

THIS BOOKLET takes you right into the
greenroom of communal politics, and • •

CALL IT POLITICS ?

By the author of
HINDUS AND MUSALMANS
OF INDIA

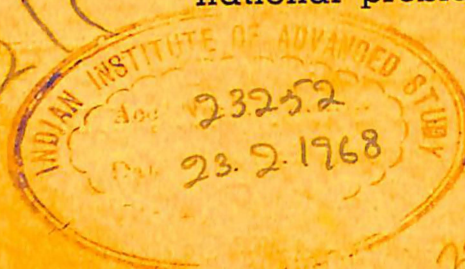
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as it is, this booklet has practical value. It bears the art of practised by shortsighted politicians, it also lays the foundation of a creative attitude to bear on India's national problem.



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CALL IT POLITICS ?

Introductory

At the close of 1930, a high priest of human relations bewailed :

"In our country to-day, we are suffering from want of understanding. Whether it is between the Indian and the British or the Hindu and the Muslim, we are up against the same difficulty. Even when we seem to understand each other, we suddenly reach a point where it becomes clear that we do not have a sufficient grasp of each other's meaning. The trouble is not so much with regard to high philosophy and art as with practical affairs and political motives."

—Radhakrishnan : *Convocation Address to the Punjab University.*

Meanwhile a whole decade has rolled away. Have relations improved anywise? Rather, misunderstanding is getting more and more pronounced and complicated. Men with large minds in Britain and India feel distressed at the human demoralization involved in this conflict. There are many to-day who apprehend that we are precariously on the brink of a calamity. The problem

of misunderstanding between Great Britain and India and amongst various interests in India *inter se* can no longer be permitted to drift. We must look into it with an open mind and have a will to close up. We cannot stop until that will is created. The task is to be conceived as a moral urge.

What was the state of affairs in India when Britain came here? It may be depicted in the following words of Karl Marx :

“How came it that English supremacy was established in India? The paramount power of the great Mogul was broken by the Mogul Viceroys. The power of the Viceroys was broken by the Marathas. The power of the Marathas was broken by the Afghans ; and when all were struggling against all, the Briton rushed in and was enabled to subdue them all.”

—*The Future Results of British Rule in India, New York Tribune,*
August 8, 1853.

Two hundred years of British rule have provided no oil to be dropped on the troubled waters. On the contrary, we seem to have drifted backwards right into a disastrous whirlpool. What was then confined to a few suffering from political or dynastic ambitions has now widened into a popular passion. The pity of it is that our conflict has gone underground. An increasing

ignorance of realities and an absence of self-respect now characterise it. It was believed at one time with the enthusiasm of a discovery that Britain was godsent and would bring into existence a new order to the benefit of both countries. That belief is still lingering in spite of Britain's lapses. It is an irony of fate that the Britisher, trained at Eton and Oxford, has to be reminded of playing the game.

Britain has a way of insisting at every juncture that India must first make up her internal differences, and only then can she reach the goal of her political aspiration. There seems to be a catch here. Britain says: 'Unite and deserve the reward. You have our good-will. More. You are welcome to use our help. There are Royal Commissions, Round Table Conferences and Viceregal interviews. Turn them to your account.' India lies uneasy under the burden of defeated hopes. Misgivings prevail. She feels that Britain sees to it that her sons do not unite. More is meant in the plea of 'minorities' than *their* protection. Thus darkness deepens on the mental background of both.

It is time that we shed our prejudices and proceeded honestly to find out where we stand and what are the psychological causes of our failure to understand each other. Our failure is apart of the failure of humanity to achieve human

unity. It is premature to talk of contributing to this greater unity for a people who are not themselves an entity.

In the following pages I shall try as far as possible to narrate the story of our conflict in the words of those who count. Events and thoughts lying at the root of these events are presented in their original version in order to assist us to an objective study of the issue as a whole. A heart-searching is a necessary process in an endeavour to see each other's points of view and find a common one. The proverb says : "To understand all is to forgive all." With this object of a fruitful understanding in view I give below a rational study of the "political motives."

Indian Version

The first British factory in India was erected at Surat. Before long, "as far as trade to England was concerned, the presidency of Bengal was the 'most considerable to the English nation of all their settlements in India.'" (Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan : *The East India Trade in the Seventeenth Century*. P. 253.) British political power was first established in Bengal by the Company, supplanting the rule of its Nawab. How was the stage laid out? The following from Major B. D. Basu, who supports his contention by citing an English official of those days, will explain :

"The Hindus of their own accord did not wish for a change. They were happy and prosperous under the rule of the followers of the Crescent. Thus even S. C. Hill is compelled to write : 'The accounts of Muhammadan rule by Muhammadan writers do not, I must own, show any signs of such misgovernment as would impel an oriental race to revolt. In fact, I think every student of social history will confess that the condition of peasantry in Bengal in the middle of the eighteenth century compared not unfavourably with that of the same class in France or

Germany.' But the Christian English, to make them serve as their catspaw, intrigued with the 'heathen' Hindus and they must have placed some temptation before the latter's eyes to make them discontented and throw off the yoke of the Muhammadans."

—*Rise of the Christian Power in India*, p. 45.

During the years that followed, the Company appeared to have selected the Hindus for confidence and special favour. The Sepoy Mutiny, which centred its hope on the Mogul Emperor, further inflamed British anger against Muslims. With the inauguration of the Indian National Congress the tide turned completely. Preparations of the Congress may be said to have begun when representatives of three important institutions—British Indian Association, Indian Association and Central Mahommedan Association—met in a conference in 1883, and outlined vaguely, it may be, Indian political aspirations. Regarding this conference, Wilfrid Blunt wrote: "What India really asks for as goal of her ambition is self-government." It is interesting to note that the resolution "for the establishment of responsible Government in India" was formally moved in the open Congress of 1917 by the late Sir Surendranath Banerjee and it was supported by Mr. M. A. Jinnah, now President of the Muslim League.

To return to the earlier days. In 1885, Mr. Hume sought the advice of the Viceroy, Lord Dufferin, if a 'safety-valve' should be devised to give an outlet for the accumulating patriotic passion of the then Indians. The Viceroy desired that a sort of an 'opposition party' might well be set up in the shape of an annual congress. But the attitude did not last long, for :

"...in 1888, Lord Dufferin referred nastily to the Congress as a 'microscopic minority' and Government favour turned from the Indian bourgeois to the Mahomedan land-lords.....Wahabi repression...Mahomedan sympathy with the Congress.....Government now openly disapproving of Congress activities, found a useful instrument in..... Sir Sayed Ahmed, who basking in the sun of British approval,.....founded in 1887 a Patriotic Association to work against the Congress....."—Lister Hutchinson, *The Empire of the Nabobs*, pp. 166-87.

It would be idle to gainsay the fact that the neo-nationalism of India owes its inspiration to English education. Efforts were honestly made to initiate Hindus into the culture of the English people and bring them up along the lines of English education. Macaulay, in his famous *Minute on Indian Education*, wrote :

"It may be that the public of India may expand under our system till it has out-

grown our system ; that by good Government we may educate our subjects into a capacity for better government ; that having become instructed in European knowledge they may, in some future age, demand European institutions. Whether such a day will ever come I know not. But never will I attempt to retard it or avert it. Whenever it comes it will be the proudest day in English history."

About the same time—that of the last days of Raja Ram Mohan Ray, the great pioneer of the synthetic study of Indian problems—Rev. Rikards wrote :

"The schoolmaster is abroad with his primer, pursuing a course which no power can hereafter.....arrest. Through the medium of schools, literary meetings, and printed books, all the learning and the science of Europe will be greedily imbibed.....by the Hindus of India."

Muslims looked askance at this new learning with mingled pride and puritanism, more or less under the influence of the Wahabi movement. It was left to Sir Sayad Ahmed of Aligarh to organise a Mohammedan Educational Conference with a view to bring round his community to an appreciation of the uses of English education, which in time produced and is still

producing brilliant torch-bearers of Indian nationalism.

The first great Secretary of State for India, Sir Charles Wood's momentous Despatch (Chiro : *India*, P. 126) on education in India was the outcome of a regular Parliamentary Committee on the subject. Before this Committee, in 1854, Sir Charles Trevelyan had submitted a paper on the *Political Tendencies of the Different Systems of Education in India*. Elated at the success of English education, he observed :

“Familiarly acquainted with us by means of our literature, the Indian youths almost cease to regard us as foreigners. They speak of our great men with the same enthusiasm as we do.”

Unfortunately the time came when this enthusiasm suffered a set-back. Why have Indians felt grievously disappointed, why are they so sore at heart? We cite below two authorities, one on the fact of the Indian's disappointment, the other about the reason behind it. Says the Earl of Birkenhead, smarting under the anguish that his much manœuvred Simon Commission was boycotted :

“Indian politicians, mostly educated in the school of that Western learning which they pretend so much to despise, may forget these hard facts.....those who had

blackguarded me in the vernacular Press for not appointing the Commission earlier, immediately began to assail the Commission in terms of "Go back, Simon." To judge by the speeches which are made by old Harrow boys and members of the Inns of Court, who ought to despise Western civilisation so much that they would not condescend to speak its language, *but who owe their own capacity for mischief to the education which they have derived from the West*, they have reached the conclusion that if the despised English left India to-morrow, a happy and united country would acclaim the political rebirth of a great sub-continent and its leaders in the noisy malcontents of the moment."

--*Last Essays*, Ch. iv, The Peril to India -1.

