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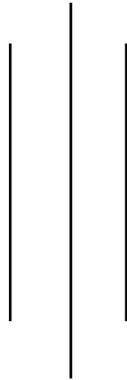
# MODERN INDIA



*Cosmos Bookhive's*

# *Modern India*

*(Choice of Civil Services Aspirants)*



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*With West Asia and Israel.* When the question of admitting Israel's application for admission to the UN membership in the agenda of the third session of the General Assembly, was taken up both India and Pakistan voted in favour of its inclusion. But India did not accord recognition to Israel, because it wished to have the continued friendship and confidence of Arab states and the Government had to keep in mind the sentiments of Indian Muslims. However, the Government of India decided to accord recognition to Israel in 1950. A representative section of the Indian press welcomed India's belated decision. The initial reaction of India to Israel's attack on Egypt in 1956 was marked by condemnatory statement. India's opposition to Israel's right of passage through the gulf of Aquba was in a legal frame of reference. India earned a good name in the Arab world for its role in the Suez crisis in 1956. The majority of Arab leaders assumed that India would always support the Arab cause. But this was contrary to the considerable volume of public opinion in India, which was for establishing cordial relation with Israel. After the cease-fire, the Indian forces in the UN Emergency Force in the Gaza strip and along the international frontiers between the two countries were helpful in maintaining peace.

India has deep sympathy for the Palestine refugees and has wholeheartedly supported the continuation of relief and rehabilitation work by the UN in Palestine. Faced with an acute shortage of foreign exchange, the Indian Government continued to give grants-in-aid to societies engaged in promoting such relations. India also developed closer relations with the UAR (Confederation of Egypt and Syria formed in February 1958). During his visit to Syria in June 1957, Nehru said that India and Syria followed identical foreign policy of non-alignment. When monarchy was abolished in Iraq (July 1958), India recognised the new regime, as Nehru considered the military coup an indication of growing Arab nationalism. The Indo-Iranian Treaty of Commerce and Navigation signed in December 1957 came into force after ratification only on 10 May 1957

However, the policy of Indian Government to hold itself quite aloof, or a much as it could from the Arab-Israeli conflict continues for some more time. During the Indo-Chinese war of 1962, it was expected in India that Israel would extend its support to India; but what piqued India most was that while India went all out to support them during the Suez crisis and continued to give them blanket support on such questions as rights of Palestinian refugees, the like-minded Arab states, particularly the UAR, Syria and Iraq were the most objective spectators during and after the India-China armed conflict. Whatever the factors, the Government of India was able to convince critics at home that maintenance of *status quo* was the best thing to promote Indian interests in West Asia and Arab Africa. The policy of Indian Government towards Israel under Smt. Indira Gandhi's stewardship has

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been a continuation of the policy pursued by the previous Government. As it is, the Indian support for the Arab *vis-a-vis* Israel has been taken for granted although indefensible in the eyes of the critics.

Though on 8 October 1973, Egypt and Syria took the initiative in attacking Israel, India supported the Arab cause as she felt their action could not be termed as aggression, because Israel had provoked the war by not adopting a more flexible attitude in negotiating peace settlement. Declaring India's sympathies with the Arabs, it further said that Arab cause was based on justice and demanded immediate implementation by Israel of UN resolution of 1967 for peaceful solution of the problem, Smt. Gandhi gave two reasons for total sympathy with the Arabs: (1) India's old and solid relations with Arabs required India to stand by its friends in time of their travail; and (2) Israel's refusal to vacate the Arab lands occupied in 1967 war and its refusal to honour UN resolution.

In his first policy statement in the Lok Sabha on 29 June 1977, India's Foreign Minister said: "With...the entire Arab World, we shall not only continue to seek to maintain co-operation. We have assured the Arab world that we shall continue to lend our full support for a just settlement of the West Asian problem based on UN resolutions which require the vacation of Arab territory." In April 1982, Smt. Gandhi paid a visit to Saudi Arabia and described her visit as "cry successful". Three points deserve mention in this regard : (1) Smt. Gandhi did not modify her position on Pakistan. (2) The Joint communiqué noted India's efforts to improve relations with Pakistan (3) Smt. Gandhi's presentation of the position of the Muslims in India should persuade the Saudis not to fall in for the malicious propaganda that has been floating around the Gulf region.



refugees from Tibet and their prejudicial activities, the publication of Chinese maps in 1963 showing parts of Nepalese territory, the deeper impacts of Sino-Soviet ideological conflict and popularity of the Soviet as against the Chinese stand, etc. But there was again a rapid escalation to tension in the region when the Indian Foreign Minister visited Nepal in November 1981. He cautioned the countries of the area against becoming a cat's paw in the game of great powers and reiterated his country's commitment to remain on guard against elements, both within and outside which tended to disrupt Indo-Nepal friendship.

