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ISLAM
The Formative Background of Bangladesh

Khaleda Manzur-I-Khuda

A Thesis

in

the Department

of

Religion

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts at
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ABSTRACT

ISLAM
The Formative Background of Bangladesh

Khaleda Manzur-I-Khuda

The aim of this thesis is to examine the Islamic background of the new nation of Bangladesh. This region -- which was known as Bang, Bango, Bangla and Bengal at various stages of its history -- has a vast background of old and medieval civilizations, enriched with indigenous religious faiths, languages and rites.

The monotheistic faith of Islam was introduced to the area by the Sufis, traders and conquerors from Arab and other lands where Islam had already spread. Since then, the people embraced Islam with fervour, and the territory became a Muslim majority zone.

Before the independence of the subcontinent, the people of the region supported the Pakistan concept with strong conviction, but, with rare unanimity, they broke off from the colonization of West Pakistan. With their distinct lifestyle, Muslim Bengalis created Bangladesh -- one of the three most populous Muslim countries in the world.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

After a nine-month-long bloody civil war, the eastern unit of Pakistan broke away politically from mainland Pakistan. Bangladesh emerged as an independent nation on December 16, 1971. The outside world was given to understand that the people of East Bengal chose to secede because they were not strict adherents of Islam, the major religion of the country, and that the above constituted part of the mandate on which the subcontinent was partitioned in 1947 after the British departed from India.

The aim of this research paper is to examine the following two contentions: first, whether the people of East Pakistan, as the majority, could reasonably be accused of secession; and, second, why the followers of Islam in East Bengal were accused of being inferior Muslims.

Nearly 90 per cent of the population of East Pakistan were Muslims. Generations ago, most families became Muslim by choice; they were descendants of Muslim converts from other faiths, including Hinduism. [1] One politico-religious party of Pakistan, the Jama'at-i-Islami and its Ameer (leader), Maulana Abul A'la Mawdudi, tried to convince the world, especially the Muslim countries, that the atrocities being committed by the military regime of Pakistan during

the 1971 civil war were justified both in the interest of Islam and also for the integrity of Pakistan. [2] To the maulana, the people of Bengal, where Islam was introduced 800 years ago, were affected by Hindu influence and innovations, and hence they were not as good Muslims as they ought to have been.

The leaders and rulers of West Pakistan, whom Mawdudi had once considered to be incapable of making an Islamic state, were now looked upon as the saviours of Islam. Mawdudi sent a detailed memorandum to 39 heads of Muslim states giving his arguments in favour of the military action in East Pakistan. [3] But the question of why East Pakistan was forced into the passive non-cooperation movement against the West Pakistani rulers went unanswered.

Pakistan consisted of two geographical units: West Pakistan comprised of North West Frontier Province, Sindh, Baluchistan and approximately half of Punjab; and East Pakistan, the eastern portion of British undivided Bengal. In between the two units of Pakistan lay a stretch of over a 1,000 miles of Indian territory. Yet the bond of a common religion acted as the foundation for one nationality. The Muslim League had demanded Pakistan as a homeland for Indian Muslims; and although the Muslim League was initiated by Bengalis in Dacca (1906), [4] paradoxically, the leaders of West Pakistan, who mostly belonged to the Muslim minority provinces of undivided India, felt themselves to be the

protectors of Islam in Pakistan. What made them feel this way?

Islam, as we see it today, was revealed to the Prophet (p.b.u.h.) [*] 1,400 years ago in the desert land of Arabia. Unlike Buddhism or Hinduism, the faith came to India from outside. At the core of this religion is the belief that every Muslim is accountable only to Allah for all his actions. How, then, did the Muslims of West Pakistan pass the verdict that they were more authentically Islamic than the Bengalis? Did any characteristic of the Bengalis lie behind these allegations? And, lastly, does the fact that Bangladesh was carved out from Pakistan politically, justify the accusation of secession of the Bengalis from Islam itself?