Prof. C. E. M. Joad goes into the reason why the educated Indian is disappointed :

"The principles of freedom and self-government originated in England. From there they have spread in theory and the abstract all over the world, reaching, still in theory and the abstract, India. Their influence on India was for long and might still have remained academic, were it not for the continuous stream of Indians

which for the last fifty years has flowed into the English Universities, where young Hindus have imbibed the idea of John Stuart Mill, Bernard Shaw and Bertrand Russell. It was not in the nature of things to be expected that they should fail to apply the lessons they had learnt to the situation of their country.....But while in England professors have lauded to Indian students the claims of theoretical freedom, in India our administrators have denied the practice of the theory our thinkers combine to commend. If the policy of our rulers has provoked the demand for freedom, it is the teaching of our great men that has implanted the love of it.....

The ideal which, it is clear, he (Radha-Krishnan) has in mind is that of an association between equals for mutual advantage, an association in which Englishmen and Indians, standing at the confluence of their respective streams of human culture, should blend the two, and, enriched by the blend, carry the human spirit to heights hitherto unrealized..... A pooling of talents and cultures should pave the way for the evolution of a type of human being more developed in point of mental accomplishment and spiritual endowment than the world has

yet seen. Nor is the interchange of material goods for mutual economic advantage overlooked. Such an 'association may be the outer expression of the ultimate synthesis between the East and the West'. It may also be the nucleus 'of a smaller League of Nations' working within the world polity for international peace."

—*Counter Attack from the East*

(*Radhakrishnan—The Liason Officer*)

To resume the events that followed the establishment of the Congress. At the time when the National Congress was in its third session at Madras, with Badruddin Tyabji as President, the Patriotic Association held its Conference at Lucknow under the presidency of Sir Sayad Ahmad, urging Musalmans not to join hands with what was called 'Bengali Hindu Congress'. Lord Minto's letter of 11th May, 1906, may not be irrelevant here. The Viceroy wrote to Morley : "..... the Bengali editor is spreading his influence throughout India. I like what I have seen of Gokhale, and am very far from saying that he is in sympathy with much of his party literature, but he is playing with dangerous tools."

At the fourth Indian National Congress at Allahabad, Seikh Reza Husain Khan held out a

Fatwa from the spiritual leader of the Sunni community of Lucknow wherein was stated :

“It is not the Muslims but their official masters who were opposed to the Congress.”

It was trenchantly remarked in the Presidential Address of Bishun Narayan Dhar, 26th session of the Congress, held in Calcutta in 1911 :

“When under the advice of Sir W. Wedderburn and H. E. The Aga Khan, the representatives of the two communities were about to meet at Allahabad a year ago, with the object of reconciling their differences, an Anglo-Indian paper, which is believed to be an organ of the Civil Service, remarked—‘Why do these men want to unite the two communities, if it is not to unite them against the Government?’ This one remark throws a ghastly light upon the political situation in India.”

The time came when a great Musalman had to complain against the policy of division applied to his community :

“While thanking the Government for their anxiety to see Punjab Muslims united, I venture to suggest a little self-examination to the Government themselves.”

So said no less a thinker than the late Sir Muhammad Iqbal about the old regime in the Punjab. Sir Muhammad Iqbal continued :

“Who is responsible, I ask, for the distinction of rural and urban Muslims—a distinction which has cut up the Muslim community into two groups—and the rural group into several sub-groups, constantly at war with one another?Sir Herbert Emerson deplors the lack of leadership in Muslims, I deplore continuance by the Government of a system which has crushed out all hopes of a real leader appearing in the Province.” (Statesman, May 11, 1935.)

I cite the view of Sir Muhammad Iqbal because to my mind both Hindus and Muslims as Indians should be equally proud of his gift as a great poet of national renaissance. If he sang of pan-Islamism :

“The silence of the Hedjaz has proclaimed
to the expectant years at last,
That the compact once made with the
people of the desert shall again stand
renewed.”

he also sang of *Hindustan hamara* :

“Greece, Egypt and Rome have faded away
from the world,
But still lives my Hindostan.”

Sir Muhammad Iqbal points out two things. In the first instance, forces of division were let loose in India in the wake of the policy that governs India. Secondly, the educational and administrative mould cast by the British Government in this country has been such as to eliminate all opportunities of producing a real, capable, independent leader of men ; wherever a man has appeared it has been in spite of the mould. This may or may not be wholly correct. The nobler influences of British history, literature and character cannot be minimised. But at a certain stage human ideals clashed with the narrower interests of nations. As a result, it is said, Britain planned to keep India divided. In this connection may be remembered what Voltaire said with characteristic cynicism : "Such is the condition of human affairs that to wish for the greatness of one's own country is to wish for the harm of his neighbour." The position is this. To seek one's own at the expense of others is to tempt the devil. Once it starts, *facile decensus averni*, easy is the descent to hell. Once Hindus and Musalmans were successfully isolated, not only finer cuts into each of them were one after another perpetrated but also these divisions themselves began to welcome these surgical feats. We see the results so clearly to-day that Iqbal's point needs no amplification.

And this view finds a far clearer expression

in the words of a Muslim Congress leader. Said Maulana Muhammad Ali at the Round Table Conference in the course of his first speech :

“The real problem which is upsetting us all the time has been the third problem—the Hindu-Muslim problem ; *but it is no problem at all.* The fact is that the Hindu-Muslim difficulty, like the army difficulty, is your creation. But not altogether. It is the old maxim of divide and rule. But there is a division of labour here. We divide and you rule. The moment we decide not to divide you will not be able to rule as you are doing today. With this determination not to be divided we have come here.”

When, however, it was too late, on March, 1932, while addressing a meeting in the Central Theatre of the King's College, Mr. Jinnah confessed with sorrow that only to sidetrack the fundamental issue, the conveners of the R. T. C. introduced the Hindu-Muslim question which was “exaggerated in England by various interested parties.” In the bitterness of his confession he urged :

“And to make matters worse, the question of Hindu-Muslim settlement is brought over and over again.....In all sincerity I want to ask if you think that we can

possibly get an agreement on a question like this without there being any sanction behind it or any instrument with which you can enforce the decision arrived at. Do you think if to-morrow your people are asked if they will have tariffs or no, you will get unanimity of opinion? Do you mean to say that they are not patriots? And yet they do not agree...It is not the voters on your electoral roll who decide the questions or the question of tariffs. It is the machinery that is behind your Government in power... When we met in the second Conference the differences were only confined to the Punjab and Bengal and about the Central Legislature whether Muslims should have 27 or 33 seats in that legislature. And what do you notice? The settlement fell through because of one seat here or another seat there. And once again I repeat my question to British public, why do you go about talking of Indian communal question when you yourself cannot settle the much vexed tariff question?"

The Conference concluded with the device of the Communal Award. And the Indian feeling on what followed may be gathered from the joint statement of Malavya and Aney :

"It is important to mention that even after

the Communal Award had been published in August, 1932, the Unity Conference convened at Allahabad in which representatives of the Hindu Mahasabha, the Muslim League and the All-India Muslim Conference, the Sikhs and Indian Christians took part, succeeded after weeks of strenuous labour in arriving at an agreement on all vital points on the basis of joint electorates throughout India. The result of that Conference proved infructuous only because the Europeans in Bengal did not agree to give up a part of the excessive representation which had been secured to them under the Award and which it was necessary they should in order that the agreement between Hindus and Mohammedans might be carried into effect. It is sadder still because while the Unity Conference came to an agreement on the 24th of December on the basis of 32 per cent of seats in the Central Legislature to be reserved for Muslims and on the question of the separation of Sind subject to certain conditions agreed upon by Sind Hindus and Musalmans, the Secretary of State, Sir Samuel Hoare announced five days later in the House of Commons that the Government had fixed 33-1/3 per cent representation

for the Muslims in the Central Legislature and that it had decided that Sind would be separated. Sir Samuel Hoare has furnished fresh and unquestionable proof that the attempt of Indians to bring about a communal agreement among themselves cannot succeed so long as the British Government or its influential representatives desire that there shall be no such unity. It has been made abundantly clear that public opinion was growing stronger against separate electorates and in favour of joint electorates when His Majesty's Government in their wisdom decided not only to maintain separate electorates but also to extend them even in the case of communities which were distinctly opposed to them. They have exposed themselves to the criticism uttered in the Montague-Chelmsford Report which said that division by creeds and classes meant the creation of political camps organised against each other and taught men to think as partisans and not as citizens."

The Communal Award was announced here on 18th August, 1932. Pundit Malavya organised a Unity Conference at Allahabad where spokesmen of various interests met twice during November and December. Sir Samuel Hoare,

as we have seen, marred the prospect of an agreement by his higher bids in respect of representation in the Central Assembly and separation of Sind. Attention has been drawn to the two cases by two leading Hindu publicists of two different schools of politics. Mr. (now Sir) C. Y. Chintamani, one of the soberest of Indian politicians, speaking at Rajahmundry on 16th January, 1933, said :

“These are the two latest illustrations which I place before you in support of my contention that it is not fair in reason perhaps for the British to lay upon the shoulders of the Hindus the burden of reaching an agreed settlement between the communities as a condition precedent to constitutional reforms.”

Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee observed :

“From these two solid unfragile facts it may not be unfair to infer that probably the Muslim communalists want to ascertain by hard bargaining to what extent the Hindus may agree to yield *on paper* in order to obtain more from the Government in the form of substantial concessions and preference.”

—*The Modern Review*, March, 1933.