India and Nepal decided to set up a ministerial-level joint commission to further promote economic co-operation. This was announced by the Prime Minister of Nepal, at the end of the official talks between the two countries during his three-day state visit. Addressing a press conference, he said the joint commission would monitor, coordinate and expedite matters relating to the overall economic relationship between India and Nepal. The foreign ministers of the two countries would be the commission's co-chairmen. The date of its first meeting would be finalised after mutual consultation. Replying to questions, the Prime Minister said it was in the context of promoting joint ventures with India that the two countries had decided to set up the joint commission. He appealed to Indian industrialists to invest in Nepal. This he said, would further consolidate friendly relations between the two countries.

Referring to the two rounds of talks he had with the Prime Minister, Mrs. Gandhi, the Prime Minister of Nepal said they had detailed discussions on bilateral, international and regional issues. He said he was satisfied with the outcome of his visit. "Our agreement to expedite the Karnali Rapti and Pancheshwar river projects and to set up a joint commission are proof of the success of my visit," he told a questioner. He further said that during his visit he had received the impression that the feeling in India was that Nepal was dragging its feet on river projects. This, he said, was a false impression. "Our need for development of water resources is greater than yours. India needs these projects for power generation but we need them for irrigation, increasing agricultural production and our economic development," he said.

*With Burma.* India and Burma, once a single political unit, enjoyed cordial relations; and Indian gestures of goodwill were greatly appreciated in Burma. But the plight of Indians in Burma continued, since Burma granted citizenship only to less than 4 thousand out of 40 thousand applicants. Indians were paid inadequate compensation when more than a million acres of their land was nationalized. They had also experienced difficulty in remitting money to their dependents in India. The Burmese Parliament passed the Immigration (Emergency Provisions) Act 1957 and Registration for Foreigners (Amendment) Act, 1957. These measures created further complications regarding settlement of other countries' citizens in Burma.

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In a general statement on Indians abroad, Nehru said they should always give primary consideration to the interests or the people or those countries, they should never allow themselves to be placed in a position exploiting the people of those countries, cooperate with them and help them, while maintaining their own dignity and self respect. Under a financial agreement signed in New Delhi on 12.03.1957 at 4¾% and repayable in 24 half yearly installments starting in 01.04.1960 since then the relations between the two countries have been good.

*With Afghanistan.* India and Afghanistan were traditional friends. To strengthen further the ancient ties which existed between them, they signed a Treaty of Friendship in 1950. Because of the tension between Afghanistan and Pakistan, India was continually charged with intriguing secretly with Afghanistan and pressuring the Government to adopt an unfriendly attitude towards Pakistan. Nehru said in a statement in this connection : "I regret to say, this is one of the numerous things without foundations, which emanates from Pakistan." Indo-Afghan land borne trade was facilitated by cheap and convenient means of transport. The two countries entered into a Treaty of Friendship and Commerce in January 1952. Afghanistan approached India in 1958, to formulate a definite procedure to facilitate the transit of goods between Afghanistan and foreign countries through India. This was finalised to the satisfaction of both the countries.

Afghan President Mohammed Daoud paid an official visit to India in March, 1978. The joint communique, issued at the end of the visit, stated that the two countries had agreed to strengthen and widen bilateral cooperation in economic, technical and commercial matters. The re-emergence of super-power politics in West Asia since 1978, the Soviet Union's armed intervention in a traditionally neutral country—Afghanistan—and the US decision to rearm Pakistan have created a genuine feeling of concern in India. The Soviet Government justified its action on the plea that the Afghan Government had made a "Pressing appeal to the USSR for urgent political moral and economic assistance including military aid on the basis of a year old Soviet Afghan Treaty.

