her educated sons is surely quite abreast of the twentieth's.

We need not multiply instances to show how the attitude of the Hindu "communal patriots" has alarmed the Muslims and driven them into a comparative isolation. The walls of separation can be broken down only if a radical change takes place in the conceptions of communal duty and patriotism. The responsibility of the Hindus is much greater in the matter, because they are more powerful and have sometimes used their strength with strange disregard to consequences. The Muslims stand aloof because they are afraid of being completely swallowed up. Any true patriot of India working for the evolution of Indian nationality will have to accept the communal individuality of the Muslims as the basis of his constructive effort. This is the irreducible factor of the situation, and the politician who ignores it has no conception of the task that awaits India's statesmen. People talk sometimes of the need of the Muslims joining hands with the Hindus, because some incidents in contemporary history have not been exactly to their liking. They conceive of Muslim "policy" as something wholly apart from Muslim interests, entirely unrelated to contemporary facts and past history, something necessary for a bargain, a toy that one might have for the mere fun of politics. Soft-headed and some self-advertising folk have gone about proclaiming that the Muslims should join the Congress because the government had revoked the Partition of Bengal or because Persia and Turkey are in trouble. We were simply amused at this irresponsible fatuity, but when a responsible body like the London Branch of the All-India Muslim League talks of closer cooperation between the Hindus and Muslims because the Muslims of Tripolli and Persia have been the victims of European aggressions, we realize for the first time that even sane and level-headed men can run off at a tangent and confuse the issues. What has the Muslim situation abroad to do with the conditions of the Indian Muslims? Either their interests come actually into conflict with those of the Hindus, or they have been all along guilty of a great political meanness and hypocrisy. Has the Indian situation undergone a change? Are the Hindu "communal patriots" less militant today and have they grown more considerate and careful about Muslim sentiments? Have the questions that really divide the two communities lost their force and meaning? If not, then the problem remains exactly where it was at any time in recent Indian history. Boards of arbitration, peace syndicates and solemn pacts about cows cannot solve it any more than we can by a spell of occult words control the winds and the tides. The communal sentiment and temper must change, and interests must grow identical before the Hindus and the Muslims can be welded into a united nationality. The problem is great, in fact, one of the greatest known to history. None, however, need despair, as the influences of education, and the levelling, liberalizing tendencies of the times are bound to succeed in creating political individuality out of the diversity of creed and race. Any attempt to impose artificial unity is sure to end in failure, if not in disaster.

Address by Lord Minto

Resolutions and Memoranda

Landmark in the History of Muslim Separatism

[Address presented to Lord Minto, Viceroy of India, on October 1, 1906, at Simla, by a 35-man Muslim deputation headed by Sir Sultan Mohammed Shah Aga Khan, G.C.I.E.]

May it please Your Excellency, Availing ourselves of the permission accorded to us, we, the undersigned nobles, jagirdars, taluqdars, lawyers, zamindars, merchants and others representing a large body of the Mohammedan subjects of His Majesty the King Emperor in different parts of India, beg most respectfully to approach Your Excellency with the following address for your favourable consideration.

We fully realize and appreciate the incalculable benefits conferred by British rule on the teeming millions belonging
to diverse races and professing diverse religions who form the population of the vast continent of India, and have every reason to be grateful for the peace, security, personal freedom and liberty of worship that we now enjoy. Further, from the wise and enlightened character of the Government, we have every reasonable ground for anticipating that these benefits will be progressive, and that India will in the future occupy an increasingly important position in the comity of nations.

One of the most important characteristics of British policy in India is the increasing deference that has so far as possible been paid from the first to the views and wishes of the people of the country in matters affecting their interests, with due regard always to the diversity of race and religion which forms such an important feature of all Indian progress.

Claims of the Community

Beginning with the confidential and unobtrusive method of consulting influential members of important communities in different parts of the country, this principle was gradually extended by the recognition of the right of recognized political or commercial organizations to communicate to the authorities their criticisms and views on measures of public importance, and finally by the nomination and election of direct representatives of the people in municipalities, district boards, and above all in the legislative chambers of the country. This last element is, we understand, about to be dealt with by the committee appointed by Your Excellency with the view of giving it further extension, and it is with reference mainly to our claim to a fair share in such extended representation and some other matters of importance affecting the interests of our community, that we have ventured to approach Your Excellency on the present occasion.