The Award and the failure of the Unity Conference impelled a large section of the Hindu

community to be jealous of its own rights. Reaction gradually hardened and became even bitter. Thereafter when the Hindu talked of coming to terms it was not with a generous mind. To-day what he practically says to the Musalman is: 'I shall not deny you your rights but I shall give up nothing, not one jot of my own rights.' This is indeed a new attitude. The reason of this transformation lies in the fact that constant brooding on interests is bound to make men sordid. All that happens is not permanent. Why not let the passing day take care of itself, and concentrate on the great day to come—on India, glorious and resplendent, India of all her sons and daughters united in love for her service ?

To rear unity on a pact of mutually exclusive greed is a self-contradictory task. Fear of each other cannot beget unity. Sacrifice for a common cause does it. Sacrifice can only be inspired by a sense of kinship. A pact is a mere makeshift lacking in confidence. It betrays a conflict of motives. And what but a sad and certain failure can be its result ?

“For motives belong to the realm of morals, not of economics. Thus a so-called ‘Economic Conference’, the parties to which entered upon the discussion with policies inspired by differing motives, would be foredoomed to failure. *The deadlock would be there from the beginning, in the*

minds of the participants. For a conflict of motives is, at bottom, a conflict between moral ideas : and, when it is an organized conflict, it is a conflict between *moral systems.*”

—Sir Alfred Zimmern : *The Prospects of Civilization.*

The Congress, representing the nation as a whole, could not and did not lose itself in a quarrel against its Muslim limb. It was against communal representation not because the Muslim got thereby a little more than was due to him but because it was radically wrong in principle and because it militated against the conception of the organic oneness of the Indian people. So we find that its leaders refused to be dragged into an opposition against the Muslim on the plea of this Award. Pundit Nehru wrote on 29th November, 1933 :

“The Mahasabha at Ajmer has passed a long resolution on the communal award pointing out its obvious faults and inconsistencies. But it has not, so far as I am aware, said a word in criticism of the White Paper scheme. I am not personally interested in petty criticisms of that scheme because I think that it is wholly bad and is incapable of improvement. But from the Mahasabha’s point of view to ignore it

was to demonstrate that it cared little, if at all, about the political aspect of Indian freedom. It thought only in terms of what the Hindus got or did not get."

Asked by *The Leader* for an opinion on the Award, the poet Rabindranath, however, wrote :

"Things have come to such a state that I hate even to complain, knowing the determined attitude of our rulers and the helplessness of our situation."

Mahatma Gandhi stressed the attitude of our rulers too, as would appear from a Reuter's message, dated Copenhagen, October 24, 1939 :

"Mr. Gandhi is also quoted as declaring that the Hindu-Muslim question is the result of British rule."

Has there been any change in the attitude of the various political parties and our rulers even when face to face with such a terrible crisis as the present war? For, on November 6, 1940, we find Pundit Jawaharlal saying :

"The Viceroy's statement issued last night has surprised me. From his statement it would appear that the question to be considered was a communal one and he adds that there remains to-day entire disagreement between representatives of the major political parties on fundamental issues. This seems to me an entire misapprehen-

sion of the situation and I am not aware of any such disagreement on fundamental issues. But there is a fundamental disagreement between the Congress and the British Government and it was because of this that the Viceroy's proposals could not be considered by us. The question before us was a political one and as such it was considered by all of us. It was agreed between Mr. Jinnah and me that the communal question should be discussed fully by us at an early convenient date. This did not affect the Viceroy's proposals so long as the political difficulty was not got over. Hence it was not discussed in this connection. To drag the communal question in this straight issue is to befog people's minds and divert them into wrong channels."

Gandhiji is never tired of reminding us where our own duty lies. It is easy to lay all blame on a third party, but are our hands clean? Yet he cannot view with unconcern the gravity of the situation created by our rulers. His reply to the Viceroy's broadcast has, as one would look for, a spiritual logic of its own :

"What is wanted is a declaration of Britain's intentions regarding her Indian policy irrespective of India's wishes. A slaveholder, who has decided to abolish slavery

does not consult his slaves whether they desire freedom or not. Once declaration to a free India from bondage, not in stages but at once, is made, an interim solution will be found to be easy and protection of rights of minorities will then become simple. Britain has hitherto held power—this is inevitable in any system of imperialism—by playing the minorities against the so-called majority and has thus made an agreed solution among the component parts well-nigh impossible. The burden of finding a formula for the protection of minorities should be thrown on the parties themselves. So long as Britain considers it her mission to bear that burden so long will she continue to feel the necessity of holding India as a dependency.”

Indeed, more than one attempt at nation-building has been frustrated in history by the officious solicitude of third parties for minority protection. It may not be out of place to mention here the principle of minority protection as had been elucidated by Sir Austin Chamberlain in the League of Nations :

“It was certainly not the intention of those who have decided the system of minority protection to establish in the midst of a nation a community which would remain permanently estranged from the national

life. The object of minorities treaties was to secure that measure of protection and justice for the minorities that would generally prepare them to be merged in the national community to which they belong."

Curiously, however, Sir Austin chose to forget his own philosophy while sitting on the Joint Parliamentary Committee on The White Paper decisions.

To come back to India. The following statement from certain prominent Indian Liberal leaders makes it evident that the unfavourable impression regarding the attitude of the Government is pretty general. In reply to the message to the people of India from nine members of the British Parliament, these notable leaders regretted to observe :

"We can sincerely say that we have never approached any public question with the slightest communal bias. We have always honestly tried to understand and remove the legitimate apprehensions of minorities. It has always been our aim that the constitution shall fully protect the minority interests and enable the minorities to make their contribution to the solution of national problems. But we must say that although it is apparently con-

ceded that India must be allowed to have a substantial share in the framing of her constitution, yet the task has been made virtually impossible for her by declarations on the part of Government which encourage communal intransigence and thus practically give the minorities and other interests a veto on constitutional advance. In a recent speech of Mr. Amery the reference to the regrouping of provinces and considerable enlargement of the powers of the province as against the Centre and the new type of executive authority and insistence in every official pronouncement on the rights of the minorities without the clear statement that the minorities would not be allowed to block constitutional advance by unreasonable demands have, we are afraid, created the impression that Britain is taking advantage of the communal difficulties in order to maintain her power."

This impression is far more wide-spread than can be suspected. In moving the resolution of the Bombay Conference on March 14, Sir N. N. Sircar, who can be said to belong to no political party, said :

"Talking about the League and the Congress there has been a complaint from some

quarters that Mr. Amery has never declared unequivocally his views on Pakistan, though it is quite clear that the independence as asked for by the Congress is not acceptable.

“After this complaint had been persisted in, Mr. Amery came with the slogan “India First.” This, of course, could only mean one India and not two Indias. This slogan sent a thrill of horror through some politicians who declared, that India consists of two nations, and a mischievous slogan like “India First” should not be tolerated. *Curiously enough Mr. Amery in his subsequent statement has dropped the slogan “India First” and stresses on the consideration of the viewpoint of 90 millions of Moslems.*

“As I have said before, apparently the Muslim League has become synonymous with 90 millions of Moslems. The four-and-a-half crores of Memons, as also the Shiahhs, the Ahrars, etc. do not count at all. With due deference I submit that if the implication is that the Muslim League represents the view of 90 millions of Moslems, such an inference is altogether wrong and opposed to facts.

“It has been stated in the resolution that India should not take advantage of

Britain's difficulties in her heroic struggle. I entirely agree. We should not exploit Britain's difficulties, and it is our duty to help her in every way possible to reduce those difficulties, and indeed I believe that the resolution is intended to achieve that result.

"I would like to supplement the above statement by saying that equally England should not exploit or take an undue advantage of our difficulties. (Hear, hear.)

"It is said that Indians are suspicious people, and they unjustly doubt the sincerity of His Majesty's Government. My answer to that is, that the situation of repeated promises being made, subject to conditions which cannot be fulfilled, is responsible to a very large degree for such suspicion as exists to-day.

"Suspicion breeds suspicion. Can His Majesty's Government say that they have no suspicion of Indians? I believe Lord Chesterfield said; "Half confidence is the most dangerous thing," and the present situation is merely an illustration of the correctness of that maxim."

Sir N. N. Sircar, fresh from the Government office, talking in this strain is intriguing enough

for a student of Indian affairs. But what the world-poet Tagore says on his eightieth birthday in last April from a high humanitarian standpoint is absolutely staggering :

“.....Coming back to India, we feel that the blackest of evils that has come in the wake of British administration was much more than the rulers' shameful neglect and apathy to provide the minimum amenities of civilised existence. Their failure is nowhere more apparent than in the cruel way in which they have contrived to divide the Indians amongst themselves. The pity of it all lies in the fact that now perhaps they want to lay the blame at the door of our own society. This ugly and savage culmination of Indian history would never have been possible, if communalism and provincialism and lack of mutual faith were not sedulously encouraged to grow to their present vicious form by some secret conclave holding the highest responsibilities in the system of administration.”

The old sage is not a politician. And no one can say that the poet is less ardent than any in his sentiments for English literature and faith in English character. In view of this we refrain from making any comment and allow the statement to speak for itself.