The US decision to rearm Pakistan had been viewed with much concern and apprehension by India, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Nepal and other countries of the region. India has disapproved of the super powers' move to seek military solutions to international problems. New Delhi had conveyed its deep concern to Moscow because of its apprehension that the Soviet action in Afghanistan might have adverse consequences in the entire region. Thus, it can be said in the wake of Afghanistan crisis, with the US and China's decision to dump armaments in the Indian sub-continent and the American-Iranian relations showing no signs of improvement, the South and South West Asian region can become a hotbed of big power rivalry.

dents not only as a blow to the solidarity of the International Communist movement and consequently as a serious ideological lapse but also as a sign that the Soviets and Indians were trying to gang up against it. Peking was also perturbed by the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, 1971. New Delhi tried to reassure the Chinese, that Indo-Soviet Treaty was not aimed against them and that it still considered Taiwan a part of China. It also expressed its readiness for a dialogue with China, without any pre-condition. It was after a lapse of 14 years that both the countries agreed to exchange Ambassadors, i.e. in 1976. Prime Minister Morarji Desai said on 16 March 1978 that India would resume normal ties with China only if the border question was resolved. Invitation of the Chinese Government Indian Foreign Minister visited China in 1978, but it did not lead to any more improvement in relations between the two countries. New Delhi and Beijing expressed the desire to improve bilateral relations and talks were held between their representatives in 1981.

It would be realistic for both sides to acknowledge the limits to the amity they can achieve. Their regional and global perspectives are different, their interests are not identical, the history of their relationship. Over the last 20 years which has conditioned where and how they stand today, cannot be wiped out, and their apprehensions about who or what threatens their security and how these threats should be faced vastly; Within these constraints, a Sino-Indian rapprochement would benefit both countries a great deal and, since they are such major nations in terms of population, size and potential, the world as well.

Although China and Indian made no substantial progress in the latest round of talks held in China in January 1983, their frontier dispute, the two sides "got to the heart of the matter". This was unlike previous meetings when delegations merely "presented their positions but did not touch on any concrete approaches to a solution to the issue." China and India will continue to seek a fair and reasonable solution to the boundary question although the third round of Sino-Indian talks yielded no substantial progress on the issue due to differences in positions. It was agreed that another round of talks between Chinese and Indian officials would be held in New Delhi.

## **II. RELATIONS WITH OTHER ASIAN COUNTRIES**

*With Japan.* The Prime Ministers exchanged visits in 1957. Many delegations—economic, trade and cultural—were also exchanged to strengthen the ties of friendship. As a result, there was better understanding and trade and economic relations increased. The year 1958 marked a substantial increase of cooperation and understanding with Japan in all fields. Nehru sought Kishi's cooperation in developing a climate favouring a top level conference between East and West to resolve their differences and thus pave the way for world peace. On his visit to Japan in 1957, Nehru showed keen

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interest in its industrial development and sought close economic relations between the two countries. The Indo-Japanese Peace Treaty, 1952 had provided for certain privileges to be naturally accorded in respect of trade, shipping and aviation. The two countries signed a trade agreement on 3 February 1958. In July 1977, the Foreign Minister of Japan visited India. He was confident that his talks with the Foreign Minister of India would prepare the ground for closer and meaningful bilateral cooperation between the two countries. He also announced that Japan would never fail to make its contribution to the economic development in India. Indian Prime Minister again visited Japan in July 1982.

*With Nepal.* Close cultural and geographical affinity ensured friendly relations between India and Nepal. To strengthen the bonds of friendship, the two countries signed a treaty in July 1950...Although relations were cordial at government level yet Opposition political parties in Nepal indulged in anti-India trade. The presence of an Indian Military Mission (1951-58) and India aided projects for economic development were grist for the propaganda mills of disgruntled politicians. The Mission was in Nepal at the invitation of the Nepalese Government to reorganize the Royal army. The periodical visits of top officials and political leaders of each country to the other served as a public demonstration of the close and friendly relations both Governments desired.

Such relations were all the more vital after the Chinese pressure for direct contact with Nepal increased. Initially Chou En-lai assured the Prime Minister of Nepal that China would never do anything, “behind India’s back”. China and Nepal signed a treaty regarding Tibet on 21 September 1956 and Nepal recognised China’s sovereignty over Tibet. Dr. K.I. Singh, who had been in exile for 6 years in China, became the Prime Minister of Nepal in 1957. He strongly denied at a press conference, reports that he was a communist and attacked Tanka Prasad Acharya’s policy as pro-communist and anti-indian. In the course of time, the differences between Acharya and Singh became more clear. Acharya’s policy was to improve relations with China to counter Indian influence in Nepal, whereas Singh opposed close ties with China and severely criticised Acharya’s visit to Peking.