These are the issues that will be explored in order to determine the truth or otherwise about these allegations. First of all, it is necessary to investigate the origin of Islam in the region originally known as Bango and to study how the faith rapidly spread amongst its original inhabitants. It is also proper to consider the prevailing social circumstances in Bango (named Bengal during British rule) which might have made her people receptive toward a new religion. Once the background of Islam in the soil of Bengal can be established, we shall be able to find out what dif-

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[*] It is obligatory for a Muslim to say or write "peace be upon him" whenever the Prophet is mentioned.

ference (if any) there is between Bengali Muslims and Muslims from other provinces of the subcontinent.

Most Muslims of north, central and south India claimed that their ancestors were the original immigrants and that they were not converts. [5] What differences between them -- the original (or Khandani) Muslims -- and the converts, especially those of Bengal, let them nourish a superior feeling? If any differences did exist, was it a result of conscious effort in either of them?

Their difference in physique and complexion may or may not be attributed to their ancestral origin or the climatic condition where they live. The objective of this study should thus be to find out whether any distinctive characteristics have penetrated into the language and lifestyle of Bengali Muslims, and if any have, are these characteristics the result of conscious adaptation or have they gradually emerged out of so many centuries of cohabitation with another community side by side? How far is the assumption valid that the culture is no less effective in reformulating a religion than the religion is in modifying a culture? In the context of this research, the allegations made by West Pakistani leaders that their co-religionists in East Pakistan were inferior Muslims shall be examined, and whether this accusation was a just one shall be determined.

Piousness is an individual attribute and should not be generalized for a race or a region; it is a connotation

which includes many more aspects of character besides being a practising Muslim. Moreover, as every Muslim, for all his religious and other actions, is accountable only to Allah, the question remains to be probed whether another Muslim could act as his judge.

In order to examine Pakistan's allegations, it is necessary to evaluate closely the contribution the Bengalis made toward the achievement of Pakistan. Once their contribution is affirmed, what requires further examination are the circumstances that might have changed the Bengali Muslims into a grudging community who protested against the national policy on language and culture and, later on, political and economic issues. Did this changed attitude have anything to do with their religiosity?

When two communities live together, it might be normal to develop certain assimilation in rites and culture. This process of accommodation is neither fully voluntary nor totally automatic. Even in the wake of Islam in Arabia, people could not shake off every pagan trace ingrained in the society. Was it the same in the case of Bengal? To find an answer to this, it is worth studying the interrelationship between Islamization and syncretism in Bengal as well as how the syncretic developments in Bengali Muslims were seen by the puritans and revivalists who considered all such innovations to be Bida't.

This, of course, is not a typically problematic situ-

ation for the Bengalis alone, since other Islamic societies, too, are affected by the prevailing cultural background. However, by the time of Islam's advent, Bengal was already rich in religious heritage; many Sufi avliyas came there and through their personal dedication and spiritual image played important role in a proselytizing process. [6]

Also studied will be the development of a Muslim separatist mentality in Bengal and to follow up the valuable contribution of Nawab Abdul Latif and Syed Ameer Ali, whose dedication and farsighted endeavours made crystallization of the separate existence of Muslims possible in Bengal, as did the contribution of Syed Ahmed Khan in northern India. [7] The language and culture of East Bengal instigated the first resistance among Bengali Muslims against the unilateral impositions from West Pakistani rulers almost immediately after the partition of India. [8] This grew stronger with every deliberate assault on the so-called Hindu influence in the name of a purification programme.

Finally, this thesis aims to establish the results of this assault upon Bengali culture and the effect of the constant imposition of economic, educational and political disparity maintained between the two units of Pakistan, and then to evaluate the corrosive effects which led toward the final break-off of East Pakistan.

CHAPTER 2

THE IDENTITY OF INDIAN MUSLIMS

Formerly, the history of a nation used to center around the history of its rule, conquerors or military adventurers. The indigenous population itself was often kept in the background, if not totally ignored. In the present-day world, the history of a country is liable to remain incomplete if the prevailing lifestyle of the people, their social and economic conditions, and their demands and aspirations remain veiled or are not given proper consideration. These factors work to a large extent as the formative factors behind the emergence or disintegration of a nation. The resulting tapestry of the situation that finally takes shape depends upon the intricately woven structure that the cultural, economic and social factors provide.

