THE GROWTH OF THE CONCEPT OF NATION IN INDIA

PREFACE

The growth of the concept of nation in India was a slow process and many were the factors in the making of Indian Nationalism. Although India had an old, great culture, it was only at the beginning of the twentieth century that India had nationalism in the strict sense of the term. During the Muslim rule, the Muslims were rulers and the Hindus were their subjects. The advent of the English and the defeat of the Muslims gave the Hindus greater freedom. The Hindus, in a sense, welcomed the British rule. The English, too, patronized the Hindus at the beginning. It was English education that first awakened the Hindus to nationalism. When the Hindus developed nationalism and began to disturb the English, the English began to favour the Muslims and adopted the policy 'divide and rule'. The relation that developed between the Hindus and the Muslims during Muslim rule continued, so to say, till the end. In the second chapter the Muslim rule in India has been dealt with to show the background of the Hindu-Muslim relation that latterly developed. The Hindu period has been dealt with as a perspective; an India when there were no Muslims and the type of unity and the diversities at that time have been delineated in the first chapter.

The British came as traders in the seventeenth century. Gradually, they became the ruler of India. The British administration brought peace and justice and therefore, at the initial stage it won the admiration of the people of India. A uniform administration all over India gave a sort of unity the contribution of which to the birth and growth of Indian nationalism can never be over-estimated.

The first section of the third chapter is virtually a kaleidoscopic account of notable happenings prior to the uprising of 1857-8 that had bearing on Indian nationalism. English education was the base of Indian nationalism. Further, the English acted as thesis, anti-thesis and sometimes as synthesis in preparing the ground for Indian nationalism and in its birth and growth. The second section deals with the great Uprising of 1857-8. The Uprising of 1857-8 was great, but it was due to no national cause. The educated people did not support the Mutiny. They craved for the return of peace. The general population also exhibited rather goodwill than hostility towards the English. The Uprising of 1857-8, however, produced a powerful effect in the imagination and inspiration of the nationalists of latter years. In the third section, the contribution of Raja Rammohan Roy, the Brahmo Samaj, Dayananda, the Arya Samaj, the Theosophical Society, Ramkrishna and Vivekananda to social renovation and other spheres necessary to the birth of nationalism, have been dealt with. In the Parliament of Religion (1893) in Chicago, Vivekananda addressed the audience as his brothers and sisters of America. All other speakers started their speeches by saying "Ladies and gentlemen", and Vivekananda's address not only brought India to the level of America, an independent country, but virtually placed India above. Rammohan was the first English-educated man in India; he may be called the first recipient of the concept of nation in the European sense of the term. The Theosophical Society upheld the prestige of India in the sphere of spirituality; it brought forward the glamour and high estimation of the Indian ancient lore and, therefore, India's self-respect. The fourth section delineates what press, literature, journalism did for the making of Indian nationalism.

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Tagore has said: "The proposal of dividing Bengal that once our state-authorities raised would not have apprized us so bitterly if it had its appearance fifty years earlier. The sense of dignity and sound solidarity that had meanwhile developed in the heart of Bengal owed its existence mainly to the Bengali literature."

The fifth section deals with the role of the British economy which served as a strong aiding factor in the history of Indian nationalism. The Indigo agitation, the Hindu Mela, their impact on the political consciousness in India and the role of Rajnarayan Bose have been shown in the sixth section. The seventh section contains the activities of Surendranath Banerjee. The Student's Association was organized in Calcutta by Ananda Mohan Bose in 1875. Surendranath soon became its most active member and sought to rouse the patriotic consciousness among the students. The Indian Association was the next important step in the history of our national awakening. The Ilbert Bill controversy (1883) and the Contempt Case of Surendranath (1883) roused a powerful national feeling in the country. The birth of Indian National Congress and some subsequent sessions have been discussed in the eighth section. The Indian National Congress was founded in 1885 and the educated public of India began to make demands for an increased share in the legislation and administration of the country. The period from 1885 to 1905 (prior to the Partition of Bengal) may be considered one of prayers and petitions. The objections of the nationalists to the mild ways of the Congress, to its policy of mendicancy have been shown in the ninth section. The objections were timely; there was a great necessity of these objections. The tenth section deals with the impact of world-forces. The national progress outside India, struggles for independence and revolutions in other countries also made deep impressions on Indian educated minds. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and the Aligarh movement have been dealt with in the last section (eleventh section). This section is virtually a glimpse at the Hindu-Muslim relation towards the end of the nineteenth century. The third chapter has been entitled 'Indian Nationalism in Embryo' because in this chapter the preparatory period of Indian nationalism has been dealt with. The growth of nationalism during this period was the growth of the embryo. In this chapter, continued dealings with subjects have generally been given greater attention than the order of chronology. The spread of English education, the researches into Indian history and culture, the establishments for facilities for transport and communications, the religious reforms, as well as the trend of events in Europe contributed to the growth of national sentiment in India in the second half of the nineteenth century. Political associations, both in India and in England (like the East Indian Association of Dadabhai Naoroji), demanded that the elected representatives of the people should be included in the Legislative Councils.

