CHAPTER VI
The Post-Khilafat Era (1924—1936) — a period of Confrontation between Orthodox Rational and Communist Ideas

The post-Khilafat period witnessed a new change in the political thought process of the educated urban Muslims of Bengal. The Hindu-Muslim approach developed during the Khilafat movement came to an end with the abolition of the Khalifat by Mustafa Kamal.¹

During the Khilafat movement the political understanding of the two communities was established. The nationalist and the Muslim organizations worked jointly under Gandhi on a common platform. The co-existence of the ideas of two communities was no longer possible after the termination of the Khilafat movement. The difference of opinions among the leaders of the two communities was noticed by Gandhi even in 1921.²

The suspension of the Non-cooperation and Civil-Disobedience movements disheartened the Muslims. Gandhi's imprisonment left none to guide the political movement on a common platform. The communal ideas influenced the political thought of the two communities in the post-Khilafat period. The Moplah rising and the occasional riots in Multan and Bengal intensified the communal feelings. The Tabligh and Tanzim movements were sponsored by the Muslim leaders to help the development of the communal trend and to counteract the growing influence of the Shudhi and Sangathan movements.

¹ Formative Phase, pp. 59-60.
² Indian Muslims, p. 152.
The murder of Swami Shradhanand in 1926 increased bitterness in the relations of the two communities. The Ulamas helped the orthodox trend to develop in the political ideas of the Muslims. The Jamiat-ul-Ulama-i-Hind was successful in converting a large number of non-Muslims and won over many apostates. A conference of the Jamiat-ul-Ulama-i-Hind and Tanzim held at Chittagong in 1925 (21 and 22 November) under the chairmanship of Maulana Hussain Ahmed Saheb criticized the mischievous tendencies of the Arya Samaj and Christian missionaries. The occasional riots in the state encouraged the communalists. Even the Muslim nationalist papers supported the Tanzim movement organized under the initiative of Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew and Maulana Abdul Mazid.

It may be mentioned that the strength of the upper and middle class Muslims rose to a great extent by the second decade of the present century. They increased their numbers and wealth through their participation in Government service, law profession, business and investment in land. In the rural areas the domination of small number of Hindu zamindars was felt by a large number of Muslim peasants. The Muslims regarded the Hindus as their rivals in the spheres of education, business and Government service. The Muslim

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3 The Sangathan movement was sponsored by Madan Mohan Malaviya to remove untouchability and to popularize physical exercises among the Hindus for their protection. The Shudhi movement was sponsored by Swami Shradhanand to reconvert the Malkhana Rajputs. The Shudhi movement was defended by Rajendra Prosad.

The Indian Year Book, 1925;
Rajendra Prosad, India Divided, p. 123;
Formative Phase, p. 57.

4 Formative Phase, p. 58.

5 The Mussalman, 28 November 1925.

6 Riots at Kidderpore in Calcutta and Kankinara (24-Parganas).
Ibid., 21 July and 25 August 1925.
journals between 1910-30 described the economic domination of the Hindus in Bengal society and urged the Muslims to increase their influence in agriculture, Industry and business. The upper class urban Muslims established the Muslim Chamber of Commerce to protect their commercial interests. They kept themselves separated from the Hindus and sought cooperation from the British ruler. Their economic problems initiated in them communal ideas. There was no organization to save the society from separatist ideas created by land settlements and class divisions introduced by the British Government in the country.7

In Bengal Abdur Rahim and Nawab Ali Chowdhury adopted an antagonistic attitude towards the Hindus and solicited cooperation of the British Government for securing more benefits to their co-religionists. This group formed the sectarian and orthodox group in the urban educated Muslim community. Abdur Rahim (became Sir Abdur Rahim later on) played a significant role to mould the thoughts of the Muslims after the end of the Khilafat movement. He was the leader of the Bengali Muslims but played a notable role

7 Saifuddin Kitchlew (1888-1963) was a barrister and believed that the problem of our country was economic, not political or religious. He opposed domination of a particular religious community and organized the Tanzim movement.

Anwar Hussain, Misalmaner Arthik Samasyya (Economic Problem of the Muslims) Sikha, Chaitra, 1335 B.S.
Akram Khan, Samasyya O Samadhan (Problem and Solution), Mohammadi, Sraban, 1335 B.S.
Abdul Majid, Shud Samasyya (Problem of Interest), Saogat, Aswin, 1336 B.S.
in the All India Muslim politics. He believed in communal ideas and supported the communal electorate for the Muslims. C.R. Das drew up the Hindu-Muslim Pact with the help of the Muslims to fight for the rights of the Muslims and the Hindus and to remove differences between the two communities. It did not bring any appreciable change in the political condition of Bengal. The Government adopted stern measures against the Swarajists for obstructing the working of the Reformed Council.

In presiding over the annual session of the Muslim League, Abdur Rahim spoke against the interests of the Hindus and criticized the Shudhi and the Sangathan movements. Abdur Rahim was charged with sowing the seeds of disunion between the two communities. Abdur Rahim stated that 'the Muslims and Hindus belong to different religions and ideas. No attempt has been made for the fusion of the two communities.' He echoed the views of Hunter that 'the Muslims enjoyed powers and benefits during the Muslim period but under the British they became less powerful'. He expected that the British would come forward to help the Muslims. Nawab Ali Chowdhury

Nawab Ali Chowdhury (1863-1929) was a leader of the Muslim community of Bengal. He supported the Partition of 1905. He cooperated with the British and worked for getting reforms benefiting the Muslims. He was East Bengal's representative in the Imperial Legislative Council. He resigned from the Presidentship

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Sir Abdur Rahim (1867-1947) was born in Midnapore (West Bengal). His father Maulvi Abdur Rub was a Zemindar and his grandfather was a Deputy Magistrate. He passed M.A. from Presidency College, Calcutta and became barrister in 1890. He was one of the organisers of the Muslim League in 1906. He became the Judge of the Madras High Court in 1908. He became a member of the Royal Commission of Public Service in 1913-15. In 1920 he became a member of the Executive Council of the Governor of Bengal but resigned in 1927 as a protest in Barrisal shooting affair. In 1931 he was elected to the Central Legislative Assembly and remained as its President from 1935-1945.

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supported the communal representation for the benefit of his community. Mrs. Annie Besant condemned Abdur Rahim for his communal propaganda. The Hindu-Muslim conflict attracted the attention of Rabindranath Tagore who appealed to all to restore good understanding among the two communities. Abdur Rahim was charged of associating with the riot at Calcutta (April 1926) but he made no attempt to exonerate him of the charge. The Mussalman charged the Government of inactivity in the riots in Calcutta. Abdur Rahim formed the Bengal Muslim League from the British Government. Keeping in mind the Muslim majority in Bengal, Abdur Rahim wanted the distribution of political power among the general population as a measure to prevent the domination by a class of intelligentsia. Abdur Rahim could not utilize the Third Reformed Council (1927) due to opposition of the Swarajists and urged the Government for more benefits for the Muslims. He went to the extent to state that the Muslims

of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League in 1917 as a protest against the Lucknow Pact. He became the President of the C.N.M.A. in 1918. During the Khilafat movement he joined the Councils. He was a member of the Bengal Legislative Council during 1912-16 and member, Viceroy's Legislative Council, 1916-20. He supported communal representation and his paper Mihir C Sudhakar supported his views.


10 The Swarajists including Subhas Chandra Bose were arrested. The Muslims were allowed leave for the Friday prayers and reservation of one third of Government jobs.

11 Ibid., 13 February 1926.

12 Mrs. Annie Besant (1846-1933), An Irish Lady who was one of the leaders of the Home Rule League Movement (1916) in India. She was the founder of the Theosophical Society in India. Her paper was New India.

13 The Mussalman, 20 February 1926.

Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941) was a great Bengali writer and poet. In 1901 he established the Shanti Niketan (Abode of Peace), a school which was developed into an International University known as Visva Bhurati University. He wrote Gitanjali, Post Office, Gardener Chitra, etc. In 1911 he composed the national song 'Jana Gana Mana ...' and in 1913 got the Nobel Prize. He surrendered knighthood in 1919 as protest against the Jwaliwanbag massacre in the Punjab.

