tough for the Congress.

#### 0r

After 1967 elections, the real challenge to Indira Gandhi came not from opposition but from within her own party. 'Syndicate' was a group of powerful and influential leaders within the Congress. The Syndicate had appointed Mrs. Gandhi as the Prime Minister but soon she started asserting her independence and sidelined the Syndicate. She chose her trusted group of advisers from outside the party. Slowly and carefully, she sidelined the Syndicate. At this point, Indira Gandhi faced two challenges. She needed to build her independence from the Syndicate. She also needed to work towards regaining the ground that the Congress had lost in the 1967 elections. Indira Gandhi adopted a very bold strategy to face this challenge. She converted a simple power struggle into an ideological struggle.