The birth of Indian nationalism has been dealt with in the first section of Chapter IV. The concept of nation is not a mere concept or idea, it is associated with feeling and struggle for independence if the country is in bondage. The Partition of Bengal in 1905 gave rise to a burning feeling, an acute aspiration and a struggle for unity and independence. The feeling and struggle that the Partition of Bengal had given rise to soon spread over India and became the mode of national movement in latter years. The Swadeshi movement has been dealt with at some length to make a detailed account of the events and to have careful cognizance of the feeling and struggle. The Home Rule movement was practically a trail of the
Swadeshi movement. In this chapter (Chapter IV) revolutionary activities of Indians in India and abroad and their contributions to the growth of the concept of nation have been discussed.

The second section of Chapter IV begins with Mahatma Gandhi. Practically, with the end of the powerful activities of Aurobindo and Tilak appeared Gandhi, and he appeared with two novel and powerful weapons - Non-violent Non-co-operation and Civil Disobedience. His endeavour at the uplift of Harijans bore much fruit. His efforts for Hindu-Muslim unity were also praiseworthy. During the time of Gandhi the concept of nation wonderfully developed. The development of the concept of nation has two sides - one is qualitative (intensive) and the other quantitative (extensive). When the concept of nation becomes deeper and clearer in a man, we say of its qualitative growth. And when more and more people begin to conceive that they with all others in the country form a nation, we perceive in it the growth of the concept of nation quantitatively. The Partition of Bengal gave birth to Indian nationalism, and the Jallianwala Bagh massacre and Martial law in the Punjab (1919) gave it good nourishment. Through Khilapat agitation the Mahatma made an honest attempt at bringing Hindu-Muslim unity. Next important incident was the Simon Commission (1929). Indian people waved black flags and carried banners with the words "go back,Simon". Revolutionary activities again made their appearance. Revolutionary activities were proofs for the growth of the concept of nation; they also helped the further growth of the concept of nation in India. Gandhi's March to Dandi to violate salt laws (March, 1930) and the epic struggle at Duarrasana (May, 1930) all created inconceivable sensation all over the country. The Chittagong Armoury Raid (April, 1930) created another sensation. The Second World War began in 1939 and India became impatient to make the most of it. On July 14, 1942, the Working Committee of the Congress passed the 'Quit India' resolution. It renewed the demand that the British rule in India must end immediately. It reiterated the view that the freedom of India was necessary not only in the interest of India but also for the safety of the world and for the ending of Nazism, Fascism, Militarism and other forms of imperialism and aggression of one nation upon another. The A.I.C.C. meeting terminated late at night on 8 August, 1942. Gandhi and other Congress leaders were removed to prison and a violent outbreak took place in 1942. The concept of nation had already attained maturity and therefore the country-wide struggle for freedom continued without a leader. Subhas Bose and the Indian National Army surcharged with nationalism made attacks to free India. The I.N.A. trial is another event that strengthened the concept of nation. Soon a great sensation was created all over India by the revolt of a section of Indians serving in the Royal Indian Navy (February 18, 1946). The Cabinet Mission arrived at New Delhi on 24 March, 1946. The Muslim League rejected the Cabinet Mission Plan and resorted to 'Direct Action'. Hindu-Muslim relation had been going from bad to worse and the Direct Action and the counter-action were the results. India was partitioned and made free in 1947. India became a secular state and Pakistan a Muslim State.

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What have been actually shown in the chapters are given below:

There was a sort of unity during the Hindu period; but many were the diversities including the caste system, and therefore the state broke down. Unity was further questioned in the Muslim period. As there was little political unity during the Hindu period, the Hindu rulers succumbed to Muslim invasion. During the Hindu period all the inhabitants of India were Hindu (Buddhism was an offshoot of Hinduism); but during the Muslim period India exhibited two rival communities—the Muslims and the Hindus. Even the Muslims fought between themselves. Besides, there were differences between the Muslims who were Shiah and the Muslims who were Sunnis. Greater were diversities during the Muslim period and so the state fell. Then the British came. They soon noticed the fissures between the Indian rulers, joined one ruler against another and finally they themselves became the rulers of India. The Muslims came from outside but settled in India. The English, however, had no mind to settle in India. They were Christians, and as they were neither Hindu nor Muslim they supported neither from religious consideration; they supported one against another on political necessity. Indians assisted the English in their administration of India; they participated whole-heartedly in the Government, in the civil administration and in the military. The number of Indian soldiers gradually increased. The English or the East India Company recruited Indian soldiers who fought with the English against the native rulers. There was no sense of patriotism at that time among the Indians; they joined the English, the foreigners, to enable them to conquer the rulers of their own country.