14 The Amrita Bazar Patrika, 10 April, 1926
were required to fight against the Hindus for achieving their advantages.\textsuperscript{17} The Bengal Muslims supported the claim for a separate electorate for the Muslims before the Simon Commission.\textsuperscript{18} Abdur Rahim showed dissatisfaction against the Nehru Report in the Bengal Muslim All Parties Conference held at Calcutta in December 1928.\textsuperscript{19} The Bengali Muslims demanded 'Dominion Status' in the form of an autonomous state under the British Crown, a separate electorate and rejected the move for territorial redistribution affecting the Muslim majority in Bengal. Abdur Rahim gave prime importance to the constitutional position of the Muslim majority in Bengal. He was ready to move against the All India Muslim League on the issue. Abdur Rahim was very much vocal about the grievances of his own community but he possessed the qualities of a nationalist and rational thinker. Abdur Rahim pleaded for the cause of Indian independence in the Round Table Conference of 1931-32. He said: 'What we have asked for and what we insist upon is that India should have a form of Government which will not be inferior in status to that of any Dominion in the British Commonwealth'. He was courageous

\textsuperscript{15} Sarala Devi Chowdhurani (1872-1954) was an eminent feminist after the Victorian pattern. Her mother Swarnakumari Devi was daughter of Maharshi Debendra Nath Tagore. Her father Janaki Nath Ghosal was one of the founders of the Indian National Congress.

Sarala Devi in the Bengal Literary Conference held at Suri on 2 April 1926 criticized the communal ideas of Abdur Rahim. \textit{The Mussalman}, 6 April 1926.

\textsuperscript{16} Abdur Rahim's speech in the Bengal Provincial Muslim Conference held on 8 May 1927 at Barisal. \textit{The Statesman}, 9 May 1927.

\textsuperscript{17} Abul Mansur Ahmad, \textit{Amar Dekha Rajnitir Panchas Bachar}, p. 61.

\textsuperscript{18} Indian Quarterly Register 1929, Vol. II, July-December, pp. 61,65. Muslim Politics, p. 62.

\textsuperscript{19} \textit{The Statesman}, 24 December 1924.
enough to protest against the repressive policy in the Central Legislative Assembly Ordinance in 1932. He said: "No doubt they have got the power, they can devastate the whole of India, but by devastating India they not only ruin India but at the same time they ruin England". Along with Abdur Rahim, Maulana Akram Khan, once an upholder of the Hindu-Muslim unity during the Khilafat movement infused in the thoughts of the Muslims an orthodox trend. The political condition of the country was surcharged with communal ideas. The emergence of the Hindu Mahasabha under the guidance of Lajpat Rai organized the Hindu Sabhas throughout the country to reconvert the Hindus from Islam and to give relief to the communal victims. In 1926, a Bengali weekly 'Hindu Sangha' under the editorship of Anuju Charan Sengupta propagated views in favour of the Shudhi movement. In 1925 the Hindu Mission was established and the 'Abhoy Ashram' of Comilla organized the 'Shivaji Utsab' to preach the Hindu ideas. Between 1920-1926 many Anjumans originated in Bengal under the guidance of the Ulamas to preach the ideals of Islam. The Hindu-Muslim relations were deteriorated. Akram Khan through his journal Mohammadi (monthly) attempted to propagate ideas in favour of the segregated Bengali Muslim literature and culture.

21 A Hindu-Mahasabha meeting was held at Calcutta on April 10, 1925 under the presidency of Lajpat Rai; The Mussalman, 14 April 1925.
Akram Khan and his followers worked tremendously to influence the Muslims' political thought towards the orthodox trend. The ideas of separatism pervaded in their writings. Akram Khan analyzed subjects like growth of population, syllabus of the schools and Bengali literature. Akram Khan accused the British Government of fostering the Madrassa education only to produce clerks and not to cultivate Islamic ideas among the Muslims. The Madrassa education should be reorganized. He asserted that the syllabus of the school text-books to be reorganized in order to acquaint the Muslim students with Islamic ideas and glorious days of the medieval Muslim rulers. He criticized the Hindu writers and the impact of Sanskrit on Bengali literature. Even Vidyasagar was not spared by him. Akram Khan was in favour of introducing Arabic-Persian-Urdu words in Bengali literature.

In the Mohammadi (1336 B.S., Ashwin) Akram Khan wrote:

"The impact of the Hindu ideas are found in the text-books of schools and Pathsalas. The history of the medieval Muslim rulers is taught in a distorted form. The syllabus should be changed in order to acquaint the Muslim students with the basic principles of Islam and glorious history of the past. The Bengali Muslims will be able again to establish their domination through Islamic unity, solidarity and Islamization... The Hindus have attempted for a considerable period to make Bengali literature a Sanskrit oriented study. The extreme decay of the Bengali Muslims in the domain of literature is found in the days of Vidyasagar." The Muslim intelligentsia criticized

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23 Akram Khan wrote the articles in 'Mohammadi' as follows: Contd. ...
the University of Calcutta for its pro-Hindu leanings. Jarim Kalam in his 'Hindu Misalmaner Birodh' criticized the Hindu zamindars and money-lenders. He also criticized the liberal ideas of K.A. Wadud. Abdul Kader, a writer, criticized the Hindu journalists for their communal approach. Some of the Muslim writers believed that a sense of communal harmony did not develop owing to existence of fundamental difference in the two religions. Akram Khan started publishing Azad in 1936 and preached separate identity of the Muslims. The recognition of Muslim India as a nation and demand for a separate state for the Muslims found prominence in the thoughts of Sir Muhammad Iqbal (1876-1938), the Cambridge Group and Dr. Abdul Latif. Iqbal wanted to maintain cultural identity of the Muslims and to associate the Muslim League with the ideas of Islam. This separatist outlook influenced the ideas of Akram Khan and his group who preached communal ideas in the Muslim society.

"Ganit O Ganatantra" (Mathematics and Democracy) (4th year, 5th-7th issue, 1337 B.S.); "Maktab-Madrassar Pathya" (Texts of Maktab Madrassa) (5th year, 8th issue, Jaistha, 1339 B.S.)
"School-Pathshalar Pathya Pustak" (Falgun-Chaitra, 1340 B.S.; Text books of school and Baisakh 1341 B.S.)
Mohammadi, Ashwin, 1336 B.S., pp. 740-741.
"Bangla Sahitya O Misalman" (9th year, 5th issue, Falgun 1342 B.S.) (Bengali literature and Chaitra, 1342 B.S., pp. 424-426. the Muslims)
Mohammadi, 9th year, 8th issue, Jaistha, 1342 B.S.; Bangali Buddhijibi, p. 307.
Bangali Buddhijibi, pp. 307-308.
Mohammadi, 9th year, 9th issue, Asar 1343 B.S.; Bangali Buddhijibi, p. 307.
Sardar Fazlul Karim (ed.), Pakistan Andolon O Muslim Sahitya, pp. 54, 63.
Aziz Ahmad, Islamic Modernism in India and Pakistan 1857-1964, pp. 156, 161;
Contd. ...
The post-Khilafat period witnessed not only orthodox ideas but also rational and humanistic ideas in the thoughts of the Muslims. The rational and humanistic ideas were initiated with the establishment of the **Muslim Sahitya Samaj** in 1926 at Dacca. The **Muslim Sahitya Samaj** actively worked with the Hindus to spread liberal ideas. The movement of the **Muslim Sahitya Samaj** was known as the 'emancipation of the intellect' movement. The mouthpiece of the movement was 'Shikha' and this group was called the 'Shikha group' by the opponents. The orthodox section among the Muslim political intellectuals opposed the liberal ideas of the 'Shikha' group in many ways. The 'Shikha' group of writers viz. Muhammad Lutfar Rahman, Kazi Imadadul Huq, Begum Rokeya Sakhwat Hossain, Muhammad Najibar Rahman, Kazi Abdul Wadud and Abul Hussain spread liberal ideas in the Bengal society.

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29 Abul Hussain was the Secretary of the **Muslim Sahitya Samaj**, Dacca. Abul Fazi, *Sahitya O Sanskritir Sadhana*, p. 56; Sahitya Samaj, pp. 1, 4.