The Government of India then realized that its old policy towards Nepal was inadequate to meet the new developing situation, and political climate. The new policy influenced the actions of the Nepalese Government to a great extent; and a new awakening in the foreign policy of Nepal towards India warmed their relations during the early sixties. Continuous efforts were made by both Nepal and India to achieve near normalcy in their relationships. Some vital factors, both external and internal, weighed with Nepal in bringing about this change. These included the fear of China from the north along with concentration of Chinese troops on the Nepal border, incursions of Khampa

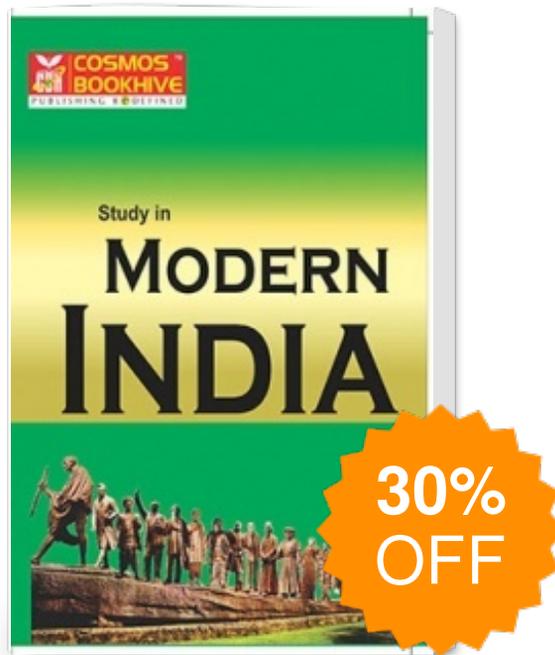
the two countries in the form of the Simla Agreement. Why then President Zia asked for another no-war pact? One obvious answer is that he wants to meet the Indian charge that Islamabad will one day use the military hardware it is acquiring from America against this country and thus to silence critics of the Reagan administration's policy of rearming Pakistan in the U.S. Congress and media. Indeed, it is possible that someone in Washington has asked him to resort to this play. We should try to find out if President Zia is trying to eliminate the Simla Agreement as the framework for determining the relations between India and Pakistan.

While India feels that US military aid to Pakistan may be used against India, this much is certain that this would hit the process of normalisation of relations between the two countries. Further, it may also endanger Pakistan's integrity. A close military alliance with the US will at least obstruct the restoration of democracy and justice in Pakistan and could even pose a danger to the very institutions of the century said the Pakistan Committee for Democracy and Justice. A Soviet writer said "As for Pakistan itself its rulers seem to have learned nothing from the lessons of the past when the country was involved in military blocks. They have also learned nothing from the history of Iran under the Shah." The Congressional study mission which visited Pakistan and India, in November 1981, expressed the view that given the highly emotionally charged animosity between Pakistan and India and other political factors, the proposed military aid package for Pakistan could turn to the disadvantage of the United States.

*With China.* Soon after the People's Republic of China was proclaimed on 1 October 1949, the Government of India extended official recognition to it on 30 December 1949, India being the second non-communist country to do so. Indian delegation to the UN moved a resolution in that body urging that People's Government should represent China in the UN. There was exchange of state visits by the Prime Ministers of the two countries and the interchange of numerous cultural delegations. Another indication of India's desire to be friendly with China was voting against a resolution, in the UN General Assembly branding the People's Republic of China an aggressor in Korea. India also declined to attend the conference convened at San Francisco in 1951 to sign a peace treaty with Japan because among other reasons China was not a party to it. Moreover India gave up all extra-territorial rights and privileges in Tibet inherited from the British Indian Government and recognised Tibet as a region of China.

In a speech broadcast on 5 February 1957, from Calcutta airport, where he stopped on his way to China after visiting Afghanistan, India, Nepal and Ceylon Chou En-Lai said: "Each time we stay in India we feel as were saying in the home of kinsmen, this has enabled us to realize the brotherly friendship between the Chinese and Indian Peoples. Vice-President

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