The economic policy of the English was to serve their own interests exclusively. The English came as traders and they protracted their own interests till the end. They opened railways, post and telegraph. These were to serve their commercial and military interests. Railways brought the English companies huge profits. The railways drew out raw materials (e.g., raw cotton, jute) from the remotest corners of the country and carried to those remotest places finished goods (e.g., cloth made of cotton and of jute) produced in England. The Indian weavers soon lost their profession. The people were impoverished. It was not until the latter half of the 19th century that the Indians became conscious of the injuries being done by the economic policy of the British. When the educated Indians came to know of the detrimental economic policy of the English they began to write and speak in criticism of the policy with two ends in view—first, to deter the English from their free using of destructive economic policy; secondly, to bring home to their country men the nature of English trade and economic policy. There were also many Englishmen who criticized this economic policy. However, railways post and telegraph did one great service to the Indians in the sense that they brought the Indians near to each other.

The social and educational policy adopted by the British in India went a long way towards awakening Indians to Nationalism.

The British in India introduced by law many social reforms. A healthy society free from superstitions and inhuman practices is necessary for political regeneration and for the birth and growth of the concept of nation. Education also makes a society healthy and instills political consciousness into the minds of the people. The contribution of English education to the growth of the concept of nation in India can never be overstated. Some Englishmen held that the medium of instruction should be English while others vernacular. Doubtless, India would have taken a longer period to develop...
The concept of nation if education through English had not been introduced. The credit of saving Sanskrit from extinction also goes to the English.

The law-making and the enforcing processes were entirely in the hands of the English till the end. Although there was a number of political reforms, the final law-making power lay in the hands of the English. True, the English gradually gave the law-making responsibilities to the Indians, but the ratification always lay in the Viceroy and the Governors. At the inception, the British did not take the charge of the criminal side. The traders were more greedy of wealth and therefore they took away the charge of revenue. When their rule was established the English took into their hands the criminal side also. The English announced equality before the eye of law, but this principle was not always observed through Indian (Indian police) against Indians, as they could recruit Indian soldiers to bring India into bondage.

The basic socio-economic and religious conditions were such that India for a long time had little capacity to organize for self-government and to remove the British from India. There were differences between the Hindus and the Muslims, between castes, between sects. Many wrong social beliefs also kept the Indians static or non-progressive. India had in the past developed connections with abroad. When the British came there was little development of foreign trade, especially among the Hindus, and the Indians little knew of countries beyond India. To go abroad was a sin for a long time. Indians were mostly peasants and poor. For a long time India did not know of machinery as a means of production and so the development of industry in India was very slow. Industry and trade are apt to cause nationalism.

The Sepoy Mutiny took place in 1857-8. The background which could make the Mutiny national had not developed by that time. However, the Sepoy Mutiny was a great upsurge although it had little national tinge. It supplied national urge to posterity.

The actual struggle was first visible among the English-educated persons. Rajnarayan Bose is called the father of Indian nationalism. Of course, Raja Rammohan Roy was the first Indian who had the concept of nation in the strict sense of the term, and he was the first English-educated man. With the help of the English the Raja brought about some important social reforms. It has been already mentioned that social reforms bring social health which is a necessary condition of nationalism. True nationalism is based on patriotism and love of liberty in general. The Raja's passionate love of liberty made him take interest in and deeply sympathize with all political movements all over the world that had for their object the advancement of popular freedom. After Raj Narayan the two important figures preaching Indian nationalism were Bankim Chandra Chatterjee and Surendranath Banerjee. Surendranath preached nationalism through speeches and Bankim through writings.

The earliest struggles of the Indians were in the form of demands for social, educational and economic reforms. The struggles then took form in the demands for political and administrative participation, for dominion status - a status by which India would remain as a part of the British empire.

Naturally, there was an opposition from the British. The British advanced the reasons that our people were politically backward and were not sufficiently educated for self-government, that there were communal differences and that there was distrust among
the Muslims and the Depressed Classes for the Hindus. Nevertheless, what the British secretly desired was domination and economic exploitation.

The fighting tactics at the beginning was the emphasis on self-respect, dignity, culture, economic interests of Indians. These are no doubt primary requisites for nationalism.

The Indian National Congress was started in 1885. It mainly took to passing resolutions and framing petitions. Microscopic was the number of the Muslims joining it; the Congress appeared to be an association for Hindu nationalism, and this created fear in the Muslims.