This group of writers expressed views on literature, law, state, religion, political and communal issues.

Muhammad Lutfar Rahman (1889-1936) was a follower of secular and scientific ideas. He did not like to confine a man within the fold of a religion. He believed that a religious preacher should be broad-minded and urge his followers to be generous and affectionate. He wanted that the religion should be based on truth. Lutfar Rahman wrote: "I cannot understand whether there is any gain in calling upon people to embrace a particular religion. The duty of the greatest religious preacher would be to ask man to become beautiful, generous and affectionate". Like a rational thinker Lutfar Rahman believed that a true spiritual man should possess knowledge, character and humanity. In his Unnata Jiban he wrote: "Preserve the purity of soul. To keep the mind from untruth is religion. He who can do it is a real religious person. If spiritualism is considered as a separate thing, devoid of knowledge, character, humanity, and work, we do not require that spiritualism". His articles influenced the educated urban Muslims. Lutfar Rahman paid tribute to the humanism of Europe and ascribed the prominence of Christianity to Islam. He wrote for the welfare of the Muslims.

32 Muhammad Lutfar Rahman was a homoeopathic practitioner of Jessore (Bangladesh).

Works of Lutfar Rahman are as follows
Sarala, Pathahara Reinane, Prakash, Priti Upahar, Unnata Jiban, Manab Jiban, 'Narisakti' (journal)
Anisuzzaman, op. cit., pp. 427-432; Sahitya Sama, p. 2.
Kazi Imadadul Huq (1882-1926) exposed the illiberal ideas of both the Hindus and the Muslims. He wrote against communalism and untouchability. Imadadul Huq criticized the ideas of inequality in the Muslim society in his novel *Abdulla*.

Begun Rokeya Sakhwat Hossain (1880-1932) played a significant role to liberate the Muslim women and pleaded for equality between men and women. Begun Rokeya depicted the wretched conditions of the Muslim women and urged all to come forward to save the Muslim society. Begum Rokeya was rational and unorthodox in her ideas. In 1904 she expressed doubts about the authenticity of religious scriptures. She did not regard the religious books "as a writ of God's command". The religious books 'are nothing but man made code. Nobody can definitely say that they were sent by god!'. Regarding the rigidity in religion she wrote: "Where there is much rigidity in religion, there is greater oppression on women". She denounced rigidity in religion and held men responsible for publishing religious books to keep women in perpetual darkness. Mohammad Najibar Rahman (1860-1923) believed in broad ideas. He pleaded for the cause of English education and recommended education for Muslim women.

33 (*Abdulla* was published in the *Moslem Bharat*).

34 Begum Rokeya founded a school for the girls at Calcutta --- known as 'Sakhwat Memorial Girls' High School'.
Anisuzzaman, op. cit., pp. 418-422.

35 In *Aborodhbashini* and *Muktifal*, Begun Rokeya described the bad condition of the Muslim ladies.

36 Mohammad Najibar Rahman wrote: *Anowara* (1914), *Gariber Maya* (1923). His book on the Swadeshi movement *Billati Barijaner Rahassyar* (1311) was banned by the British.
Kazi Abdul Wadud (1894-1970) was a protagonist of liberal and rational ideas. He was influenced by the liberal ideas of Kazi Nazrul Islam on Hindu-Muslim unity. Wadud's early writings on Muslim life and peasant family were incorporated in *Mir Paribar* (1919). It was a collection of short stories which were appreciated by Rabindranath Tagore. Wadud described the life of a Muslim peasant family in *Nadi-Bakhe* which was praised by Rabindranath. Wadud urged the Muslim poets and writers to appreciate the beauty of mankind as revealed through the Islamic ideals. Pramatha Chaudhury, a noted writer in Bengali, appreciated the article of Wadud. Being influenced by the writings of Rabindranath Wadud coined the words 'Buddhir Mukti' or 'emancipation of the intellect'. Wadud was influenced by the works of different great writers and books in forming his rational ideas. Wadud followed the ideals of Prophet Muhammad but he denounced the Khilafat ideas and Pan-Islamic trend. Wadud supported Mustafa Kamal for his destruction of the Khalifat as it was necessary to revive spiritual life and material

37 K.A. Wadud was a Lecturer in Bengali in the Dacca Intermediate College.


38 K.A. Wadud, *"Sahityekeer Sadhana", in Moslem Bharat, Baisakh 1327 B.S.*

Sahitya Samaj, p. 3.

39 K.A. Wadud, *"Buddhir Mukti Andolaneer Katha" in Sankalpa, Calcutta 1372 B.S.*, p. 34.

40 Wadud was influenced by Mahatma Gandhi, Romain Rolland, Rammohun Roy, Goethe, Emerson, Saadi, the Geeta and the Quran.

aspects in the Muslim society. Wadud wrote: "Kamal had done a
great service to the Islamic history, by forcibly throwing out the
Pan-Islamic Rubbish which was useless to the Modern Muslims and
politically harmful. Kamal had freed the tattered Muslim society
from various ceremonies and rites defying the supreme authority
of the Shastras on life and replaced it by rich, beautiful, bold
and material aspects of life. This would ensure the cohesion and
expansion of the real spiritual life of the Muslim society."

Wadud denounced some of the prohibitions in Islam such as, parda
system, taking of interest on capital and culture of fine arts
as he regarded the blind observances of traditional ideas would
stand in the way to progress. In an article, "Sammohita Mislaman"
(Fascinated Muslim) Wadud regarded the Prophet as a great man.
He refused to accept the Prophet as an omnipotent master. He
observed that the Prophet is only a great friend of men in their
struggle; just like a light house to the sea-voyagers. He believed
like a true liberal thinker that a modern Muslim should not be
enraptured by the Quran and the scriptures as these would prevent
him to understand the true meaning of life. Wadud urged his co-
religionists to follow the progressive ideas in place of tradi-
tional ideas. The Muslims were to secure new devices from the

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41 In 1925 K.A. Wadud read an article entitled "Mistafa Kamal
Sambandhe Kaekti Katha" (A few words on Mistafa Kamal) at
Calcutta's Muslim Sahitya Samiti.
K.A. Wadud, Saswata Banga, pp. 367-373;
Sahitya Samaj, pp. 3-4.

42 K.A. Wadud, Saswata Banga, pp. 324-325.

43 Ibid., pp. 394-401.
workshops of human knowledge of which the *Shastras* and scriptures had originated. Wadud wrote in his book *Naba Parjay* : "You have come to this conclusion that Islam, which you consider as the highest form of religion is quite safe in a protected fortress of the *Quran* and *Hadith*. And without drawing balls and bullets of words from that fortress nobody would be victorious in the religious war. But the Muslim society is also a society of men. You have forgotten that the searching-mind of man had already crossed the range of balls and bullets of the theologian. So, in order to gain victory in the religious war of present times, you will have to procure new weapons from workshops of human-knowledge and human-welfare out of which scriptures or *Shastras* had originated. It is, however, difficult to say whether you would be victorious in your struggle. Whether you gain victory or accept defeat, if you depend on human knowledge and human welfare, you will certainly be venerated by the people." Wadud was a humanitarian who had sympathy and consideration for human beings. He recognized the dignity of labour. In support of his arguments Wadud described the role of the 'free thinkers' of Europe, and America, Mutazilas, Imam-al-Ghazzali, Rammohun Roy, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and others who worked to remove sufferings of the people of their times. He wrote: further that a man possesses a searching mind to lead a beautiful life.

In this way he attacked the fundamentalists. Akram Khan described him as an enemy of Islam. Rabindranath Tagore praised Wadud for declaring crusade against orthodoxy and obscurantism. 

44 *Sahitya Samaj*, p. 13.