Lastly comes Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, a philosopher out and out, who has spent his life in interpreting the East to the West and the West to the East. Referring to the India Debate in the House of Commons, says Prof. Radhakrishnan (Calcutta, April 24, 1941) :

“.....There is abundance of goodwill for Britain and an anxiety to stand by her and yet by sheer stupidity and self-will all these moral resources are being wasted to the detriment of both Britain and India. The speech of the Secretary of State for India seems to desire a dialectical victory more than a real solution of the complex Indian problem. He refers to the communal problem as the greatest obstacle. No one can deny the reality of it, but it is not necessary to assume that all the politically minded Muslims are in sympathy with the extreme and unrepresentative official opinions of the Muslim League. The Muslim of the North Western Frontier Province and Sind, the Proja Party of Bengal, the Shias, the Momins, the Ahrars and the Jamiat-ul-Ulema, the Congress Muslims among others, are not with Mr. Jinnah. The Premiers of the Punjab and Bengal became members of the Muslim League after their election. Though nominally of the League their policies in

the Provinces in regard to the war have little in common with the policy of the League. Besides, it must be most mortifying to the true Englishman to find that his work all these decades for building up a united India has come to naught. But he cannot escape the responsibility for the communal cleavages. Some years ago, Mr. Lionel Curtis wrote regarding separate electorates that 'India will never attain to the unity of nationhood so long as they remain. The longer they remain the more difficult will it be to uproot them, till in the end they will be only eradicated at the cost of civil war. To enable India to attain nationhood is the trust laid on us and in conceding to the establishment of communal representation we have been false to that trust.' The honest Britisher must feel repentant for the mischief he has caused and do his best to undo it even at this late hour."

A reactionary tendency is something that one is familiar with. It has cropped up now and again in all countries and in all ages without doing any substantial or lasting damage. At times it has even performed a useful service in checking a spirit of reckless go-aheadness. But when such a tendency is persistent or pervading it can absolutely clog the wheels of progress. In our interpretation of Indo-British relationship we have to examine the true nature and the real extent of the reactionary forces in operation. The loudness of a voice is no test of its power. Often a loud voice is no worse than a mere disturbing factor. England is essentially conservative and cautious, but one does not like to charge her with deliberation in setting back the hands of the clock in India. We would therefore allow various Britishers to speak for themselves in the matter of the relationship subsisting between India and England during the period of their contact for historic purposes.

We have presently to refer to such an individual Britisher. This gentleman, Sir John Malcolm, on his own admission, owes his success to "deceit, falsehood and intrigue". He thus depicts himself in his journal: "What a happy

man I am ! It is impossible to look back without congratulating myself on my good fortune at every stage of my late vexatious and uncompromising mission. I have now turned my back, and I hope for ever, on deceit, falsehood and intrigue ; and I am bending my willing steps and still more willing heart towards rectitude, truth and sincerity." But it was *impossible* for him to retrace his *steps* or to repair his *heart*. Not long after his return from the Persian mission, Sir John declared in his evidence before the Lord's Committee on the renewal of the Charter of 1813 to the effect that British power should be established as deep-rooted in India as the nail of division could be dived into her body politic. The political realist speaks again ! That 'divide and rule' is bad in ethics is seldom apparent ; that it is bad too in practice is only seen when it is too late. It is hoped, however, that Britain, conscious of her role in history, will rise to her height and refuse to be dominated by such political philosophy.

In dividing the two major communities, the British Government's balance of favour has inclined according to the exigencies of the political situation. As a study of this political situation, the following extracts may prove interesting :

"Besides the charge brought by Lord Ellenborough against Lord Canning, the

European inhabitants of Calcutta sent in a petition to the proper authorities demanding the recall of Lord Canning. The charge brought against Lord Canning by them was that he did not support the anti-Moslem cry raised by the European community in India after the Sepoy Mutiny."

—The Duke of Argyle quoted, Major B. D. Basu : *India under the British Crown*, p. 16.

In 1848, the Viceroy, Lord Ellenborough, wrote :

"It seems to me most unwise when we are sure of the hostility of one-tenth, not to secure the enthusiastic support of the nine-tenths who are faithful.I cannot close my eyes to the belief that this race (Moslem) is fundamentally hostile to us and therefore our true policy is to conciliate the Hindoos."

Twenty years after this enunciation of the Hindoo-Moslem policy, Sir W. W. Hunter could testify to its continuance. He stated :

"After the Mutiny the British turned upon the Musalmans as their real enemies."

It may be interesting to compare, or rather contrast, the situation with what obtained during

the days of the Partition of Bengal. Mr. Lister Hutchinson observes :

“The Lieutenant Governor of the new province of Eastern Bengal and Assam opened his administration by making a speech, of doubtful taste in a law-abiding Christian, in which he said that he had two wives, one Hindu and one Mohamedan, the Mohamedan being the favourite.”

—*The Empire of the Nabobs*, pp. 197—98.

In this connection I would draw my reader's attention to Mr. V. D. Savarkar's claim to the Hindu monopoly of nationalism. The following from his Presidential Address at the all-India Hindu Mahasabha, 1938, has the ring of an unkind propaganda :

“The British had found that all the bloody wars they had to fight in the course of their Indian conquest were with Hindu powers. Moslem as a political power was already smashed by the Marathas. The only fight the British had to face single-handed with the Moslem was at Plassey. But it was such an easy affair that they say the British commander won it while he was asleep! Consequently the first anxiety of the British was to see that the Hindu nation must be undermined, their solidarity as a religious and political unit

must be broken. The Moslems came in the picture as a mere handy tool in the hand of the British to compass their design."

Mr. Savarkar forgets the basic fact that India belongs to both Hindus and Muslims and will ever so belong. His last sentence is in bad taste and is hardly supported by the facts of history.

Thus observes a non-official, Col. Lees, in a letter to *The Times*, dated 18th October, 1871, about partiality to Hindus :

"In Bengal their (Moslem) discontent is rather our fault than their own. For there it is certainly due mainly to those unjust and iniquitous proceedings of early Indian Government which made landlords out of Hindu collectors of revenue, and finally crystallised the injustice thus done to the community in general, and the Mohamedan portion of it in particular, by that gigantic blunder. The perpetual settlement placed the whole of India under unequal and unjust contribution."

In 1888, Hume replying to Sir Auckland Colvin, Governor of N. W. Provinces (U. P.), said :

"The Muslims were as intelligent as, and

more democratic than, any one else, and in their antipathy to Congress were only being used by a few ill-advised officials who clung to the pestilential doctrine of *Divide et Impera.*”

The same note was struck by the late Mr. Ramsay MacDonald in 1911. Recent developments of the Partition of Bengal, he said :

“gave support to a suspicion that sinister influences have been at work, that the Mahomedan leaders were inspired by certain Anglo-Indian officials and that these officials pulled wires at Simla and in London and, of malice afterthought, sowed discord between the Hindu and Mahomedan communities by showing the Mahomedans special favours.”

It may be recalled in this connection that Ramsay MacDonald in those days characterised the scheme of separate electorates as a “staggering blow.” He had then, of course, no thought that he would at one time become the author of the Communal Award.

The policy of divide and rule was for the first time provided with a philosophical basis by Sir John Strachey, who in 1872 had officiated as the Governor-General of India. In the course of his Cambridge University Lectures (delivered in 1884, published in 1888—the nascent days of the Indian

National Congress), Sir John emphasised that India, as constituted by geography and history, by nature and man, was strongly divided in its composition, having not the least claim to unity. "What is India? What does this name India signify?" Sir John exclaims. And instantly he asserts :

"The answer that has more than once been given sounds paradoxical, but it is true. There is no such country, and this is the first and most essential fact about India that can be learned."

—Sir John Strachey, *India*, Introductory.

In the abundance of enthusiasm, Sir John repeats :

"This is the first and most essential thing to learn about India—that there is not, and never was, an India, or even any country of India, possessing, according to European ideas, any sort of unity, physical, political, social or religious ; no Indian nation, 'no people of India', of which we hear so much."

—*India*, Introductory.

This is propaganda, pure and simple, without a vestige of historical research. But as it indicates a significant pose in the governance of India, the truth should often be reiterated and realised. India had right from the start a clear conception

of essential unity. That this unity was cultural rather than political in the Hindu period only shows that politics in the modern sense had not as yet made an appearance in the world. Who ever heard of a politically united Greek nation? The German or the Italian did not achieve a politically independent State till very late in the nineteenth century. Yet what student of political science can deny that a sense of political unity preceded even the *Tugendbund* or the *Carbonari* in these two countries? Why did the early Hindu love the seven great rivers of his motherland and recall them daily at his prayers? Why under the name of pilgrimage were vast crowds for ever circulating all over the land from Katamundu to Kanyakumari and from Amarnath to Chandranath? No, it is no good denying that the old Hindu loved his great motherland. When millions love a motherland nationhood is all but born. Under the Mahomedans—Afghans as well as Moghuls—political ideas in a modern sense developed apace, and an all-India empire was clearly visualised by many more emperors than Akbar, immortalised by Tennyson's poem. Let us not labour this point but concede that throughout history a Bengali and a Punjabi knew themselves to be as much brother-Indians as the Prussian and the Bavarian, the Englishman and the Scotchman, the Frenchman and the Burgandian.

The Introduction of the *Joint Parliamentary*

Committee's Report hinted at but laid no stress on India's disunity. Mr. Amery in his "India First" slogan, spoke of India's "underlying unity". On this underlying unity there is agreement even between Vincent Smith (*Oxford History of India*) and Pundit Nehru (*The Unity of India* published in *Foreign Affairs*). It may also be mentioned here that, speaking before the Society of Art in London on 13th December, 1935, Sir Abdul Qadir stressed the deep cultural contact between Indians of different communities, and the Marquess of Zetland, with his intimate knowledge of Indian culture, readily endorsed this view.