The history of civilization in Bharatbarsha, or Hindustan, antedates the arrival of the Aryans from the Steppe of central Asia. The non-Aryan tribes already lived in different places along the Indus valley and in the upper Ganges area. Presumably, the Aryans entered the central and eastern part of the subcontinent following the course of the Ganga river. [1] The settlers started pushing the non-Aryan stocks who lived in the deltaic expanse away from the fertile land along the river; that is how the Bang tribe was pushed

eastward by the Aryans. There already existed some form of religious and spiritual foundation in this land, and now the newcomers assimilated some of that existing culture and also introduced their own. Gradually, through give and take, a new civilization was built up.

The name Hindusthan owed its origin to King Darius -- who came from Persia and conquered the Indus valley in 500 BC -- and Alexander (326 BC), who came from Greece. Those conquerors used to call the people of northern India Indoos because they lived in the Indus valley. Since then, this land has become the cradle of several organized religious systems such as Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism.

Islam was introduced 1,400 years ago in the desert land of Arabia. The Prophet Mohammed Mustafa (p.b.u.h.) received revelations from Allah in the cave of Mount Hera, and the Holy Book, the Qur'an, was gradually sent down to Earth. The universality of the Scripture spread amongst the pagans, and the Islamic ethics and teachings, although at first fiercely resisted, spread rapidly to other races of near- and far-away places.

In India, Muslims are either descendants of the original visitors or conquerors, or are local converts from other faiths. Gradually but steadily, Muslims occupied an important and distinctive place in Indian society. After the Hindus, they became the second major community on the sub-continent. Thus, as an essential part of Indian life, yet

with a distinctive position for themselves, the Indian Muslims presented a phenomenon which has few parallels elsewhere. [2]

It is a most noteworthy fact that both the Muslim conquerors and the traders who arrived to settle in India severed ties with their original homelands. In spite of their monotheistic faith and different mores, those immigrant Muslims became part of Indian society. They became one with Indian life, and so much so that the art, music, architecture, dress and food of these Muslims cast a great influence over Indian life. As the Gandhara arts (Buddhist) and the architecture of the Konarak temple (Hindu) are valued specimens of Indian civilization, so are the Mughal mosques, tombs and monuments such as the Jame Masjid, the Taj Mahal and the Qutub Minar. The fact becomes more clear if we look at a contrast. When the British left after ruling over the country for 200 years, they did not leave behind much proof of their attempts toward amalgamation. For the British, home was always England. The Victoria Memorial Hall in Calcutta could at best be defined as an attempt to introduce Her Majesty's Indian subjects to British grandeur.

Indian Muslims made Hindusthan their homeland, and yet they maintained their spiritual allegiance to the Muslim world at large. The ideal of Indian Muslims over the later centuries, as has been described by M. Mujeeb, was to be a well-knit egalitarian community believing in Islam and

expressing this belief in their daily life. [3]

Since India has been the homeland for different ethnic groups throughout the ages, and since it has 14 major languages, it could hardly claim to be inhabited by one single race. In the course of this research, we shall trace the source of Islam in the subcontinent and see how the faith spread rapidly. Indian Muslims may be classified into three major categories:

a) conquerors,

b) immigrants, and

c) converts.

The political history of the conquests by the Arabs and Turks provide a partial picture of Muslim establishment on Indian soil; but, then again, the victory of any foreign power over local inhabitants always creates a wound which is not easily healed. Hence, Mohammed bin Qasem (the first Muslim conqueror to enter India in the eighth century), Shihabuddin Ghory and Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni were looked upon as aggressive intruders. Whether it was the spreading of the message of Islam, the expansion of political power or the accumulation of wealth, whatever motivation prompted those conquests, the people of Hindusthan would not feel oneness with these conquerors.

Traders came from Egypt, Turkey and other Arab lands, and many of them remained in this fertile land. Arab traders came directly across the Arabian sea. They finally settled

down on both the eastern and western coasts of south India. Mappilas are the descendants of those first Indian Muslims who were converted in a peaceful manner. Traders also came through the eastern passes in the Bang area and made their establishment in the port town of Chittagong.