Ibid., pp. 402-403.
Abul Hussain (1897-1938) was associated with the ideas of the 'Buddhir Mukti' movement. He was a rationalist and believed in progressive ideas. The spirit of inquiry and liberal ideas free from impact of the religious bias were manifested in the writings of both Wadud and Abul Hussain. Abul Hussain referred to the sayings of Prophet Muhammad: "Takha llaku Bi Akhlakillah", i.e. Be embellished with the virtues of Allah. He believed that the emancipation of intellect and broad outlook were necessary to foster intellect, remove superstition and to make the education purposeful. He believed that education should be connected with life in order to make it meaningful. He made a division between religion and state. He said that a true Muslim should surrender to Allah and do good to men just as the Hindus believe in Parambrahma and surrender to God. A devout Muslim should concern himself with the welfare of mankind. Abul Hussain was broad minded and nationalist in ideas. He condemned the pro-British and separatist ideas of the Muslims. Abul Hussain wrote: "The programme of separate representation has killed the spirit of competition that adds zest to life and makes life worth-living, by bringing out the best, the noblest and the greatest in man. It has arrested the natural and healthy growth of public spirit among the Muslims".

Abdul Hussain was born at Jessore. He was the professor of Economics and Commerce, Dacca University. He was the first Muslim to get the Master of Law from the University of Calcutta in 1931. He wrote articles viz. 'Ahamika', 'Satya', and 'Agramubartika'. His first work 'Banglar Balshi incorporated four essays viz. 'Banglar Balshi', 'Krishaker Artanad', 'Krishaker Durdasha' and 'Krishi Biplaber Suchana' It was published from Dacca in 1926. He pointed out the necessity of cleaning the river bed in the River Problem of Bengal.

Abdul Qadir (ed.), Abul Hussainer Rachanabali (works of Abul Hussain, Pratham Khanda; Sahitya Samaj, p. 4).


He believed in democracy and attainment of success through the competition. He wanted to serve the motherland with the help of the Hindus. Abul Hussain was a lawyer. He refused to accept the laws composed in Arabia during the days of Prophet Muhammad as applicable to all countries of the world in all ages to come. He criticised the existing Muslim law introduced by the British in India. Abul Hussain wrote: "The Muslim legal system is pregnant with dynamic principles. The dynamic outlook of the Quran, as primary source of law, is not opposed to evolution. Since things have changed and the World of Islam is to-day confronted and affected by new forces set free by extraordinary development of human thought in all its directions, I see no reason why this attitude (of immobility) should be maintained in our courts any longer. Did the founders of our schools ever claim finality for their reasonings and interpretations? It is now, therefore, necessary to re-interpret the fundamental legal principles in the light of our experience and altered conditions of modern life and to apply them to the actual transactions and circumstances over the changeful scene of human life." Abul Hussain

48 Ibid., pp. 179-180, 183, 186-188; Sahitya Samaj, p. 10.

49 Abul Fazl, Sahitya O Sanskriti Sadhana, pp. 80-83; Abul Hussain, The History of the Development of the Muslim Law in British India, p. 60; Sahitya Samaj, p. 11.
took up the cause of the Muslim women and criticized bad marriage and divorce laws of the Muslims. He was in favour reconstructing the Anglo-Muslim jurisprudence for the progress of the Muslim community. Both Waded and Abul Hussain believed that the revivalist movements generated obscurantist ideas, medieval outlook and retarded the intellectual development. Wadud and Abul Hussain also agreed with the views of Rabindranath Tagore that non-cooperation in the world of knowledge would amount to death. The writings of Wadud and Abul Hussain make it clear that lack of modern education and culture among the Muslims stood in the way of appreciating the 'intellectual culture' necessary for the age.

Under the guidance of Wadud and Abul Hussain the Muslim Sahitya Samaj of Dacca developed a rational outlook in the Muslim society. A literary organization named Visvabharati Sammilani was established by Monoranjan Chowdhury in imitation of Santinekatan, at Dacca. Both the Hindus and the Muslims participated in the discussions on the life and works of Rabindranath Tagore in the Visvabharati Sammilani and inspired the Muslim Sahitya Samaj with liberal ideas. Both the Hindus and the Muslims participated in the deliberations of the Muslim Sahitya Samaj and expressed views

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50 Abdul Qadir (ed.), Abul Hussainer Rachanabali, p. 24; Sahitya Samaj, p. 12.

51 Abul Fazl and Abdul Huq were the secretaries of the Visvabharati Sammilani of Dacca.

Abul Fazl, "Dhakay Rabindranath" in Tarun Patra, Aswin 1372 B.S., pp. 5-6; Sahitya Samaj, p. 5.
through their papers on religion, literature, and political issues and contemporary problems.53 A large number of articles were read in the deliberations of the Sahtya Samaj in its annual sessions.54 Bepin Chandra Pal appreciated the contributions of the Muslims with regard to acquisition of knowledge and science. The ideas of the

52 The 'Shikha' was the mouthpiece of the Muslim Sahtya Samaj and it was first published in 1927.
Sahtya Samaj, p. 8.

53 Suren Mitra, Ramesh Chandra Majumdar, Charu Bandopadhyay, and Sarat Chandra Chattopadhyay appreciated the Samaj.
Sahtya Samaj, pp. 7-8.

54 Some selected articles read at the annual sessions of the Sahtya Samaj are as follows:

Taheruddin, Rabindranath (31 January 1926);
Abul Hussain, Satkara Faityalish (21 February 1926);

Kazi Imadadul Haker Smarane by K.A. Wadud (10 April 1926)
Sahtya Sristi: Speakers - Hemanta Sarkar and Kazi Nazrul Islam (27 June 1926);

Samshohita Misalman by K.A. Wadud (8 July 1926);
Bahai Dharma by Abul Fazl (5 September 1926);
Adesher Nigrahe by Abul Hussain (read in the 2nd year of the Samaj);
Ananda Charcha O Misalman Samaj by Kazi Motahar Hossain (read in the 2nd year of the Samaj);

Pardah Pratha by Abdul Ganii (read in the 3rd year of the Samaj);
K.A. Wadud, Sankalpa, op. cit., pp. 36-37;
Sahtya Samaj, p. 6.

55 Ibid. The Muslim Sahtya Samaj published two short-lived monthly journals, the 'Avijan', and 'Jagaran'.

53 Sahitya Samaj, p. 6.
Muslim Sahitya Samaj were propagated by the 'Saogat' at Calcutta. Muhammad Wazad Ali and Abul Mansur Ahmad influenced the educated people through their enlightened articles in the 'Saogat'. The Muslim Sahitya Samaj organized the Al-Mamun and Anti-Pardah League in the different University hostels to preach liberal, democratic ideals of the Samaj much to the opposition of the orthodox group. Akram Khan and Abul Kalam Shamsuddin criticized the Sahitya Samaj through the columns of the Mohammadi and preached communal views. The Muslim Sahitya Samaj could not survive after 1936 but a section of the Muslim intelligentsia continued to adhere to the liberal ideas of K.A. Wadud and Abul Hussain.

A.K. Fazlul Huq (1873-1962)

A.K. Fazlul Huq in his early political life helped to develop liberal and humanistic trends in the thoughts of the Muslims of Bengal.

56 Muhammad Nasiruddin was the editor of the 'Saogat'; K.A. Wadud, Sankalpa, op. cit., p. 39.

57 Sahitya Samaj, p. 15.

58 Fazlul Huq was born in 1873 at Chakhar, a village in Barisal (Bangladesh). His father Kazi Mohammad Wajed was a Government pleader at Barisal. He graduated with triple honours from Presidency College in 1894 and got his M.A. in 1896. In 1897 he took B.L. He became teacher of Rajchandra College at Barisal in 1903-04. In 1906 he became the Deputy Magistrate and in 1912 he joined the Calcutta Bar. In 1913 he became a Member of the Central Legislative Council. He was the Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League 1913-16 and became the President of the All India Muslim League 1916-21. He was the General Secretary of the Congress 1918-19. He represented India in the Round Table Conference (1930-33) and became the Mayor of Calcutta in 1935. He was the editor of Balak (1901-6) and Joint Editor of Bharat Suhrid (1901-3). He formed the Praja-League (1937-43) Ministry in Bengal. After 1947 he went to East Pakistan. In 1954 he formed Krishak Sramik Party and formed the Front Ministry in East Pakistan. In 1955 he got Home Ministry in the Central Cabinet and became Governor of East Pakistan but was dismissed in 1958.

Huq became the Secretary of the Bengal Provincial League in 1913 and after the death of Salimullah in 1914 he took charge of the League in Bengal. He also joined the Congress at the same time. He felt concerned for the bad economic conditions of the country and held the British responsible for it. Huq alleged that the British 'drained away all available wealth in the country'.