Past Traditions

The Mohammedans of India number, according to the census taken in the year 1901, over sixty-two millions or between one-fifth and one-fourth of the total population of His Majesty's Indian Dominions, and if a reduction be made for the uncivilized portions of the community enumerated under the heads of animist and other minor religions, as well as for those classes who are ordinarily classified as Hindus but properly speaking are not Hindus at all, the proportion of Mohammedans to the Hindu majority becomes much larger. We therefore desire to submit that under any system of representation extended or limited a community in itself more numerous than the entire population of any first class European power except Russia may justly lay claim to adequate recognition as an important factor in the State.

We venture, indeed, with Your Excellency's permission to go a step further, and urge that the position accorded to the Mohammedan community in any kind of representation, direct, or indirect, and in all other ways affecting their status and influence should be commensurate, not merely with their numerical strength, but also with their political importance and the value of the contribution which they make to the defence of the empire, and we also hope that Your Excellency will in this connection be pleased to give due consideration to the position which they occupied in India a little more than hundred years ago and of which the traditions have naturally not faded from their minds.

The Mohammedans of India have always placed implicit reliance on the sense of justice and love of fair dealing that have characterized their rulers, and have in consequence abstained from pressing their claims by methods that might prove at all embarrassing, but earnestly as we desire that the Mohammedans of India should not in the future depart from that excellent and time-honoured tradition, recent events have stirred up feelings, especially among the younger generation of Mohammedans, which might, in certain circumstances and under certain contingencies easily pass beyond the control of temperate counsel and sober guidance.

We therefore pray that the representations we herewith venture to submit, after a careful consideration of the views
and wishes of a large number of our co-religionists in all parts of India, may be favoured with Your Excellency's earnest attention.

European Representative Institutions

We hope Your Excellency will pardon our stating at the outset that representative institutions of the European type are new to Indian people; many of the most thoughtful members of our community in fact consider that the greatest care, forethought and caution will be necessary if they are to be successfully adapted to the social, religious and political conditions obtaining in India, and that in the absence of such care and caution their adoption is likely, among other evils, to place our national interests at the mercy of an unsympathetic majority. Since, however, our rulers have, in pursuance of the immemorial instincts and traditions, found it expedient to give these institutions an increasingly important place in the Government of the country, we Mohammedans, cannot any longer in justice to our own national interests hold aloof from participating in the conditions to which their policy has given rise. While, therefore, we are bound to acknowledge with gratitude that such representation as the Mohammedans of India have hitherto enjoyed has been due to a sense of justice and fairness on the part of Your Excellency and your illustrious predecessor in office and the heads of local governments by whom the Mohammedan members of legislative chambers have almost without exception been nominated, we cannot help observing that the representation thus accorded to us has necessarily been inadequate to our requirements, and has not always carried with it the approval of those whom the nominees were selected to represent. This state of things was probably, under existing circumstances, unavoidable, for while on the one hand the number of nominations reserved to the Viceroy and local governments has necessarily been strictly limited, the selection on the other hand of really representative men, has, in the absence of any reliable method of ascertaining the direction of popular choice, been far from easy.

The Results of Election

As for the results of election, it is most unlikely that the name of any Mohammedan candidate will ever be submitted for approval of Government by the electoral bodies as now constituted unless he is in sympathy with the majority in all matters of importance. Nor can we in fairness find fault with the desire of our non-Muslim fellow-subjects to take full advantage of their strength and vote only for members of their own community, or for persons who, if not Hindus, are expected to vote with the Hindu majority on whose good will they would have to depend for their future re-election. It is true that we have many and important interests in common with our Hindu fellow-countrymen and it will always be a matter of the utmost satisfaction to us to see these interests safeguarded by the presence in our legislative chambers of able supporters of these interests, irrespective of their nationality.

A Distinct Community

Still, it cannot be denied that we Mohammedans are a distinct community with additional interests of our own which are not shared by other communities, and these have hitherto suffered from the fact that they have not been adequately represented. Even in the provinces in which the Mohammedans constitute a distinct majority of the population, they have too often been treated as though they were inappreciably small political factors that might without unfairness be neglected. This has been the case, to some extent, in the Punjab, but in a more marked degree in Sind and in Eastern Bengal.