The Congress soon began to be criticized. Aurobindo and Tilak preached harder struggle. Rand was shot at Poona by the Chaipkar brothers in 1897. The Chaipkar brothers were also inspired by the daring spirit of Wasdeo Balwant Phadke (died in jail in 1883). The Partition of Bengal in 1905 gave birth to revolutionary activities in Bengal. Soon revolutionary parties were started in other provinces also, and occasional and violent attacks were made upon British officers and their Indian supporters. But this was a secret process, and this could never spread among the masses. India is a vast country and therefore the need for a powerful process which could have its spread was soon felt. The Home Rule Movement by Tilak and Annie Besant was the necessary outcome. This was replaced by the Civil Disobedience Movement started by Mahatma Gandhi.

Reforms by the Govt. were the results of national pressure and national pressure increased with the growth of the concept of nation.

The British tactics were, of course, for perpetuating British domination in India. Communal differences were accentuated by the British. The Muslims began to be favoured against the Hindus. The Depressed Classes were awakened to counteract the struggle of the caste Hindus, and the native Princes were altered. However, Indian nationalism (or Hindu nationalism, whatever the thing might be called) steadily developed, and the British could not but grant independence to India. But India was divided, and this division was due to the fact that the concept of nation did not properly or uniformly grow. The growth of the concept of nation in India was imperfect, although it was a powerful growth full of astounding occurrences and plausible sacrifices. That the Muslims began to think of a separate homeland was the result of the inability of our leaders to develop a healthy, single nationalism for India. From the very beginning they should have acted in such a way as to cause confidence in all.

Nationalism in India, doubtless, exhibited the generation of love for the country among the Hindus and resoluteness for severe struggle against the British for independence. But there was at the same time the ignoring of the Muslims and the Depressed Classes by the educated Caste Hindus. This indifference alienated the Muslims and deeply mortified the Depressed Classes. Fear and suspicion were created in the minds of the Muslims and the Depressed Classes showed signs of secession. Gandhi soon

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detected the dangers and set himself to remove them. His attempt at the uplift of Harijans showed some success. The Caste Hindus became alert and began to pay attention to the Depressed Classes. The Depressed Classes also made an upward move being loved and inspired by Gandhi. But Gandhi failed to conciliate the Muslims. They professed a different religion and deep-seated were their fear and suspicion. Besides, it was too late when Gandhi set to work. Soon the Muslim League stressed that the Muslims in India formed a different nation. Hindu-Muslim unity would have been an easy affair if the earlier leaders had been careful. Further, the eyes of the Hindus were not properly opened by the national leaders to the magnitude of the problem of communal differences and they failed to suggest to the people the correct line of action for the achievement of independence while preserving the territorial integrity of the country. The leaders (except Gandhi) were not sincere in their endeavour for Hindu-Muslim unity. Communal tension resulted from the failure to understand the situation on the part of the national leaders. Doubtless, the leaders themselves were good fighters and were not afraid of suffering, but they failed to understand the situation and guide the people accordingly. They developed nationalism well, but developed a one-sided nationalism.

Nationalism is not merely an ideal, but also a process and a technique. The correctness of the process and the technique can only be tested by the achievement of the ideal. Whatever might have been the idealistic elements in the Indian concept of nationalism before 1947, that its process and technique were incorrect is proved by the Partition of India. The Partition of Bengal gave the first warning of the defect. Similarly, in the post-independence era, the process and technique will be tested by the fact of integration achieved and the ability of the Central Government to successfully resist secessionist movements and disintegration of India into two or more independent States.

The attitude of the Anglo-Indians have not been dealt with separately. They have been mingled with the attitudes of the British officials which have been dealt with as elaborately as possible. The trends shown in the Anglo-Indian papers represented the British trends in India. An Anglo-Indian is a person of British birth but living or having lived long in India. For the sake of convenience, the non-official British population in India may be referred to as 'Anglo-Indians'. The Anglo-Indians constituted an unofficial anti-Indian wing of the British bureaucracy in India. The same causes which alienated the British officials also operated in their case. They also stood to suffer in material, prospect as well as in prestige and status with each stage of real political advance in India. Being free from official restraints they could more easily give vent to their anti-Indian feelings. They were the loudest in the denunciation of any reforms or concessions granted to India and they took every means in their power to thwart them. There is also indisputable testimony to their unholy alliances with various sections of Indian people in order to check the constitutional and national advance of India. The older generations of Anglo-Indians could afford to be indifferent as they had no apprehensions of any political regeneration of India, but the Anglo-Indians of the twentieth century were faced with a national reawakening of the Indians. They had to gird their loins to fight against it for the sake of their own interests.

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India is now free but not integrated socially and psychologically and, therefore, completely.

A nation must of necessity constitute several elements: (a) race, (b) religion, (c) language, (d) customs, usages (laws), (e) art, literature (culture), (f) economic system (land, labour capital, organisation). Again, each of these elements has two sides - one is harmonious with world order and world prosperity and happiness, and the other is narrowly national and, therefore, hostile to internationalism.