Huq said: "We have also seen that India is now chronically famine-stricken and that these famines are really due to the abject poverty of the Indian people. We have also seen that the poverty has been directly due to the fact that under British Rule the sources of national wealth have been gradually narrowed and that unjust charges on the Indian people have drained away all available wealth in the country. India, therefore, has materially retrograded in material prosperity under British Rule, in consequence of the policy hitherto pursued by our British Rulers ... In dealing with the present economic condition of the country, I have not said anything new, nor have I been able to put forward any novel arguments in support of the proposition that the present system of Indian administration has been productive of the most baneful results. It has been said of the ancient Roman Empire that it sucked the orange off its provinces dry and left only the rind to its subjects. The economic history of India shows that a similar process has unfortunately been going on in this country under the British rule and our Rulers have not only sucked the Indian orange juiceless, but the chances are that if they are not pulled up in time, even the rind will not be left over Indian people". 59

59 A.S.M. Abdur Rab, A.K. Fazlul Huq, pp. 17, 26, 59-60; Pakistan Prostab, pp. 2-4; Amrita Bazar Patrika, 31 December 1918.
Like a rational thinker Huq believed that a responsible Government in the country would help the progress of the Muslims and backward classes. He believed in Hindu-Muslim unity. He never regarded the Hindus as enemies of the Muslims. He ascribed the communal riots to the lack of education and backwardness of the two communities. He felt the necessity of introducing liberal education among the people so as to cultivate mutual toleration and forbearance. He said: "On the question of Hindu-Moslem relations I consider it a gross libel on both communities to say that the Hindu is the natural enemy of the Mussalmans. Those who base their case on unfortunate incidents like the Arrah riots and similar disturbances at once betray the weakness of their arguments. These disturbances are due to the fanaticism and ill-conceived religious fervour of those sections of the two communities who, from want of education and other causes, have not learnt to be tolerant of the feelings and sentiments of others. We must look to a liberal spread of education and to all that education brings in train, to effect that broadening of view and to inspire our people with that spirit of mutual toleration and forbearance which alone can put an effective quietus to such disturbance." 

Huq never shared the common view that the Hindu lawyers, landlords and money-lenders were more oppressive than their Muslim counterparts. He hoped that these oppressions could be minimized by the spread of education. Huq urged all the communities to combine together to serve the motherland. He wanted

60 Speech of A.K. Fazlul Huq at the All India Muslim League Conference in December 1918.
Pakistan Prastab, pp. 2-4.
that the Muslims should give up all differences with other communities and win their cooperation. Huq urged the Muslims to seek cooperation from other communities. Huq said: "Even from the point of view of selfishness and self-protection, Indian Muslims must learn to sink their differences with other communities and win their cooperation, help and assistance in all their programme of work for the future. We would lose half of our strength, if in our struggles for safeguarding the interests of our community, we fail to have our non-Muslim brethren by our side. If racial and communal strife has sometimes tarnished the history of the various communities in India, recent events have also shown the non-Muslims have not failed us in moments of real peril."61 Huq appreciated the gesture of the Hindu journalists and leaders for giving the Muslims material help and support. He condemned the militant attitude of the Muslims towards the non-Muslims. During the Khilafat agitation Huq went to the extent of supporting the issue of cow-protection in order to establish cordial Hindu-Muslim relations.63

Huq played a significant role to ameliorate the condition of the peasants in Bengal. In 1927 Huq established the Nikhil Banga Krishak Praja Samity.64 It was suggested that Huq devoted himself to

61 Ibid.
62 Huq praised the roles of the Amrita Bazar Patrika and a Marwari Daily the Bharat Mitra.
63 Ibid.
64 The Mussalman, 17 September 1920.

Regarding the date of origin of the NBKPS different views prevail:

Khondkar Abdul Kholek, Ek Shatabdi, p. 119;
B.D. Habibullah, Shere Bangla, pp. 36-37;
A.S.M. Abdur Raqib, op. cit., pp. 29-30;
Mohammad Abdulla Rasul, Krishak Sabhar Itihasa, p. 52;
Pakistan Pressab, pp. 11-12;
Muslim Politics, pp. 77-78.
the task of improving the position of the NBKPS in order to liberate the Bengali Muslims from the domination of the non-Bengali members of the Muslim League. The middle class Bengali Muslims guided the NBKPS. The NBKPS wanted to protect the political, religious and other rights of the Muslims and to maintain friendly relations between the Muslims and other communities. The NBKPS believed in the establishment of the good relations between the Muslims of India and other countries of the world. It wanted the abolition of the zamindari system and the establishment of the Democratic Self-Government. The programme of the NBKPS recognized the importance of the Jamīyat-al-Ulama-i-Hind and Mustahids in order to protect the religious rights of the Muslims. The Muslim League tried to undermine the position of Huj. M.A.H. Ispahani and H.S. Suhrawardy, joint secretaries of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League tried to guide the followers of Bengal Provincial Muslim League and to win over the followers of Huj. They assured the Muslims that the League would try to abolish the Permanent Settlement and adopt other measures for the welfare of the Muslims. They accused Huj of taking money from the Hindus. Huj protested against the accusation. Huj categorically pointed out that his struggle was against the zamindars and money-lenders who were mostly the Hindus. Huj said: "My fight is with landlords, capitalists and holders of vested interests. The landlords are 95 per cent Hindus and capitalists and others are about 98 per cent

65 Kalipada Biswas, op. cit., pp. 342-343; Kamruddin Ahmad, A Social History of Bengal, pp. 33-34; Pakistan Bustab, pp. 11-12; Muslim Politics, pp. 77-78.
66 Amrita Bazar Patrika, 10 September, 1936.
Hindus. Far from helping me, they are already out to throw all obstacles in my way. With their Muslim compatriots, viz., Muslim landlords, capitalists and others to thwart me. Huq's primary concern was to relieve the peasants from the burden of taxation. He wanted to change the Bengal Tenancy Act in order to establish rights of the peasants over the land. Huq tried to protect the peasantry against the undue levies imposed on them by the zamindars and money-lenders. He also pleaded for providing employment and free and compulsory education. Huq sponsored the cause of industrial progress and fixation of minimum wages for the labour. He wanted to introduce national consciousness among the people for developing a healthy public opinion in the country. Huq was a true Bengali at heart who opposed the idea of introducing Urdu to spread Islamic ideas and culture among the Bengali Muslims. In the all India context Huq supported the introduction of Urdu as the language of the Muslims. Huq regarded Bengali as the most magnificent language. He wanted that the Bengali Muslims should cultivate their mother tongue. This view of Huq was shared by the Aga Khan who wanted to translate some of the Islamic books into Bengali to spread Islamic culture in Bengal. The Aga Khan said: "Bengali is one of the most magnificent languages in which highest and noblest ideas and aspirations of men could be represented and interpreted and he would suggest that suitable Islamic books should be translated into Bengali and a regular society established for the distribution of pamphlets for the education of Moslems in Bengal as far as possible in the highest tradition.

67 Ibid., 24 September, 1936.
68 Amrita Bazar Patrika, 14 September 1936.
69 Abul Hayat, Mussalmans of Bengal, pp. 74-101; Pakistan Prastab, p. 14.
of Islamic culture, thought and philosophy .... His Highness regretted that so far they had not recognised the need of bringing this culture of Bengali Mohammedans in their own language, and he urged the necessity of text-books in the Bengalee language for East Bengal Mohammedans.\textsuperscript{70} The NEKPS represented the ideas of the Muslim middle class and the annual conference of the Krishak Praja Samity held at Dacca in 1936 gave leadership to HUq.\textsuperscript{71} against the opposition of Akram Khan and Abdur Rahim.\textsuperscript{71} The United Muslim Party under the guidance of Nawab Habibullah, Akram Khan and Khwaja Nazimuddin consolidated the landed aristocrats against the progressive views of Krishak Praja Party and opposed the abolition of the Zamindari system.\textsuperscript{72} The members of the United Muslim Party joined the Muslim League Parliamentary Board and adhered to the ideas of M.A. Jinnah. The big landlords and non-Bengali Muslim business community of Calcutta allied themselves to the ideas of M.A. Jinnah. Jinnah did not accept the proposal for abolition of the Zamindari system without the compensation and the separate identity of the Krishak Praja Party for contesting general seats in the election.\textsuperscript{73}

\textsuperscript{70} \textit{Amrita Bazar Patrika}, 14 September 1936.