The Stracheyan doctrine of two-nations in India served not only to justify the policy of the Government but in time went far to create a wide-spread illusion among the governed themselves. But for all that, the doctrine itself is hollow. India has been and is a nation, as we have pointed out above. In spite of the ultra-mountain affinities, the Indian Moslem had been Indian for all practical purposes long before Abul Fazl dwelt on the glories of Hindoostan because of "the love of my native country." Politically, Sultanate in Delhi ceased to be an appendage of the Ghaznvide Empire since the reign of Qutubuddin. Extra-territorial ambitions and affiliations do not disturb any Indian Moslem to-day. He feels he is the son of the Indian soil,

and knows too well that there is no outside home to welcome him.

What he seems to be sore about is that his cultural ideals will suffer under a Hindu majority domination. Is this fear a real one? What has happened to these ideals already under a Christian Government and one practically committed to the supremacy of the industrial civilization of the West? If the Muslim in India had any real apprehension we would have seen something of it in his conduct hitherto towards Europe and her very un-Islamic ideals. What is independent Turkey's civilization? Contaminated by alien culture? Islam never feared it. Rather, the Khalifs of Baghdad welcomed foreign culture out of their free will. Nor had the independent Muslim rulers in India ever any defeatist feeling towards Hindu culture. For Islam had also a very great deal to give.

I wish to note in passing that at the end of the fourteenth century when Timur invaded India he pleaded as his justification the fact that Indian Musalman "had strayed from the Mahommedan fold". At one time, round about a century and a half ago, Wahabi movement tried in vain to revive the rigid Arabic insularism. Even Indian poets like Hali, for the sake of this never-to-be-restored pristine purity, wished that the army of Islam would have done very much better if they

“had turned back baffled” from the door of India, as the “host of the Greeks” had done before. But the age of insularism is long gone by.

If purity of culture is the principal reason behind Pakistan and Hindustan, what guarantee does the scheme provide for the culture of the 14 p. c. Musalmans of U. P., representing the cream of the Muslim community in India? As to the Muslims of Bengal, they belong entirely to the same racial stock as the Hindus thereof; they share the same language and the same culture. Why then tag Bengal to Pakistan under the plea of a supposed cultural protection? And who ever heard of the Hindu laying hands on any one else’s culture? His attitude towards other religions and other cultures is traditionally of the broadest. What is more, he thinks that his own culture was more or less safe in the hands of Muslim rulers. For he agrees with the Muslim in his ideal of kingship. If a king is to “become fit for the exalted office,” enjoins the *Akbar Nama* (Beveridge, Lxi, 285), he is to “regard all sects of religion with the single eye of favour,—and not bemother some and be-stepmother others.” Even to-day, who looks after the historic caves of Ajanta and Ellora? It is the Nizam of Hyderabad.

The Maharajas of Gwalior take part in Muharram processions. The Nawabs of Murshi-

dabad participated in the Holi festival. If there had been no cultural co-operation as a rule why were *Sanads* granted by Muslim rulers to Hindu seats of worship and learning, and *vice versa*? Students of the history of South India must have come across innumerable instances of such grants made to Brahmans by the Adil Shahi, Kutub Shahi and Asaf Jahi dynasties. Likewise, such endowments were made to Muslim places of worship by Maratha rulers, even after their political strife with Delhi emperors.

However, as matters stand at present, dependent or independent of the Hindus, joint or separate, the Indian Musalman cannot get away from the composite life of the age, the progressive integration of modern life. Yet there is no bar if he wants to live the life a believer, even accepting his position in a mosaic humanity. For, the great religion preached by the Holy Prophet is dynamic. It is infinitely resourceful in the matter of peace with neighbours and is always easily capable of keeping pace with any social or political evolution. In fact, the Ahmadiyyat interprets the eternal messages of the Holy Prophet in the light of the new and changing needs of the Indian Musalman and has evolved a scheme of religious life necessary for the fulfilment of his 'Islamic personality'.

Whether our unity achieved through centuries of historic associations will undergo

a cleavage in the future, Providence alone can tell. Great Britain and Ireland have shown the way. Centrifugal forces are ever so hard to fight against. Pakistan may never materialise. But the spirit behind is an ever present danger in every well-ordered State. No serious notice, however, need be taken of the vagaries of an isolated Hindu for airing before the public his *Thoughts on Pakistan*.

Fortunately there have been many leading Muslim thinkers who do not derive their knowledge of nationalism from the sponsors of Pakistan. Sir Akbar Hydari says :

“.....What I would impress upon you here, you students of the Nizam College, is that Muslims and Hindus have a common history and a splendid common history here in India extending over several hundred years.”

—Hydari quoted, *What India Thinks*,

Compiled and Edited by C. Roberts.

The same idea runs through Sir Akbar's famous Convocation Address at the Dacca University. Sir Sultan Ahmed's *Presidential Address, Shia All-Parties Conference*, Lucknow, throws ample light on the net oneness of the Indian people :

“As at present minded, the Muslims and the Hindus of India cannot satisfy any defini-

tion of 'Nation' but though they may have started with different cultures—Hindu culture and Muslim culture—there are many of us who are inclined to think that until a few years ago there was in fact a Hindu-Muslim culture without anybody seriously thinking whether it satisfied any definition of the word 'Nation'. Political differences are there and are very acute, but I agree with Sir Shafaat Ahmed Khan that 'the fact remains that in the temper of their intellect, their traditions of life, their habits and the circle of their thought, there is a powerful tradition of unity, which has been forged in the fires and chills of nearly a thousand years of a chequered period and is indestructible and immortal.'

Dr. Syed Mahmud criticises the partition plan from the historical perspective. He says :

"The All-India Muslim League by passing this (Lahore) resolution has brushed aside a thousand years of Muslim history in India. All the noble efforts of a thousand years made by Muslim rulers to consolidate India and to make it one nation have been forgotten."

In recent years, Julian Huxley, the great biologist, has reduced to extremely simple terms

the scientific tests of nationality. I feel it to be a no less interesting than a necessary task to enter point by point into an examination of the Huxleyan tests with reference to India's claim to represent a nation, and as such I should like to reserve it for a separate treatise altogether. Meanwhile I have to content myself with only quoting a few lines from Julian Huxley, leaving it to the student of Indian history to see it for himself how closely India comes up to satisfy these tests of national unity :

“The special form of group sentiment that we call ‘nationality’, when submitted to analysis, thus proves to be based on something much broader but less definable than physical kinship. The occupation of a country within definite geographical boundaries, climatic conditions inducing a definite mode of life, traditions that gradually come to be shared in common, social institutions and organizations, common religious practices, even common trades or occupations—these are among the innumerable factors which have contributed in greater or less degree to the formation of national sentiment. Of very great importance is common language, strengthened by belief in a fictitious ‘blood-tie’. But among all the sentiments that nurture feelings of group unity,

greater even than the imaginary tie of physical or even of historic relationship, is the reaction against outside interference. That, more than anything else, has fostered the development of group-consciousness. Pressure from without is probably the largest single factor in the process of national evolution."

—'Race' in Europe.

It was Lord Minto who incorporated the philosophy of Strachey into the regular constitution of the country. He attempted to evolve a thorough system of separate interests and give tangible and concrete shape to as many divisions imaginable to neutralise and exhaust one another. The Morley-Minto Reforms for the first time brought Indians into 'responsible association with the Government' and also laid the foundation of the principle of 'communal representation', which in time easily extended to Sikhs, Scheduled Castes and Indian Christians.

No one would call Morley and Minto like-minded. But in the matter of providing a constitution to India they seem to have combined in sweet amity. The following gives a fine study of their relation :

"When Lord Morley went to the India Office, a philosophical Radical devoted to books, who was not known to have

specially interested himself in Indian affairs except for their bearing on the career of Edmund Burke, he found himself in partnership with a Scots country gentleman, with a passion for soldiering and sport, especially racing, who, though not much of a party politician, held the Conservative views predominant in his class. Seldom have the chemical elements give such promise of friction culminating in explosion, but seldom has an association of Secretary of State and Viceroy proved so successful. Lord Minto, a very shrewd judge of men, and a Governor-General who took care not to submerge himself in a mass of official files, formed his own views as to the necessity of a constitutional advance in India, and recognised the position of a Radical Secretary of State in a House of Commons consisting largely of new members who expected the great Liberal triumph at the polls in 1905 to regenerate the British Empire in a few months.....On the greatest issues there was fundamental agreement and had Lord Morley not chosen to publish his very frank *Recollections*, the world at large could hardly have discovered how continual were the differences on points in which the Secretary of State detected an

underlying principle while the Viceroy saw a desire to intervene in minor details.”

—Sir Malcolm Seton : *The India Office*.

At a comparatively recent date followed the publication of Lady Minto's Journal—*India : Minto and Morley*. It supplies the links of private correspondence between the Viceroy and the Secretary of State. Morley wrote to Minto (11th May, 1906) :

“Yesterday I had a long conversation with the P. of Wales, in which he gave me an immensely interesting account of his impression in India. ...He talked of the National Congress rapidly becoming a great power. My own impression formed long ago, and confirmed since I came to this office, is that it will mainly depend on ourselves whether the Congress is a power for good or evil. There it is, whether we like it or not.”

—Morley's *Recollections*, vol. ii, p. 138

And a letter from Minto, dated May 28, 1906, conveyed :

“I have been thinking a good deal lately of a possible counterpoise to Congress aims. I think we may find a solution in the Council of Princes, or in an elaboration of that idea ; a Privy Council not only of Native Rulers, but of a few other big men

to meet, say once a year, for a week or a fortnight at Delhi for instance. Subjects for discussion and procedure would have to be carefully thought out, but we should get different ideas from those of the Congress, emanating from men already possessing great interest in the good government of India."

—Lady Minto : *Indian Journal*, p. 29.