Before formulating our views with regard to the election of representatives, we beg to observe that the political importance of a community to a considerable extent gains strength or suffers detriment according to the position that the mem-
bers of that community occupy in the service of the State. If, as is unfortunately the case with the Mohammedans, they are not adequately represented in this manner, they lose in the prestige and influence which are justly their due.

Employment in Government Service

We therefore pray that Government will be graciously pleased to provide that both in the gazetted and the subordinate and ministerial services of all Indian provinces a due proportion of Mohammedans shall always find place. Orders of like import have at times been issued by local governments in some provinces but have not, unfortunately, in all cases been strictly observed on the ground that qualified Mohammedans were not forthcoming. This allegation, however well founded it may have been at one time, is, we submit, no longer tenable now, and wherever the will to employ them is not wanting the supply of qualified Mohammedans, we are happy to be able to assure Your Excellency, is equal to the demand.

The Competitive Element

Since, however, the number of qualified Mohammedans has increased, a tendency is unfortunately perceptible to reject them on the ground of relatively superior qualifications having to be given precedence. This introduces something like the competitive element in its worst form, and we may be permitted to draw Your Excellency’s attention to the political significance of the monopoly of all official influence by one class. We may also point out in this connection that the efforts of Mohammedan educationists have from the very outset of the educational movement among them been strenuously directed towards the development of character, and this we venture to think is of greater importance than mere mental alertness in the making of good public servants.

Mohammedans on the Bench

We venture to submit that the generality of Mohammedans in all parts of India feel aggrieved that Mohammedan judges are not more frequently appointed to the high courts and chief courts of judicature. Since the creation of these courts only three Mohammedan lawyers have held these honourable appointments, all of whom have fully justified their elevation to the Bench. At the present moment there is not a single Mohammedan judge sitting on the Bench of any of these courts, while there are three Hindu judges in the Calcutta High Court, where the proportion of Mohammedans in the population is very large, and two in the Chief Court of the Punjab, where the Mohammedans form the majority of the population. It is not, therefore, an extravagant request on our part that a Mohammedan should be given a seat on the Bench of each of the high courts and chief courts. Qualified Mohammedan lawyers eligible for these appointments can always be found, if not in one province then in another. We beg permission further to submit that the presence on the Bench of these courts of judges learned in the Mohammedan Law will be a source of considerable strength to the administration of justice.

Municipal Representation

As municipal and district boards have to deal with important local interests affecting to a great extent the health, comfort, educational needs and even the religious concerns of the inhabitants, we shall, we hope, be pardoned if we solicit for a moment Your Excellency’s attention to the position of Mohammedans thereon before passing to higher concerns. These institutions form, as it were, the initial rungs in the ladder of self-government, and it is here that the principle of representation is brought home intimately to the intelligence of the people, yet the position of Mohammedans on these boards is not at present regulated by any guiding principle capable of general application, and practice varies in different localities. The Aligarh Municipality, for example, is divided into six wards and each ward returns one Hindu and one Mohammedan Commissioner, and the same principle we
understand is adopted in a number of municipalities in the Punjab and elsewhere, but in a good many places the Mohammedan tax-payers are not adequately represented. We would, therefore, respectfully suggest that the local authority should in every case be required to declare the number of Hindus and Mohammedans entitled to seats on municipal and district boards, such proportion to be determined in accordance with the numerical strength, social status, local influence and special requirements of either community. Once their relative proportion is authoritatively determined, we would suggest that either community should be allowed severally to return their own representatives as in the practice in many towns in the Punjab.

Fellows of Universities

We would also suggest that the senates and syndicates of Indian universities might be similarly dealt with, that is to say, there should, so far as possible, be an authoritative declaration of the proportion in which Mohammedans are entitled to be represented in either body.

Nomination to Provincial Councils

We now proceed to the consideration of the question of our representation in the legislative chambers of the country. Beginning with the provincial councils, we would most respectfully suggest that in the case of municipalities and district boards the proportion of Mohammedan representatives entitled to seats should be determined and declared with regard to the important considerations which we have ventured to point out in paragraph 5 of this address, and that the important Mohammedan landowners, merchants, lawyers and representatives of other important interests, the Mohammedan members of district boards and municipalities and the Mohammedan graduates of universities of a certain standing, say five years, should be formed into electoral colleges and be authorised, in accordance with such rules of procedure as Your Excellency's Government may be pleased to prescribe in that behalf, to return the number of members that may be declared to be eligible.