\textsuperscript{71} In order to cover all sections of the peasantry the Nikhil Banga Krishak Praja Samity was renamed Krishak Praja Party.

A.M. Ahmad, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 111; Muslim Politics, p. 74.

\textsuperscript{72} The United Muslim Party was formed at the initiative of Nawab Habibullah Bahadur of Dacca in May 1936. Muslim Politics, p. 75.

The Krishak Praja Party of Huq was not purely a Muslim organization as it included some Hindus and scheduled castes. Huq was criticized by the League of impairing the Muslim solidarity and preaching communal views 'under the cloak of the economic interests of the masses'. Huq refuted the charges and asserted that he never regarded the Muslim unity and solidarity for merely political ends. His primary concern was to protect the interests of the cultivating class. In the election of 1937 Huq established his progressive stand against the reactionary forces of the Muslim League.

In the post-Khilafat period a section of the Muslim intelligentsia organized a communist movement in Bengal. This movement initiated ideas to emancipate the intellect and led a campaign against imperialism and Zamindari system under the guidance of Kazi Nazrul Islam, Mizaffar Ahmad and Abdul Halim. This group of writers participated in the political movement and expressed views on different political ideologies and issues.

Kazi Nazrul Islam (1899-1975) was a man of many qualities. He was a poet of the people, fearless innovator and fighter for the freedom of country. Like a humanitarian he fought for the rights and dignity of man and initiated a liberal outlook free from any communal bias. Nazrul did not receive any traditional education.

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Pakistan Prastab, pp. 25, 33-34.

75 Kazi Nazrul Islam was born at Churulia, a village in the district of Bardwan. His father Kazi Fakir Ahmed was the keeper of the grave of a Pir Saheb (Muslim saint) and a Mosque. His family came from Patna during the reign of Emperor Shah Alam and settled in Bardwan. His father died early. He took education at Dariraonpur in Mymensingh (Bangladesh), Mathrun and Siarsol in Bardwan.
In his early age Nazrul acquired knowledge in Persian-Arabic from a Maulvi, Kazi Fazle Ahmad. His liberal education was fostered by his association with the Fakirs, Sadhus, Bauls, Sufis and Darvashes. Nazrul came into contact with Muzaffar Ahmad, the well-known communist leader and was associated with the Bangiya Musalman Sahitya Patrika. Thus a true friendship developed between Nazrul and Muzaffar Ahmad which played an important factor to initiate Nazrul with communist ideas. In 1919 Nazrul published his first poem in the Bangiya Musalman Sahitya Patrika. Nazrul could not complete the study and joined the 49th Bengali Regiment in 1917, and became Quarter-Master Havildar at Karachi in 1919. He left the army and started writing. In 1947 he was attacked with a serious disease of the brain which made him inactive.

76 Gopal Haidar, Kazi Nazrul Islam, pp. 10-11.

77 In 1911 the Bangiya Musalman Sahitya Samity with Mohammad Sahidulla as its Secretary was formed. It published the Bangiya Musalman Sahitya Patrika in 1325 B.S./1918, organized Bangiya Muslim Sahitya Sammelans and advocated identification of the Bengali Muslims with Bengali language.

Anisuzzaman, Muslim Banglar Samayik Patra 1831-1930, p. 203; Muslim Politics, p. 27.

78 Nazrul's 'Mukti' (Emancipation) was published in the Quarterly Bangiya Musalman Sahitya Patrika (Sravan 1326 B.S./1919).

Muzaffar Ahmad, Kazi Nazrul Smritikatha, pp. 17-21; G. Haldar, op. cit., p. 147; Bangali Buddhibit, p. 301.
was associated with the 'Moslem Bharat'. Nazrul supported the stand of the freedom fighters and his Bandhan-Hara (Free from Bonds) inspired the freedom fighters. Nazrul wrote on the Muslim themes and introduced Perso-Arabic subjects in Bengali literature which influenced the Hindu mind. The Khilafat movement already combined the Hindus and the Muslims on a single platform against the imperialists and Nazrul's writings enlightened relationship of the two communities.

During the Non-cooperation movement Nazrul wrote in the 'Bijoli', a protagonist of the liberal political ideas. The 'Bijoli' also welcomed the socialist experiments of the Soviet Union. The Hindu writers of the period viz. Satyendra Nath Dutta, Monilal Ganguly, Premankur Atarthi and Mohit Lal Majumdar were impressed by the liberal ideas of Nazrul. Nazrul was a nationalist. Both Muzaffar Ahmad and Nazrul edited the 'Navyayug' to preach nationalist ideas and disapproved the pro-British attitude of Fazlul Huq.

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79 In Baisakh 1327 B.S./1920, the 'Moslem Bharat', (monthly) was published. Its editor was Mozammel Huq. Muzaffar Ahmad, Afzal-ul-Islam and K.A. Wadud were associated with it.

The Moslem Bharat published the following novels and poems:

- Bandhan Hara (Novel), i.e., Free from Bonds;
- Qurbani (Poem) i.e., Sacrifice;
- Badalbarishan (Symbolic Tale) i.e., Rains and Downpours;
- Moharum (Poem) i.e., the Muslim Festival;
- Biraha-bidhura (Poem) i.e., In Agony of Separation;
- Narmi (Song) i.e., The Feeling heart or the Mystic

M. Ahmad, Kazi Nazrul Smritikatha, p. 60.
G. Haldar, op. cit., p. 17;
Bangali Buddhijibi, pp. 301-302.

80 Nazrul's Shat-il-Arab (poem) i.e., Arabic name for the Euphratis in Mesopotamia referred to the common slavery of India and Iraq.

G. Haldar, op. cit., pp. 18-19;
Abdul Halim, Nabajibaner Pathe, p. 141.

81 Barindra Kumar Ghosh was the editor of the 'Bijoli'.

82 Navyayug was published by Fazlul Huq.

Abdul Halim, Nabajibaner Pathe, p. 129.
Nazrul was an admirer of Deshbandhu C.R. Das. In 1921 C.R. Das and others were clapped in the jail. Nazrul wrote in the 'Banglar Katha', Desbandhu's weekly. In his 'Bhangar Gan' (Song of Destruction), Nazrul expressed the militant ideas. This song inspired the 'Swadeshi' workers. In the song Nazrul urged his countrymen to 'break this iron gate of the prison-house and pull down into pieces the blood-bathed platform of stone raised for worship of the goddess of the fetters'. In 1921 Nazrul emerged as a rebel poet and published in the 'Bijoli' his famous poem the 'Bidrohi' (The Rebel). Nazrul was impatient of all bonds and restless for personal freedom. He felt that both individual and national freedoms should meet in the passion for the rights of man. Rabindranath gave Nazrul his blessings for the poem. Nazrul admired the ideals of the Ahimsa and Satyagraha but regarded them as impracticable. He was not a follower of Gandhi. He was a revolutionary and dedicated his Agni-Vina (The Lyre of Fire) to Barindra Kumar Ghosh (1880-1959), the noted revolutionary. Nazrul introduced the Dhum Ketu (The Comet), a weekly paper with the blessings of Rabindranath Tagore, Sarat Chandra Chattopadhyay (1876-1938) and Barindra Kumar Ghosh. His Dhumketu preached revolutionary ideas.