For some time previous to this, the Government of India had been trying to develop a course of common action between British India and Indian India for imperialistic purposes. As early as the period immediately succeeding the Mutiny, the Maharaja of Patiala had been invited to the Indian Legislative Council as a nominated member. Lord Minto's scheme of an Advisory Council of Notables was revised and given a tangible shape by Lord Chelmsford. Ultimately it found a place in the Montford Reforms.

To return to the Morley-Minto regime. On June 6, 1906, Morley wrote :

"Everybody warns us that a new spirit is growing and spreading over India : Lawrence, Chirol, Sidney Low, all sing the same song : 'You cannot go on governing in the same spirit ; you have got to deal with the Congress party and Congress principles whatever you may think of

them. Be sure that before long the Mahomedans will throw in their lot with the Congressmen against you' and so on and so forth."

Lord Minto did not, however, leave things to shape themselves. A Mahomedan Deputation was "engineered", as Lady Minto calls it, to wait on the Viceroy at Simla on October 1st, 1906. The Viceroy was "entirely in accord with" its claim to be represented on the electorate not only beyond its numerical proportion (which is a very minor matter) in recognition of "the service it rendered to the Empire" (cf. Ellenborough and others cited before) but also separately (which has been disastrous) "as a community". Thus was achieved "nothing less than the pulling back of sixty-two millions of people from joining the ranks of the seditious opposition", namely, the Congress. Lady Minto comments that very much the same view was taken at Whitehall. Mr. Morley, she adds, after receiving an account of the proceedings, wrote :

"All that you tell me of your Mahomedans is full of interest, and I only regret that I could not have moved about unseen at your garden party. The whole thing has been as good as it could be."

—Lady Minto : *Indian Journal*, pp., 47-48.

Soon there appeared a rift in the lute. The scholarly Secretary of State became increasingly uneasy over the creation of "the dangerous question of the Mahomedans" which found support also in the India Council. Morley regretted that Sir Theodore Morison should be "pertinacious up to the eleventh hour about his M. friends". In his impatience, Morley wrote in a letter :

"I incline to rebel against the word 'pledge' in our case. We declared our view and our intention at a certain stage. But we did this independently, and not in return for any 'consideration' to be given to us by M.s as the price of our intention. This is assuredly not a 'pledge' in the ordinary sense."

The letter about the pledge was soon followed by another, giving free vent to his righteous exasperation, for he wrote to Minto :

"Yesterday I succeeded in getting your regulations through my Council.five voted against you and me, and five voted in favour of your dispatch, so I threw the sword of my casting-vote into the scale. So there you are—our last word, for the present at any rate.Morison tells me that a Mahomedan is coming over here on purpose to see me, and will appear on Monday next. Whatever happens, I am

quite sure that it was high time to put our foot definitely down and to let them know that the process of haggling has gone on long enough, come what come may. I am only sorry that we could not do it earlier."

Now comes the final outburst, also the revelation that the Musalman did not haggle on his own initiative. In his letter of December 6, 1909, Morley wanted to impress on Minto :

"I won't follow you again into our Mahometan dispute. Only I respectfully remind you once more that *it was your early speech about their extra claims that first started the M. hare.*"

—Morley : *Recollections*, vol. ii, pp. 272-78.

But it was too late when Morley realised that he had been dragged into a transaction unworthy of a Rationalist like himself. The die was cast. And Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909 introduced and perpetuated into the constitution the policy of separatism in a far subtler way than Lord Curzon could ever think of, for even Birkenhead certifies that "India was Lord Curzon's first love." (Birkenhead : *Law, Life and Letters* vol. ii, p. 71) Meanwhile the Muslim League was ushered into existence, as an institution behind communal representation. Later, Delhi became the seat of Central Government. In the transference of the capital from Calcutta to Delhi, "the Government

of India was banished to crumbling graveyards" (Lord Curzon : *British Government in India* vol. i.) "as a sop to Musalman tradition" (Hutchinson : *The Empire of the Nabobs*, p. 200).

In 1910, Sir W. Wedderburn, presiding over the Congress, had thought of holding a conference between Hindus and Muslims with a view to bring about communal amity. Separate electorates were just then proposed to be introduced in respect of Municipalities and Local Boards. No less a reactionary administrator than Sir John Hewett was against getting it in his Province, U. P., where joint electorates were working smoothly. Mr. Jinnah, then of course, deprecated the extension of separate electorates to local bodies. In December, 1916, as President of the Muslim League, at Lucknow, Mr. Jinnah spoke of a "new India under the influence of Western education, fast growing to identity of thought, purpose and outlook." (For his recent change of outlook, see his article in the *Time and Tide*, March, 27, 1940.)

Much as Morley would like to do away with the 'pledge', the author of the next reform could not or did not manage to get out of the tangle. *The Montague-Chelmsford Report* merely condemned communal representation but would not abolish it. The communal project was conceived in plain terms of "a pledge which they had to

honour until they were released from it." Their condemnation ran :

"We must be aware of this system which Morley introduced, for it is fatal to the democratisation of institutions, causes disunion between the Hindu and Mahomedan, and we must not extend it more than we can help.But to suggest that we could get rid of it now seems to be impossible. We are pledged up to the hilt, and we would have a rising of the Mahomedans if we did.....I will not have any more communal representation. It was designed, mistakenly, I think, to give protection to backward communities. The Indians ought to stand on their own legs ; they are thoroughly well-educated and intelligent."

It may be noted by the way that Sir Samuel Hoare took communal commitments as "moral obligations, if not explicit pledges." (Parliamentary Debates, 27th March, 1933.)

Sir Verney Lovett urged that "communal representation must now be continued." (Montague : *Indian Diary*). Sir Verney was a member of the Rowlatt Committee (Lovett : *History of the National Movement*) and was an admirer of Lord Crewe, the Secretary of State, to whom Indian self-government was "as imaginary as any

Atlantis." (Lovett: *The Nations of To-day*)
 But another Secretary of State, Lord Olivier, condemned communal representation.

In opposing India's title to self-government, put forward by the Swaraj Party, Sir Malcolm Hailey, the Home Member, sought to make capital out of "the protection of minority communities". The slogan of this protection was sung by none so loudly as the Earl of Birkenhead. As Secretary of State for India, he communicated his advice to the Viceroy, Lord Reading :

"The more it is made obvious that these antagonisms are profound, and affect immense and irreconcilable sections of the population, the more conspicuously is the fact illustrated that we, and we alone, can play the part of composers."

—*Birkenhead: The Last Phase*, pp. 245—46.

He appointed the Royal Commission in 1927, two years earlier than the period fixed by the Act of 1919. This advance in point of time was not the result of a desire to advance India's self-government. For at one time Lord Birkenhead had written to Lord Reading that "we ought rigidly to adhere to the date proposed in Act for a re-examination of the situation, and that it is not likely, unless matters greatly change in the interval, that such a re-examination will suggest the slightest extension."

(Letter dated December 4, 1924.) However, matters did take a portentous turn. Forecast of of the coming general election at home was ominous. A Labour Government was in sight. He could not afford to "run the slightest risk that the nomination of the 1928 Commission should be in the hands of our successors..... Col. Wedgewood and his friends....." That would upset his plan for "further disintegrating the Swarajist Party." (*Birkenhead: The Last Phase*, pp. 250—51.)

But when the time came for the next Viceroy, Lord Irwin, to announce the Commission, he tried to create the impression that this was a concession to the Swarajist agitation. He stated : "Considerable pressure has during recent years been exercised to secure anticipation of the statute." But what inclined the Viceroy to expect a good use of the Commission was that there was in the country a steady rise of a reaction to the "counsels of political non-cooperation." Another important reason "to justify..... advancement of the date" was to avail of a situation likely to help in liquidating the progressive communal antagonism. For it was suspected that "uncertainty of what constitutional changes might be imminent may have served to sharpen this antagonism." (*India in 1927-28.*) When the Commission was being boycotted in India, the

Viceroy was distinctly advised to exploit communal feeling. Lord Birkenhead wrote :

“I told him (Simon), and I am sure that you will agree, that on this first visit, and until situation clarifies, it would be wisest to give as few people as possible *the opportunity of snubbing the Commission*. We have always relied on the non-boycotting Moslems, on the depressed community, on the business interests, and on many others, to break down the attitude of boycott. You and Simon must be the judges whether or not it is expedient in these directions to try to make a breach in the wall of antagonism, even in the course of the present visit.”

—*Birkenhead : The Last Phase*, p. 254.

Thus was honoured Montague's pious intention not “to extend more than we can help.” Lord Birkenhead thought fit to extend the cleavage still further to the depressed community, to business interests, etc. A student of politics may compare his notes here, that though the Simon Commission was not represented on the Round Table Conference, the Communal Award of 1932 followed these lines of extension. Lord Linlithgow, as Chairman of the Joint Select Committee, had defined the safeguards of the Award in Sec. 308. Yet the situation would not

have been so bad to-day if the beneficiaries of the Award had "given up their narrow and parochial outlook" and based their activities on "a policy of alliance and give and take" with the other parties. (Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan: *The Indian Federation*, p. 335.)

It may not be out of place to state here the position of Muslims in Legislatures :

"After the 1937 elections the Moslem League was unable to form a single Government. N. W. F. Province had a Congress Moslem Government, though Hindus are only 6½ per cent of the population.

"Sind has a Moslem independent Government with which Congress Members were and are on excellent terms. The Punjab has a Moslem Premier with a coalition Cabinet, in which are Sikhs and Hindus. The Punjab is the one Province where Congress is comparatively weak. The Moslem League, however, won only one seat.