The Viceroy's Council

With regard to the Imperial Legislative Council whereon the due representation of Mohammedan interests is a matter of vital importance, we crave leave to suggest (1) that in the cadre of the Council the proportion of Mohammedan representatives should not be determined on the basis of the numerical strength of the community, and that in any case the Mohammedan representatives should never be an ineffective minority; (2) that as far as possible, appointment by election should be given preference over nomination; (3) that for the purposes of choosing Mohammedan members, Mohammedan landowners, lawyers, merchants and representatives of other important interests of a status to be subsequently determined by Your Excellency's Government, Mohammedan members of the provincial councils and Mohammedan fellows of universities should be invested with electoral powers to be exercised in accordance with such procedure as may be prescribed by Your Excellency's Government in that behalf.

The Executive Council

An impression has lately been gaining ground that one or more Indian members may be appointed on the Executive Council of the Viceroy. In the event of such appointment being made we beg that the claims of Mohammedans in that connection may not be overlooked. More than one Mohammedan we venture to say, will be found in the country fit to serve with distinction in that august chamber.

A Mohammedan University

We beg to approach your Excellency on a subject which must closely affect our national welfare. We are convinced that our aspirations as a community and our future progress are largely dependent on the foundation of a Mohammedan University which will be the centre of our religious and
intellectual life. We therefore most respectfully pray that your Excellency will take steps to help us in an undertaking in which our community is so deeply interested.

In conclusion, we beg to assure your Excellency that in assisting the Mohammedan subjects of His Majesty at this stage in the development of Indian affairs in the directions indicated in the present address, your Excellency will be strengthening the basis of their unswerving loyalty to the Throne and laying the foundation of their political advancement and national prosperity, and your Excellency’s name will be remembered with gratitude by their posterity for generations to come, and we feel confident that your Excellency will be gracious enough to give due consideration to our prayers.

Towards Hindu-Muslim Unity

(The following is the scheme of reforms as a definite step towards self-government passed at the 31st Session of the Indian National Congress held at Lucknow on 29 December 1916, and also adopted by the All-India Muslim League at its meeting held on 31 December 1916.)

I. Provincial Legislative Councils

1. Provincial legislative councils shall consist of four-fifths elected and of one-fifth nominated members.
2. Their strength shall be not less than 125 members in the major provinces and from 50 to 75 in the minor provinces.
3. The members of councils should be elected directly by people on as broad a franchise as possible.
4. Adequate provision should be made for the representation of important minorities by election, and the Mohammedans should be represented through special electorates on the provincial legislative councils in the following proportions:

1. From D. Chakrabarty & C. Bhattacharyya (compilers), Congress in Evolution (Calcutta, 1935), pp. 189-91.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Reforms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>One-half of the elected Indian Members.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Province</td>
<td>30 per cent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengal</td>
<td>40 per cent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bihar</td>
<td>25 per cent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Provinces</td>
<td>15 per cent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madras</td>
<td>15 per cent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bombay</td>
<td>One-third</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Provided that no Mohammedans shall participate in any of the other elections to the legislative councils, save and except those by electorates representing special interests.

Provided further that no bill, nor any clause thereof, nor a resolution introduced by a non-official member affecting one or the other community, which question is to be determined by the members of that community in the Legislative Council concerned, shall be proceeded with, if three-fourths of the members of that community in the particular Council, Imperial or Provincial, oppose the bill or any clause thereof or the resolution.

5. The head of the Provincial Government should not be the President of the Legislative Council but the Council should have the right of electing its President.

6. The right of asking supplementary questions should not be restricted to the member putting the original question but should be allowed to be exercised by any other member.

7. (a) Except customs, post, telegraph, mint, salt, opium, railways, army and navy and tributes from Indian States, all other sources of revenue should be provincial.

(b) There should be no divided heads of revenue. The Government of India should be provided with fixed contributions from the provincial governments, such fixed contributions being liable to revision when extraordinary and unforeseen contingencies render such revision necessary.

(c) The Provincial Council should have full authority to deal with all matters affecting the internal administration of the Province including the power to raise loans, to impose and alter taxation, and to vote on the budget. All items of expenditure and all proposals concerning ways