83 Nazrul showed respect to C.R. Das in 'Chitto-name' (The Book of Chitta).

84 The poem 'Bidrohi' was published in the Bijoli (January 1922). It was claimed by Mohit Lal Majumdar that the Bidrohi was written on the basis of his poem Ami (I). A rival literary school led by the editor of Sanibarer Chithi (a weekly, edited by Sajoni Kanta Das) published a parody of Bidrohi. Nazrul gave a fitting reply to it in an accusing poem 'Sarvanasar Ghanta' (Bell of Ruin). Mohit Lal Majumdar (1888-1952) was a Professor of Bengali, at Dacca University. He wrote 'Debendra Mongol Swapnasbari'. Prabhat Kumar Mukhopadhyay, Rabindra Jibani, Vol. III, p. 91; M. Ahmad, Kazi Nazrul Smritikatha, p. 238;
Contd. ...
The ideas of Nazrul are to be studied in the context of the contemporary political condition of the country. After the Bardoli incident there was a set-back to the freedom struggle launched by the Congress. The alternatives to Ahimsa and Charkha seemed to some either the initiation of the nationalist-terrorist movements in the way of Ireland and Sinn Fein or the mass movement based on Marxist-Leninist ideas. The Marxist literature did not develop at this stage. 'The Vanguard' of M.N. Roy and the efforts of the Indian communists at the Gaya Congress (December 1922) to popularize the programme of national democratic revolution helped to spread communist ideas among a few in India. Nazrul was influenced by the communist ideas. Nazrul appreciated both the nationalists and internationalists.\footnote{86}

Nazrul's poem 'Anandamayir Agamana' (At the Advent of the Goddess of Joy) in the Dhumketu referred to contemporary situation and reactionary measures of the Government against the people. The editorial 'Main Bhuka Hun' (I am Hungry) published in the Dewali issue led to his arrest and imprisonment in 1923. Nazrul's 'Rajbandir Jabanbardi' (Statement of a Political Prisoner on Trial) denounced the British Government and reflected the rebellious spirit.\footnote{87}

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\footnote{85 G. Haldar, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 31-34.}

Barindra Kumar Ghosh organized the revolutionary activities in Bengal in the first decade of the present century. The impact of his ideas was found in a book \textit{Bhabani Mandir} (Temple of Bhabani) written by his elder brother Aurobindo Ghosh (1872-1950) in 1905. Aurobinda Ghosh was a revolutionary and spread nationalist ideas through his paper \textit{Bandemataram}.

\footnote{86 M.N. Roy (1887-1954) was a revolutionary and communist who worked in the U.S.S.R. and China to further communist ideas. He was the founder of the Radical Democratic Party. He wrote: "The Russian Revolution", "New Humanism" and published two papers \textit{Vanguard} and \textit{Masses}.}

Contd. ...
fought hard to counteract the communal ideas. Nazrul wrote a few poems to ease communal tensions. Nazrul's song 'Kandari hunsiar' sung at the annual session of the political conference held at Krishanagar in 1926 helped to create an atmosphere of amity and friendship in the Bengali society. Nazrul's youth chorus 'Chal Chal Chal' (Forward, Forward, Forward!) sung at the Students' Conference brought the entire youth community under one banner irrespective of religions. In his 'Daridrya' (Poverty) Nazrul expressed both sadness and revolt.

Nazrul was a firm believer in the Marxian principles but he was not a member of the Communist Party of India. Nazrul appreciated the Marxist theories but the 'political polemics' and 'socio-economic inquiries' did not evoke this interest. The 'genuine humanism' was his communism. He was a patriot of the highest order. He was called the 'People's poet' and popularly regarded as a 'Communist poet'.

Muzaffar Ahmad (1889-1973) has been regarded as one of the founders of the Communist Party of India. Muzaffar Ahmad advocated class-struggle and condemned the political leaders and free thinkers who opposed Communism. Muzaffar Ahmad believed that 'only Communism

92 Muzaffar Ahmad, Kazi Nazrul Smritikatha, p. 356.
93 Nazrul wrote Hindu-Muslim Yuddha (Hindu-Muslim battle), a biting satire in poetry, and Pathar-Disa (Direction of the Road) and Mandir O Masjid (Temples and Mosques) in prose.
   G. Haldar, op. cit., p. 54.

Nazrul was elected President of the Muslim Youth Conference (1932) held at Sirajgunge and presided over Faridpur District Muslim Students' Conference in 1936.

Muzaffar Ahmad was born in 1889 the island of Sandwip in Noakhali district (Bangladesh). His father was Munshi Mansur Ali. He passed

Contd, ...
could save India from the menace of communal ideas'. He asserted that Communism wanted to check the greed of the capitalists and to establish public ownership of property and means of production. This would help equitable distribution of national wealth, rationalization of production and distributing arrangements. Muzaffar Ahmad regarded the peasants and working classes as the growing economic force. They were to be organized in the struggle for freedom. He accused 'the Congress and Gandhi for siding with the propertied class in the conflict between the bourgeoisie and proletariat'. He felt that it was the duty of Gandhi to condemn the propertied class in the revolts at Chauri-Chaura and Malabar. At the same time Muzaffar Ahmad denounced the patriots who refused to uphold class interest on the plea that they spiritually accepted equality of all. This would retard the progress of the downtrodden in the society. He believed that 'the course of the national movement would be decided according to developments of different classes in the society'. He observed that a new labour movement was discerned outside the movement of the Congress. Muzaffar Ahmad urged for 'full independence instead of Colonial Self-Government'. He believed

the Matriculation Examination in 1913. He read at Hooghly Mohsin College and Bangabashi College but could not continue the study due to poverty. He served as a clerk in the Government office for some time. He was influenced by the Russian Revolution and established contact with the Third International at Moscow through M.N. Roy who was In-Charge of the Indian Affairs. In 1922-24 he was implicated in the Feshwar Conspiracy Cases but was ultimately absolved. He was sentenced in the Meerut Conspiracy Case for transportation for the life but on appeal reduced to 3 (three) years' imprisonment. In 1942 he was sentenced to a month's imprisonment for violating Externment Order. He was a member of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee in 1926-27, and in 1937. He was member of the All India Congress Committee in 1927-29, and again in 1937. When there was a split in the C.P.I. in 1964, he gave support to left faction and joined the C.P.I.(M). Afterwards he retired due to bad health.

96 Ibid.

97
in democratic ideas. Muzaffar Ahmad wanted to have democracy and
Federated Democratic Republic in India. He condemned the Zamindari
system and middle men's interest. Like a humanist he asserted the
dignity and worth of man. He championed the cause of the peasants
and favoured the idea that the tillers of the soil should be the
proprietors of the land. Muzaffar Ahmad wanted to prevent the
bourgeoisie to enjoy profits. He demanded that the minimum wages
and working hours of the workers should be fixed by the Government.
He made it a point that a worker should not work more than eight
hours a day.

Muzaffar Ahmad was progressive in his ideas. He condemned
the superstition, communalism and evil practices in the society. He
pleaded for the compulsory primary education and emancipation of women.
According to him both men and women should enjoy equal rights. He
championed the cause of the freedom of speech and press. Muzaffar Ahmad
favoured the idea of 'nationalization of the public utility services
viz. Mines, Railways, Telegraph, Tramways and Steamer services. He
spoke against the imperialism of Great Britain and condemned
the bourgeoisie and merchants of Great Britain who worked to achieve
their class interests. The imperialists created different classes
in India to facilitate exploitation. He regarded both the British
imperialists and native exploiters as enemies of India.

97 Muzaffar Ahmad, Prabhandha Sankalan, p. 24.
98 Saroj Mukhopadhyay, Duti Smrantiya Din, p. 7.

The organ of the Communist Party was the 'Langol'.
Its name was changed to 'Ganabani' in August 1926. Muzaffar
Ahmad took charge of the paper and was imprisoned many times
for his radical views.

99 Muzaffar Ahmad, Prabandha Sankalan, pp. 44-47.
100 Ibid., pp. 68-71.
Mizaffar Ahmad described the Congress as a bourgeoisie organization and felt that the Workers and Peasants Party would organize the mass movement for a radical change in the society. Nazrul and Mizaffar Ahmad were associated with the All Bengal Peasant Congress held at Krishnanagar in 1926. Nazrul composed the 'Sramiker Gan' (the song of the workers). It helped to establish the Peasants and Workers Party of Bengal outside the Indian National Congress. Mizaffar Ahmad advocated the representation of the workers in the Assembly and criticized the Congress for opposing amendments in the Bengal Tenancy Act (1928) under the leadership of Subhas Chandra Bose. After 1926, the Workers and Peasants Parties were formed in different provinces of India. The Communist movement originated under the guidance of some Hindu and Muslim leaders of Bengal helped to initiate non-communal and communist oriented ideas in the society.