In its effort to secure its independent life on a well-defined portion of the globe, the nation or the politically conscious community, bound by one or more of these ties, so as to be free from exploitation by other peoples, and also free for developing its own view of life, peace, and happiness, may use or utilise the elements mentioned above properly or improperly, thus accelerating the peace and progress of mankind as a whole, together with its own, or wrecking such a possibility, much to its own woe and the woe of mankind.

The growth of the concept of nation has been gradually visible by the increase of the number of people joining public meetings, by gatherings on occasions which properly appealed to popular sentiments and by the determination to sacrifice. There was a huge gathering of all classes of people in the court compound during the trial of James Long. There was also a surging crowd before the High Court of Calcutta when Surendranath was tried. Asutosh Mukherjee, then a student, was the leader of the agitated students that crowded before the Court. The students held a meeting in the Free Church College; the students (girls) of the Bethune College joined this meeting with bows of black ribbon on them. Even the housewives were deeply mortified when Surendranath was imprisoned; they wrote in grief to the wife of Surendranath. A flood of human heads formed the funeral procession of Desbandhu Chittaranjan Das. And people's determination to sacrifice was clearly perceptible during Gandhi's Civil Disobedience Movement.

Some notable landholders of Bengal were the first to form a group. The Landholder's Society supplied information to the British India Society (1839) in London started by Rammohan's friend William Adam. Then the educated middle class became the torch bearer of Indian nationalism. They were subsequently joined by the students and the masses. Surendranath stimulated the political consciousness of the students. The women also came. Annie Besant's prominence supplied further inspiration to womenfolk. The masses were first awakened in Bengal and by its Partition in 1905. Tilak's appeal was mainly to the masses. During Gandhi's time the masses of India advanced further and still further. The industrialists also joined in the chorus; they also helped the Freedom Movement with money.

The concept of nation is not only a mental state but also a feeling. This is also associated with activities. Events have been requisitely dilated upon to picture the growth of this concept of nation, and the same event also helped the further growth of this concept. The activities of Surendranath Banerjee, the Ilbert Bill controversy, the Partition of Bengal in 1905 and its effects, the Home Rule Movement, the Jallianwala Bagh massacre, the Civil Disobedience movement, etc, have been dealt with at some length.
The results of the censuses in 1901, 1911, 1921, 1931 and 1941 are shown below:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population</th>
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<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>294,361,056 (207.1 million Hindus, 62.4 million Muslims, 2.1 million Sikhs among others)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>315,156,396 (217.5 million Hindus, 68.2 million Muslims, 3.0 million Sikhs among others)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>318,942,480 (216.7 million Hindus, 71.5 million Muslims, 3.2 million Sikhs among others)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>351,450,689 (238.3 million Hindus, 77.7 million Muslims, 4.3 million Sikhs among others)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>388,997,955 (255.4 million Hindus, 91.7 million Muslims, 5.7 million Sikhs among others)</td>
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From the above statistics one can have glimpses of the population at the time the Muslim League was formed (1907) and of the population at the time India was divided (1947). Till 1931, in one of the tables of the census statistics the division of population had been shown on the basis of religion; in the census statistics of 1941 the term 'religion' was replaced by 'communities'. The sense of innocence that underlies the term 'religion' is absent from the term 'communities'. In the census of 1941, the number of the Caste Hindus and of those who belonged to the Scheduled Castes were shown separately. It should also be mentioned here that according to some critics the Muslims sometimes improperly augmented the number of their own people in census.

The Government of India Act, 1919 set up a bicameral legislature. The Council of State consisted of 60 members, of whom 33 were elected and 27 were nominated by the Governor-General. The Legislative Assembly consisted of 145 members, of whom 103 were elected and the rest were nominated; of the nominated members, 25 were officials and the rest non-officials. Of the 103 elected members, 51 were elected by the general constituencies, 32 by communal constituencies, 30 by Muslims and 2 by Sikhs, and 20 by special constituencies (7 by land-holders, 9 by Europeans and 4 by Indian Commerce). The Governor in his Executive Council administered certain subjects known as "Reserved Subjects"; the Governor in his ministry dealt with the "Transferred Subjects". The division of government into two halves was known as Dyarchy.

The Indian Legislature under the Act of 1935 consisted of the Governor General and two Chambers—the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly. The Legislative Assembly (after the separation of Burma) consisted of 141 members, of whom 102 were elected. Of the 39 nominated members, 20 were official members and 19 were nominated non-officials. 48 out of the 102 seats filled by election were "non-Mohammedan" general constituencies. 30 seats were reserved for the Mohammedans, 2 for the Sikhs, 9 for the Europeans 7 for the Land-holders and 4 Indian Commerce. 1 from Delhi and 1 from Ajmer-Merwar were elected by non-communal constituencies. The Council of State consisted of 58 members of whom 32 were elected and 26 nominated; of the nominated members 12 were officials and 14 non-officials. The Govt. of India Act, 1935, carried a step forward that process of giving autonomy or self-government to the provinces which was suggested by Lord Hardinge's Coronation Durbar Despatch to the Secretary of State in 1911, and implemented to a limited extent in the Montford Constitution (1919).
In the above two paragraphs we can study the nature of constitutional reform. By the Act of 1935 the number of the elected members was comparatively (because of the separation of Burma) increased. The allotment of seats should also be carefully studied.