"In Bengal, Congress was the largest single party, with 50 seats. The Moslem League won 40, and Independent Moslems, including 38 of the Praja Party, 78. The present Premier of Bengal was then (1937) a Congressman and was willing to serve in a Congress Cabinet. Congress was then *against* coalitions, so he joined the League, as did a number of other Moslems, and he

holds power because the 25 European members support his Government. There is a strong Moslem group in opposition.”

—Edward Thompson : *Enlist India for Freedom !* pp. 54-55.

To revert to the Royal Commission. Its mental make up should prepare us to expect that it justified Lord Birkenhead's anxiety to control “the nomination of the personnel”. While faintly condemning the principle of communal representation, the Commission recommended the practice of perpetuating it owing to the

“indisputable fact that the Mahomedan community as a whole is not prepared to give up communal representation and would regard its abolition, without the assent of that community, not only as the withdrawal of a security which it prizes, but as a cancelling of assurances on which it has relied.It is this same difficulty which has time and again undermined the efforts that have been made to secure Hindu-Moslem unity, and which profoundly influences the attitude taken up by those Muhammadan leaders who have gone farthest in their effort to cooperate with Hindu opinion.”

The Commission, however, left it to the choice of the Muslims if they would accept joint electo-

rates in the Punjab and Bengal. The Commission said :

“We sincerely desire to see all practicable means attempted for reducing the extent of separate electorates and for giving the other system a fair trial.”

In the same manner, having accepted communal representation, the Government of India in their *Despatch* on page 29 observed :

“But we attach importance to providing machinery in the Act for the disappearance of such electorates, and for their future replacement by a normal system of representation, more suited to responsible government on democratic lines.”

But as they had been committed to the policy of communal representation, the (Lothian) Indian Franchise Committee were instructed to proceed on the assumption that separate communal electorates would be the basis of the coming constitution.

Lord Irwin, addressing the Indian Legislature on the 29th August, 1927, appealed :

“I am not exaggerating when I say that, during the seventeen months that I have been in India, the whole landscape has been over-shadowed by the lowering clouds of communal tension, which have repeatedly discharged their thunder bolts, spreading

far throughout the land their devastating havoc.”

In response to the Viceregal appeal, Mr. Arthur Moore exhorted the House to have a conscientious love of this country, and said :

“Individually we have to make sure that we find no satisfaction in Hindu-Moslem difference. Divide and rule is a rotten plan, but it always makes an appeal to the weakest side of us.”

The riots bring into focus another point. Some say that the Government make no secret of its pleasure at the occasional demonstrations of communal strife. Others do not choose to go so far. But even moderate opinion is constrained to observe that the Government, though not responsible, is undoubtedly indifferent as to the need of taking preventive measures within the limits of ordinary law. No less a critic of constitutional problems than Sir Sivaswami Aiyer (*Indian constitutional Problem*) is prompted to analyse British neutrality in such words of G.B.S. :

“The Englishman in India, for example, stands a very statue of justice between two natives. He says in effect, ‘I am impartial in your religious disputes, because I believe in neither of your religions.....Finally, I am impartial to your interests because they are both equally

opposed to mine, which is to keep you both equally powerless against me in order that I may extract money from you to pay salaries and pensions to myself and my fellow Englishmen as judges and rulers over you. ”

—*John Bull's Other Island*, Preface,
pp. xxvi-ii.

When the Labour Government had come into office, and Sir John Simon had just secured the Prime Minister's assent to the suggestion that 'some sort of conference' would be necessary between British India and Indian States and the British Government, Lord Irwin made a sympathetic statement (Oct.' 29.) defining the goal of India's aspiration to be "attainment of Dominion Status." The Viceroy's statement in India was subjected to rude criticisms at home. A dilet-tante historian comments :

"If Lord Irwin had had to consider no public but the British he would doubtless have avoided the grandiloquent and misleading phrase. But India thinks in catch words, and 'Dominion Status' had become the Mesopotamia of the great majority of politically minded Indians who cherished the ideal of 'freedom' within the Empire. They did not read into the phrase all the details that it implied for Englishmen familiar with

the constitutional development of the White Dominions. For India Lord Irwin said the right thing, but his words, taken in conjunction with Sir John Simon's recent proposals, marked the beginning of the conscious cleavage in the Conservative party."

—D. C. Somervell: *The Reign of King George The Fifth*, p. 456.

Birkenhead alludes to the Viceroy's statement as a "most unfortunate recurrence into the topic of Dominion Self-Government for India". He continues :

" 'I see no reason' we are told, 'why from a frank discussion on all sides a scheme might not emerge for submission to Parliament which would confound the pessimism of those who say it is impossible for Great Britain and India, or for various interests in India, to reach agreement.' It is interesting to know that Lord Irwin and his advisers hold these views, for it is quite certain that no other instructed person does."

—*Last Essays*, The Peril to India—2, p. 53.

The sting of the above comment and a host of others must have induced Lord Irwin nearly to retract his words. Mr. Morgan Jones referred to Lord Irwin saying : "Oh : I used the phrase 'Dominion Status' on that occasion in the ceremo-

nial sense.' (*Parliamentary Debates*, 27th March, 1933, Vol. 276, No. 58.)

The Premier, the late Mr. MacDonald, pleaded before the Round Table Conference : "Believe me, the British Government has no desire to use your disagreements for any ulterior purpose." (*R. T. C. Report*, p. 477.) Curiously, it is a British journalist who expresses doubts. He observes : "The action of the Muslims in playing their cards with such joy and confidence is giving India more than a glimpse at their trump cards held by the Government in reserve." (F. W. Wilson : *The Indian Chaos*.) The encouragement given to the planning of the 'minorities' pact may be mentioned. Edward Thompson has no hesitation to admit :

"During the Round Table Conference there was a rather obvious understanding and alliance between the more intransigent Moslems and certain particularly undemocratic British political circles. That alliance is constantly asserted in India to be the real block to progress.

"I believe that I could prove that this is largely true. And there is no question that in former times we frankly practised the 'divide and rule' method in India. From Warren Hasting's time onwards, men made no bones of the pleasure the Hindu-Moslem conflict gave them ; even

such men as Elphinstone and Malcolm and Metcalfe admitted its value to the British."

—*Enlist India For Freedom!* p. 50

In replying to the debate on India, October 26, which was initiated by Mr. Wedgwood Benn, Sir Samuel Hoare told the House of Commons :

"That Dominion status is not a prize that is given to a deserving community but is the recognition of the facts that actually exist. As soon as these facts exist in India, and in my view the sooner they exist the better, the aim of our policy will be achieved. If there are difficulties in the way, they are not of our making. They are inherent in the many divisions between classes and communities in the great sub-continent.

"It must be the aim of Indians themselves to remove these divisions just as it should be our aim to help Indians in their task. So far are we from wishing to divide and govern that we regard these divisions as a calamity and are ready to do our utmost to remove them. We have shown our good faith in the matter. We showed it when we made the Communal Award."

Yet India did not react favourably to Britain's gesture of friendly interest in the shape of the Communal Award! She was aggrieved that

communalism was encouraged. British politicians argued that there was no cause for such a grief. Here is an extract from the discussions in the House of Commons at the Committee stage of the India Bill :

“Mr. Butler repudiated the suggestion that the Government adhered to a policy of divide and rule or that the Government was pro-Moslem. He said that the Government’s policy in this matter, which had been frequently made clear, was unchanged. If there was likely to be agreement in India, the House would doubtless have been influenced by it, but the latest news was that the discussions which had been proceeding had unfortunately proved fruitless.”

(Statesman’s Report).

Here, again, is something from the debates on the Second Reading of the India Bill in the House of Lords :

“Dealing with Lord Salisbury’s reference to the communal cleavage and the criticisms of “creed registers”, Lord Zetland pointed out that the communal cleavage must be faced whatever form of Government was established..... He reminded the House that they had been part and parcel of the constitution since the Morley-Minto Reforms. Lord Zetland

said he did not like communal electorates but always recognized their necessity in the present circumstances, if the minorities were to receive adequate representation."

(Statesman.)

The India Bill passed the Third Reading in the House of Lords on 24th July, 1935. The Labour Opposition chose Lord Snell as its spokesman. Lord Snell characterised its opposition as "our last grumble about this Bill, a grumble that we do not expect to be effective." In the course of the grumble, he said :

"If your Lordships are going to rely upon communal differences in India to overcome that problem (Eastern v. Western mill products) I believe you are living in a fool's paradise. When that issue (social and basic economic problems of India) confronts the Indian people there will be no differences in India. They will stand solidly together against the Western world. Does any one suppose that the interests which are being pampered and protected in this Bill will reward your generosity in the way that you expect? ...It is to the avarice of these people (millowners of Bombay and Ahmedabad) that you are handing over, unprotected, the workers of India."

So, this is about the evil of extending separate electorates from communal groups to business interests. But to whom was Lord Snell pleading for the workers? For British democracy was not based upon social and economic democracy. Francis William, lately Editor of the Daily Herald, informs :

“.....on the eve of this war for democratic principles.....nearly half the total national income went to 10 per cent of the people ; 80 per cent of the total capital wealth belonged to less than 6 per cent of the community , nearly a quarter of the total wealth to less than '05 per cent.”

—*Democracy's Last Battle.*

Professor Lasky speaks of “capitalistic democracy” of Britain in his recent little book—*Where Do We Go From Here?*

In the course of the debate in the House of Lords on November 2, 1939, Lord Samuel, who had returned to England a sadder and a wiser man owing to his visit to India, said :

“The Government say that if only Indians could agree among themselves on the outstanding questions as between the communities and between the Congress Party and the States, at once Dominion Status could be brought into effect. But that in substance means that Moslems are

to have veto on the introduction of Dominion Status.....