Abdul Halim (1901-1966)

Abdul Halim was a protagonist of the Marxist-Leninist ideas. He came into contact with Mizaffar Ahmad in 1922 and worked till the last day of his life for the development of the Marxist-Leninist ideas in Bengal. Abdul Halim did not take any general education beyond

101 Ibid, p. 182;
Mizaffar Ahmad, Amar Jivan o Bharater Communist Party, pp. 529-531.
102 Mizaffar Ahmad, Prabandha Sankalan, pp. 256-260.
103 Abdul Halim was born at Sardanga in the district of Birbhum. He was a clerk in a Company at Calcutta. In 1921, he resigned from the service, joined the Khilafat Movement and suffered imprisonment along with C.R. Das and others. Afterwards, he joined the Communist movement.
Mizaffar Ahmad, Amar Jivan o Bharater Communist Party, pp. 149-152;
the school stage but he could write both English and Bengali well. He read a lot about Western literature and Marxian ideas. Abdul Halim studied the works of Marx and Engels and translated the 'Principles of Communism' of Engels into Bengali under the title of 'Communism'. Halim described the spread of revolutionary ideas in Europe and formation of the Communist League in 1848. He glorified the Communist Manifesto. He hoped that the Marxian ideas propogated by the Communist International would help Germany and China to move towards the goal of Communism. Halim was very much impressed by the Russian Revolution of 1917 and wrote a book on it. He appreciated the success of the Soviet Revolution and paid homage to Lenin. The Socialism in Russia was established through the Communist International. He criticized the British Government for anti-Soviet policy. In a colonial country the labour class had to fight both the Capitalism and Feudalism. He was hopeful about the success of the Communist movement in India. Halim was influenced by the 'Socialist' (weekly) published from Bombay. He was a humanitarian in his ideas. He took interest in the welfare of the down trodden in the society. Halim took an active interest in the

Saroj Mukhopadhyay, Dui Pathikrit, p. 15.

104 Abdul Halim read the works of Tolstoy, Victor Hugo, Bakunin, Proudhon, Karl Marx, Engels and Lenin. Abdul Halim was influenced by the two books of M.N. Roy vix. India in Transition and one year of Non-cooperation Movement.

Abdul Halim, Nabajibaner Pathe, pp. 59-63.

105 Abdul Halim, Communism, Introduction.

106 Abdul Halim, Bolshevik Partir Itihasa.

107 Abdul Halim, Russiar Gano-Andolan, 1605-1900, p. 3;
Abdul Halim, Nabajibaner Pathe, pp. 81-85.

108 Abdul Halim, Nabajibaner Pathe, p. 63;
The 'Socialist' was published by Dange from Bombay in 1922.
welfare of the workers. He remembered the importance of the May Day sacrifices (1st May 1866). In India the 'May Day' was being observed since 1925. The All India Krishak Sabha organized the celebration of the 'May Day' throughout India which was very much appreciated by Halim. Halim praised the Communist Party of Germany and China for their struggle against autocracy and imperialism. He urged his countrymen to imitate the example of Spain for her fight against Hitler and Mussolini. Halim wanted that 'both the workers and peasants should fight against the British Government'. Halim initiated the students with the Marxian ideas and organized the Marxist Students League (1931-1934). Under his able leadership the Marxist Students League collected subscriptions to conduct the Meerut Conspiracy Case in 1933. He regarded organization of the Indian National Congress as a bourgeoisie or middle class organization. 'The Congress wanted to initiate a movement of compromise and to get the Dominion Status or Colonial Self-Government'. Halim claimed that 'the Congress wanted to suppress the Labour-peasants and to establish the Government of the rich businessmen and middle class people (petty bourgeoisie). Halim criticized the middle class or petty bourgeoisie. "The middle class maintained a link with the rich and the zamindars. Sometimes, they exploited the labour-peasants. A section among the middle class people revolted against the imperialist because their business suffered due to exploitation and they


Abdul Halim took initiative in uniting the anti-imperialist forces to oppose the ideals of Gandhi. He even solicited cooperation of Jawaharlal Nehru to spread communist ideas in India.
failed to cope with the competition in the modern business. Some of the petty bourgeoisie went to the side of the labour movement but none could rise above their class interests. The middle class spread national reforms in the labour movement and removed the working-class from the path of class struggle. Halim openly stated that Congress worked for their class interests and opposed the movement for the labour-peasants. The Congress wanted to make a compromise with the imperialist power as they noticed danger in the freedom of the working class.

Halim criticized the terrorist movement in India. He asserted that in Russia the revolutionary activities were not confined to the bourgeoisie class. The revolutionary labour class was able to destroy the Czarism with the help of the Communist Party. The terrorists had no idea about scientific Marxism or Leninism. The terrorists were afraid of siding with the peasants and workers against the capitalist group. Halim observed that the bourgeoisie revolutionaries would lose their entities when the labour-peasant organization took charge of the movement. He found a section of the terrorists were joining the labour movement. He regarded this gesture as significant for the Communist movement. Halim opposed fascism and urged the progressive democratic organizations of all countries to fight against the fascists without making any compromise. In 1934 the

111 Ibid., pp. 4-5.
112 Ibid., pp. 5-9.
British Government banned the Communist Party of India. He urged the working class to organize a movement to remove the ban imposed on the Communist Party.\footnote{Ibid., p. 6.} Halim was associated with the Peasants and Workers Party and acted in collaboration with the forerunners of the Communist movement in India.\footnote{Abdul Halim worked with Muzaffar Ahmad, Qutbuddin Ahmad, Hemanta Sarkar, Shamsuddin Hossain, Qazi Nazrul Islam since 1922. Muzaffar Ahmad, *Amar Jivan*. O Bharater Communist Party, pp. 525-526.}

Halim was an admirer of Rabindranath Tagore and Sarat Chandra Chattopadhyay. Halim traced the impact of the Marxian ideas on Bengali literature. Halim regarded the ideas propagated by the 'Bijoli' and the 'Atmasakti' in 1920-21 were the ideas of the petty-bourgeoisie. Halim edited journals to spread Marxian ideas.\footnote{Gorki's *Mother* was translated into Bengali by Nripendra Krishna Chattopadhyay and published in the 'Bengol' in 1925-'26. *Between 1931-'34 Halim edited the 'Majurchoshi' and the 'Marxpanthi'. In 1936-'37 Halim published the 'Bolshevik'. In 1938 Halim edited the 'Ayga Chalo'. Saroj Mukhopadhyay, *Duti Smrantiya Din*, pp. 9-10.}

He noticed a liberal tone in the ideas propagated through papers like the 'Jugantar', 'Sandhya' and 'Sabujpatra'. Atul Gupta's writings on the Tenancy Acts and abolition of the Zamindari system seemed to Halim very encouraging. Halim traced the impact of the writers like Romain Rolland and Gorki on Bengali literature and praised Gorki's *Mother* for its role in the liberation of the working class.\footnote{Between 1931-'34 Halim edited the 'Majurchoshi' and the 'Marxpanthi'. In 1936-'37 Halim published the 'Bolshevik'. In 1938 Halim edited the 'Ayga Chalo'.}

Halim criticized Sri Aurobindo for opposing the Bolshevism. He did not spare the 'Kalol Group' of writers for their petty-bourgeoisie consciousness and opposition to the mass movement. Halim praised the journals like the 'Ganasakti',
'Parichaya', and 'Swadhinata' for their Marxian ideas. Halim noticed that the Marxian ideas found a place in Bengali literature and this would help to bring transformation among the educated section in the society.

From the study of Muslim political thought in the post-Khilafat era, it became apparent that the orthodox section of Muslim political intellectuals influenced the Muslim mind by directly associating them with the political development and sectarian ideas in the country. Fazlul Huq also influenced the Muslim mass and the peasantry by his liberal views.

The urban Muslim writers under the banner of the Muslim Sahitya Samaj did not directly participate in the political life of the country. Their views on different social and political issues influenced a small minority of liberal and intellectually advanced urban Muslim population. The influence of the communist group of writers was very limited both among the Hindus and Muslims. The orthodox or traditional form was not noticed in their thoughts. This aspect did not attract the religious minded Muslim population of Bengal.