Claims for privileges or for seats in the Legislature by different communities or groups based on religion or groups of different other interests do not injure the concept of nation of a country. But when an appreciable section of the people of a country strives for secession and claims vehemently for a separate home-land, it indicates that there has occurred a fissure in the concept of nation. Although Syed Ahmed's articulation of the two-nation theory was there, the Muslim had no serious thought for a separate home-land for a long time. Distrust grew upon distrust and the Muslim League under Jinnah craved for separation towards the end.

The immediate causes of the Simla Deputation (1906) and the establishment of the Muslim League converged round the two important points - the consolidation of Muslim forces in view of the expectation of a new measure of constitutional reforms and British antagonism to the nationalist movement created by the Partition of Bengal. The All-India Muslim League was set up in the suasion of Sayed Ahmed's ideology of independent Muslim existence, specially in religious and political spheres. The inaugural meeting of the British Committee of the All-India Muslim League was held in Westminster in 1908 under the Presidentship of Sayed Ameer Ali who said: "It is impossible for them (the Muslims) to merge their separate communal existence in that of any other nationality or strive for the attainment of their ideals under the aegis of any other organization than their own"(1)

The influence of Dadabhai Naoraji and G. K. Gokhale brought Jinnah in close association with the Indian National Congress and he joined the moderate wing of this organization. When in 1910 and 1911 the Council of the All-India Muslim League suggested radical change for its constitution, M. A. Jinnah was invited to participate in its deliberation and tender his well-considered advice. In consequence of discussions the All-India Muslim League in its Lucknow session (1913) acknowledged suitable self-government as one of its objects. In compliance with the desire of Maulana Mohammad Ali, M. A. Jinnah was formally enrolled as a member of the Muslim League in 1913. Henceforward he became an active protagonist of both the political organizations, the Congress and the Muslim League, and till the commencement of the Non-violent Non-Cooperation Movement he continued to draw approbation from both of them. He acted as a mediator between the Hindus and the Muslims and strove to establish good will between the two communities. He was for himself the Ambassador of Unity. The Lucknow Pact of 1916 was, to a great extent,

the result of Jinnah's efforts, and it was at his initiative that the 'Memorandum of the Nineteen' (Hindu and Muslim Legislators) was submitted to the British Govt. with a view to obtaining for the Indians a substantial measure of self-Government. But the Nagpur Session (1920) of the Indian National Congress proved to be the parting of ways for in this session, Gandhi's programme of Non-Co-operation was finally adopted. Jinnah opposed it vehemently. Speaking on the sixth anniversary (1921) of the Late G. K. Gokhale, Jinnah told his audience that he was convinced in his mind that the programme of Mahatma Gandhi was taking them to a wrong channel.

Jinnah practised before the Privy Council in England from 1930 to 1934. But as soon as his financial circumstances improved, he began to take part in politics. When he became the leader of the Muslims, he said of the Muslims as the minority community and claimed privileges for the Muslim community; but as his distrust of the Hindus grew larger he began to assert that the Muslims in India formed a separate nation.

The Muslim leaders from Sayed Ahmed, Nawab Moin-ul-Mulk, Nawab Viquar-ul-Mulk and H. H. the Aga Khan down to Mohammed Iqbal and M. A. Jinnah had been preaching the Muslim distinctness and the Pakistan Resolution was moved and carried in the League's session in March, 1940.

Race, Language, Culture -

The most recent and authoritative classification divides the people of India into six main races - Negrito, Proto-Australoid, Mongoloid group, Mediterranean group, Western Brachycephals and Nordics.

But all mingle to form one Indian race.

H. G. Rawlinson writes: "The Indo-Aryans, who hated their opponents on account of their dark skins, their flat noses and their strange religious rites, called them Dasyus or Dasas (slaves). But they did not exterminate the Dasyus. They intermarried with them, and the descendants of these marriages adopted many of the customs and even the gods of the older races." (2) Dr. Tara Chand writes: "When the Aryans began to arrive in India is not easy to tell, but it will not be far wrong to fix the period from 2500 B.C. to 2000 B.C. for their arrival. They came into contact with the peoples, some whom of whom had attained a high degree of culture - perhaps, higher than that of the new-comers, and the others who were less civilized." At the beginning of the first chapter it has been stated that the Sakas, the Huns, the Pathans and the Mughals all mixed to form a single body. They all became Indians. There have been quarrels in India on religion, on language, but never on race. Besides, there are countries which with distinct races have a single nation. Race has never been a problem in Indian Nationalism.