‘Consequently the present policy of His Majesty’s Government leads to the conclusion that the final decision is left with the Moslems, that would mean one-fourth of the population of India is to decide the future of India rather than three-fourths. Such a situation may easily become a permanent deadlock and it is not surprising that the Congress suspects that that is the intention.’

Not Congress alone. Even the very recent (March, 1941) non-party Bombay Conference have been compelled to entertain the very same suspicion as a result of the Secretary of State, Mr. Amery’s speech in the House of Commons on 22nd April, 1941. We refrain from making lengthy quotations, but the reader may be referred to the statement issued by the Standing Committee of the Conference (Allahabad, 28th April) as well as a separate statement by the President (Allahabad, 29th April). The Standing Committee asked what the Government had done for an agreement. On this point too we may refer back to Lord Samuel’s speech ;

“There, in relation to the Princes’ rights, peoples’ rights, majority rights and minority rights, we must reach a conclusion that both sets of rights must be respected. How

the two can be reconciled is the task of resourceful statesmanship. It appears to me that recently His Majesty's Government here and in India have not shown sufficient zeal and energy in tackling these difficult problems. They have been rather too much content to let matters rest."

This attitude of mind can be very well explained in the words of H. G. Wells :

"The mind is very self-protective ; it has a disposition to abandon too great or too far-reaching an effort and return to things indisputably within its scope. We have an instinctive preference for thinking things are "all right" ; we economise anxiety ; we defend the delusions that we can work with, even though we half realise they are no more than delusions. We resent the warning voice, the critical question that robs our activities of assurance."

—*The Open Conspiracy*, p. 96.

And not the Government alone. The same applies to ourselves as well. We suffer incurably from a love of short cuts and a desire for immediate results. Every time we have approached communalism in this spirit, it has eluded our grasp with an ironical laughter. It is more than three decades that we have been moving in a maze of pacts and pourparlers, while we pretend we cannot let the evil live a day longer. Yet we

have no thought but of quick remedies. While we avoid far-reaching constructive work, the evil sprouts up through the loop-holes of our patch-work. When there is a riot we run to the spot with a pot of pain-balm for local application. From time to time we meet in conference too to evolve a magic formula that will instantly unite the warring communities—and alongside of it, send our names down to history as miraculous peace-makers.

Balms and balsams, slogans and platitudes, have been applied in the fond hope that it would check the progress of the disease. There was no attempt made to reach the heart of the problem. The result was foregone. It is no longer a question of few seats more or less on legislatures but an attempt to cleave India in two.

Unity for the sake of unity—as the fulfilment of a great human end—has seldom been our motive. Pacts have been resorted to with a view to bluff our rulers: 'now that we have united, you have to part with your powers.' They in turn have seen through our trickery and with superior bluff continue to baffle our weak-willed essays. Still we are not only not ashamed of our lack of 'resourceful statesmanship' but even go on complacently advertising our pact business as the realistic approach to the communal problem.

Lord Samuel alluded to the Viceroy's efforts for solving the problem of minorities. Referring

to the failure of the Viceroy in his discussions with leaders of Indian parties and groups, *The Manchester Guardian*, in the course of a leader on the Viceroy's broadcast of November 5, says :

“Mr. Jinnah has gone so far as to object to any British promise of full Dominion Status for India except with pre-determined safeguards for the Muslim community. To provide such safeguards should be the first task of the Congress as a party, which is most likely to hold an almost permanent majority in the Central Assembly, once full responsible government is achieved. But though these problems are real and acute, there is some strength in the Congress complaint that the Government has by its method of approach stressed rather than circumvented the communal rift. If the Government had been from the first more generous in its response to the Congress request, if it had offered at once what it did propose after a good deal of pushing and hackling, there might have been some prospect of success.”

The New Statesman and Nation, 14th December, 1940, speaks, on another occasion, about this ‘method of approach.’ It says :

“It (Muslim League) has virtually no following in the Provinces where the Muslims

are the strongest—the Punjab, Sindh and the Frontier Province.....Under the distinguished patronage of the Viceroy it has become, after Congress, the greatest political power in India. We have chosen to standardise the extremist position of Mr. Jinnah as the sole Muslim opinion we recognise.”

There have been more than one Secretary of State whose patronage of this kind has been not less pronounced. Here is an example :

“Sir Samuel Hoare last autumn drew a majestic picture of the British Government going forward in company with the ‘minorities.’ Those who rest in the belief that that is what will happen should think again.”

—*Enlist India for Freedom I* p. 57.

The present Secretary of State, Mr. Amery’s statement of August did not help a political settlement. Indian reaction to it has been thus summarised by *The Round Table*, December, 1940 :

“The old accusation was repeated (by the Congress) that the British authorities were exploiting communal and other differences in their own interests, and it was contended that the assurances given to the minorities were likely to nullify all legitimate national aspiration.....

The League will not readily abandon its position *vis-a-vis* the Congress party, and is not prepared at this stage to drop its proposals for establishing separate Hindu and Moslem nations, although several prominent leaders are not agreeable to the partition of the country and are unwilling to go so far as Mr. M. A. Jinnah, the League President, would like to take them."

After all the prospects may not be so bad. There is goodness at the bottom of things. But the happy end does not fall from heaven. It has to be brought about by sincere thinking and severe work. To what end? To realise that the different communities of India are all Indians alike, sons of a common motherland. There are a good many Britishers who also feel that this is just possible :

"Hindus and Moslems are of the same blood and—as Sir George Forest has pointed out in his *History of the Indian Mutiny*—‘understand each others’ systems’ (as we who are birds of passage in India do not). *They have found a bridge to each other before and may do so again.* Mr. Jinnah, the President of the Moslem League, who now claims that there are two nations in India, one Hindu and one Muslim, has the same vernacular as Mr. Gandhi (Gujrati)

and was once a Congressman, when he was the spokesman and hope of all who worked for Hindu-Moslem unity."

—*Enlist India for Freedom!* p. 51.

The same vernacular is a great bond. There is also the greater bond of the same blood. If these were enough, brothers would not destroy one another, father and son would not fly at each other's throat. Great as these bonds are, something still greater is wanted to save us. What is it but moral sense, the sense of the good? Yet it is so easy to sneer at a higher sense with an air of wisdom!

As for Mr. Jinnah, we say, never lose faith in man. It is far surer, however, to have confidence in Sir Sikander and Mr. Huq. Mr. Jinnah will return. But the premiers of these two important provinces will be the earlier to realise that political processes change. As real leaders of people, it is they who will have to face the problems of stable administration calling for a definition of proper communal interests. And admittedly, they are men with a creative drive. It will not be long when they will seize the honourable task themselves and fight against frustrations. The screen of obsession will soon be thin and sere, enabling them to see that communal politics is not a going concern. It will be found at the same time that parties required to co-operate are in readiness.

As to Britain, there are absolute upholders of national interests as well as those who hold that human interest cannot be altogether overlooked. The two schools may well be represented by the following quotations :

“He approached his task in no spirit of sanguine hope, but yet with certain basic convictions which were confirmed in his mind long before he was familiar with the minutiae of administrative routine. One conviction was a profound distrust of the Montagu-Chelmsford policy, and a belief that India would not be capable of supporting Dominion Status for centuries. Another was that the British were in India for the good of India and that the maintenance of British prestige was of vital importance.

“Lord Birkenhead’s true opinion of the Montagu-Chelmsford policy, an opinion which he could only hint in a muffled whisper in his speeches, appears again and again in the course of his private correspondence with Lord Reading and Lord Irwin.”

—*Birkenhead : The Last Phase*, p. 245.

The above is a study of Birkenhead by his son. But this is not all what England has to say. There is Berriedale Keith speaking :

“India must have democracy. We must abandon all efforts to use the States as

autocratic elements of the Federation to counteract the votes of the elected members of British India.The unity of British India must be asserted against the determination of Muslim leaders to dismember the country and produce chaos.We gave India a Constitution. and the initiative must come from us."

—*Scotsman*, May, 1941.

And, there are Indians who are in accord with such representatives of Britain. The Mahatma says, in memory of C. F. Andrews :

"At the present moment I do not wish to think of English misdeeds. They will be forgotten, but not one of the heroic deeds of Andrews will be forgotten so long as England and India live. It is possible, quite possible, for the best Englishmen and the best Indians to meet together and never to separate till they have evolved a formula acceptable to both."

The reader has now heard what eminent men of India and Britain have had to say on the question of communalism. Yet when all is said, the fact remains that the communal problem is India's own, howevermuch it can be said that Britain has encouraged or fostered it. Times may well change, and Britain may choose a broader policy and realise that her best interests are not

unconnected with those of India. When that day comes India will automatically feel a pride in being Britain's colleague in reconstructing the world.

Be that as it may, we have to rebuild ourselves on the foundation that India is one. A pact, a patch-work, does not give that oneness. Nor does a unity conference. For the business of a conference is merely to work out the details. Details of what? Of a principle already arrived at and believed in. Until we have formed a unity of outlook and have visualised the common soul, there is practically no work for a conference. An integral unity cannot be made to order ; it has to grow as real life does. This involves a process of evolution. Unity, if it is to be in tune with evolution, cannot depend on aught but the fundamentals. The fundamental truth is that man to man is a brother. Let us take our stand on it, and all questions—Hindu v. Muslim, India v. Britain—are solved.

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