Unity of race is said to be a characteristic of Nationality; but from the scientific point of view there is hardly any nationality which can be regarded as the descendants of a single family or stock. Hitler made racialism the revolutionary philosophy of a discontent German middle class which oppressed the Jews.
Unity of race, however, does not always make a single Nationality. Though the German, English, Dutch, Danish and Scandinavians are more or less homogeneous from the racial point of view, yet they do not form one Nationality. There is absolutely no racial unity in the population of the U.S.A. yet a strong sentiment of nationality prevails there.

There was a large number of languages in the country. Fourteen languages were notable - Assamese, Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi, Urdu, Kanada, Kashmiri, Malayalam, Marathi, Oriya, Punjabi, Sanskrit, Tamil and Telegu. In addition, there were the English language and about 250 regional dialects in India. The most widespread of the Indian Languages was Hindi.

Many of the national movements in Modern Europe turned largely on national language, e.g., the Irish, Polish and Bohemian movements. But the existence of Nationality is quite possible without unity of language. Switzerland has got a nationality of its own, but three distinct languages are spoken in the country. The English language is spoken in the U.S.A., but there is an American Nationality different from that of Britain.

Urdu and Hindi are basically the same language. Hindi is written in Devangri script and Urdu in Persian-Arabic script. Hindi was to be associated with the Hindus and Urdu with the Muslims. Urdu writers tend to draw upon Arabic and Persian for expanding their vocabulary and Hindi writers upon Sanskrit. Urdu originated from the dialect spoken round about Delhi. It became the spoken language of the Muslims when they settled in Delhi. It was at first the court or the camp language of the Moghals.

England's greatest contribution to the unity of India was her language. The English gave India a common language. Although nationalism was a latter-day growth in India, India had a very great culture from the olden times in spite of her superstitions, prejudices and many other drawbacks. The remains unearthed at Harappa in the Punjab at Mohenjo-Daro in Sind reveal the existence of a rich civilization in the Indus Valley several thousands of years before the Christian era. Some suggest that the Indus civilization is Dravidian. The Ramayana and the Mahabharata are two old epics of India; the Vedas and the Upanishads are much older than the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. India produced the oldest literature in the world. Her spiritual culture is unquestionably the oldest. Although the present Indian culture in the field of science is a gift of Europe, there were plenty of fields where India exhibited older and superior culture. Centuries ago, even before the birth of Christ, Indian brain had contributed to medicine and astronomy and astrology. India cultivated spirituality, literature, music, architecture, sculpture, etc. Buddhism born in the 6th century B.C. lit a new light. During the time of Asoka, Buddhism reached the remotest corner of Asia. The frescoes at Ajanta Caves (some of which are 2000 years old) are ranked among the masterpieces of the world's art. Ellora cave temples are also wonders of the world. During the Gupta period the fine arts, including music, architecture, sculpture and painting were largely cultivated. Hindu civilization during the post-Gupta period included maritime activity and cultural expansion. The Indian Ocean was a highway for the spread of Indian political influence and of Indian culture to the Trans-Gangetic peninsula and the great archipelago that lies scattered off the coast of Malay. The Cholas of Southern India maintained a powerful fleet and acquired a large number of islands in the Indian Ocean. They pushed their conquest as far as Kadaram (possibly in the
Malay peninsula), the seaport of Takkolam (in the isthmus of Kra), and even to Sumatra. These territories were wrested from the Sailendras who had established an extensive empire in Malaya. The Pandya port of Kayal near the mouth of the river Tamraparni was about this time one of the greatest marts of the East and carried on a brisk trade with many foreign countries. The Palas of Bengal maintained close relations with the rulers of Sumatra and Java; the latter island, which was a centre of Brahmanism in the days of Fa-hien, had now become predominantly Buddhist and the remains of Borobudur attest the wide prevalence of the religion of Sakyamuni and the artistic skill of its devotees. Remains of Indian civilization have also been found in Champa and Cambodia (Kamvuja) in French Indo-China. The temple styled Angkor Vat in Cambodia deserves special attention. A record of about A.D. 600 in Cambodia refers to arrangements made in a shrine for the recitation of the Ramayana, the Puranas and the complete Mahabharata. The Pala period saw a great extension of Buddhist influence to Tibet. H. G. Rawlinson (under the caption "Greater India: Java and Cambodia" in his book "A Concise History of Indian People") writes: "Mention has been made already of Asoka's missions to Ceylon, and of the voyages of Buddhist merchants to the Persian Gulf and Alexandria on the West and to Burma (Suvarna Bhumi) on the past. But Hindu colonists now began to push much further afield and expeditions went by sea and landed settlements in Sumatra, Java, Bali and even Cambodia on the east coast of Asia. These colonists came from both Gujarat and Kalinga or Orissa. A number of Hindu kingdoms sprang up which were united under the Sailendra dynasty. The Chinese pilgrim I-Tsing, who came from India to China by sea, mentions a whole chain of seaports, with Indian inhabitants, at which he halted. Voyages to the Chinese coast were quite common, and Buddhist missionaries and traders visited Japan from time to time. Hindus of the higher castes were forbidden to cross the water, but this did not apply to Jains and Buddhists, or to mercantile classes."

During the Muslim period there was growth in architecture, painting, literature and music. Nehru in his "Unity of India" writes:

"The Moslem rulers generally accepted the background of Indian life and culture, varied by Persian cultural ideas. There was no difficulty whatever in the adaptation of old Indian arts to new ideas. New styles grew up in architecture and painting which were a true synthesis of the two and yet were essentially Indian. So also in music. Even in dress a certain uniformity crept in, and a common language developed."

"Thus the whole history of India for thousands of years past shows her essential unity and the vitality and adaptibility of her culture. This vitality took her message in art and thought and religion to the Far East; it took the shape of great colonizing expeditions to Malaya, to Java and Sumatra and the Philippines and Borneo, as the remains of great monuments there, a thousand years old, bear testimony." (3)

Aurobindo made a comparison of Indian culture with the culture of Greece and Rome:

"Greece developed to a high degree the intellectual reason and the sense of form and harmonious beauty. Rome founded firmly strength and power and patriotism, and law and order; modern Europe has raised to enormous proportions practical reason, (3) P.17 : Unity of India - Jawaharlal Nehru."
science and efficiency and economic capacity. India developed
the spiritual mind working on the other powers of man and
exceeding them, the intuitive reason, the philosophical harmony
of the Dharma informed by the religious spirit, the sense of the
eternal and the infinite. The future has to go on to a greater
and more perfect comprehensive development of these things and
to evolve fresh powers ..... " (4)

Dr. Tara Chand writes: "Thus it happened that India,
carrying the deadweight of a moribund social system, yet the
bearer of a rich heritage of art, literature, philosophy and
religion, stood face to face with a triumphant, proud and pro-
gressive Britain, modern in its moral and material make-up" (5)
Dr. Tara Chand observes that in India a civilization was trans-
formed into a nationality. "The achievement of freedom by India
is a unique phenomenon. It is the transformation of a civilisation
into a nationality. It is the fulfilment of nationality
through the establishment of national sovereignty" (6). He writes
that India had a distinct socio-economic structure which conti-
nued till the nineteenth century, and this structure was the
the cause of the harmony of the many-sided culture of the peoples
of India. "This socio-economic continuity is the distinguishing
mark of Indian history. The harmony found in the many-sided
culture of the peoples of India stems from this source. Thus,
although India has many religions, many languages, many races,
its fundamental attitudes towards life have persisted through cen-
turies and millennia. There is a peculiarly Indian flavour which
persuades the multiplicity of cultures during the ages. It is
a remarkable fact that the socio-economic structure of India,
which originated in the settlement of the Aryans and their assim-
ilation of the pre-Aryan inhabitants of India, continued without
any radical change till the nineteenth century. The explanation
appears to be that unlike that of Europe, India's racial mould
was set once and for all and was little disturbed in the succeeding
times. This happened when the Aryan migrant groups came—
possibly in several waves—and occupied the different ways and
regions of the country. In each region the original inhabi-
tants were absorbed in different ways and in different numbers,
and thus in these different territories different social organ-
isms were established. But all bore in varying degrees the stamp of
Aryanism, and the traditions once formed were not subsequently
altered by racial displacements and disturbances. These tradi-
tions were a synthesis of the Aryan, Dravidian and aboriginal
elements in India's population. As neither temporary incursions
nor permanent conquests affected to any appreciable extent the mass
of population, there was no root or branch modification of the
traditions. The immigration of such tribes as Jats, Gujar, Sakas
and Huns in later times did not prove more than the rush of little
rivulets into the ocean where they are lost in its immensity.

"When the Muslim conquerors established their empire
in the thirteenth century, a new culture made its entry in India.
Then the old and the new met and exchanges took place between
them. In the process a complex situation arose" (7)

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(4) P. 20: The Culture of India - C.C. Dutt.
Dr. Tara Chand.
(6) P. xii Ibid.
(7) Pp. 3-4: History of the Freedom Movement in India,
Gandhi said: "I do not want any house to be walled in on all sides and my windows to be stuffed. I want cultures of all lands to be blown about my house as freely as possible. But I refuse to be blown off my feet by any".

In a large country cultural uniformity is neither possible nor desirable; uniformity deadens the soul there. The problem of cultural diversity, and even cultural feuds, must be acknowledged and tactfully met so that the progress of a common nationalism may not suffer. This, however, requires cultural integration to some extent.

A nation can be built by the attainment of true culture of the body, the mind and the spirit.