Immigrants came from central and west Asia, Iran, Afghanistan and also from the east coast of Africa. Those being ambitious for a better livelihood wanted to explore the subcontinent. Slowly and gradually, they entered as individuals or with their families; sometimes they came as a clan. Once they entered, migration also took place from one region to another. This fact explains well the mingling of language and culture among many old Muslim families in Bengal who lived in Calcutta, Dacca and also in Midnapore, a city close to the south coast of the Bay of Bengal. These families spoke Urdu or Bengali mixed with Urdu words and intonations. They differed from other Muslims, who were predominantly local converts, in their complexion and physique. Some of these families claimed to have settled down as far away as Kashmir, having then moved into the far eastern districts of India.

The majority of Indian Muslims were descendants of new Muslims. In the context of this thesis, however, we shall concentrate on studying the Muslims of Bangladesh.

The Bangladesh of today, the earlier East Pakistan, was created from the Muslim majority portions of United Bengal.

The people of this region were in their psychological dispositions as far removed from the Arabs -- who took to the religion first -- as the emerald green land, fertile with alluvial deposits of the Ganges river and the monsoon weather, was from the austere Arab deserts and their dry climate. Yet the faith appealed to the inhabitants so deeply that in time the area turned into the largest Muslim populated area of the subcontinent.

About the growth of Muslim population in the area, the noted Bengali scholar Humayun Kabir observed:

> One is repeatedly struck by the fact that small groups of Muslims triumphed over very much larger indigenous armies...it is obvious that a small group of military conquerors could not for long withstand the resistance of a vast majority of local people...unless there were elements within the country itself which...deserted the local rulers and lent support to the invaders. [4]

From 'Bang' to 'Bangla'

Like many other countries of the world, the country of Bangladesh took its present shape and size after a very long geological evolution. [5] Bang was situated in the far eastern corner of the subcontinent crowned by the Himalayan plateau to the north, and its southern shore washed by the Bay of Bengal. Traders and pirates had direct access to the land.

The name Bang was supposedly first introduced in a very old book called the Arannyak Brahman. Initially, the name

denoted a Janapad or locality where people lived. Minhaj and Barani believed that only the south and the eastern regions of Bengal were known as Bang. [6] Rarh, Pundrabardhan, Barendra and Lakshanabati were the other zones. About the growth of Muslim population in Bang, Ram Gopal comments: "In Bengal as in the south, Islam paraded itself as a deliverer from social oppression." [7]

On the eve of the Indian partition in August of 1947, approximately 15 per cent of the population of the central and northern Indian provinces were Muslim; whereas the riverine and forest land of Bengal -- which according to Ibn Batuta was a "land of disaster" and where the mighty soldiers of the Mughal emperors were unwilling to be posted -- had a Muslim population of about 90 per cent.

It is very interesting to question how, within a few centuries, Bangla had become the province with the biggest Muslim majority. Historians are not unanimous in their verdict about the exact period when human habitation started in this land. Archeological findings showed remnants of copper-stone age civilization in this area. The terra-cotta statues found, also point out that the civilization was not less that 3,500 years old.

Muhammed Bakhtiar Khilji came to conquer Bengal with a small band of horsemen, invading Nadia at the beginning of the 13th century AD. This was the period when the Bengali population lived under the severity of Brahmanism. The

Hindus and Buddhists, amidst their mutual hostilities, did not have the moral courage to stand up united and resist a foreign power.

It is not known exactly when the first Sufi (Islamic mystic) came to Banga. The Muslim rulers ruled over India for over 800 years. During that period, Awliyas such as Khwaja Mainuddin Chisti, Sheikh Nizamuddin Awliya, Qutubuddin Kakai and Selim Chisti exerted much influence over the Indian populace. About the situation in Banga, Dr. K.R. Qanungo rightly observed: "Bengal was not conquered by seventeen cavaliers of Bakhtiar Khilji, but by the Baro awliyas (the twelve legendary Sufi saints)." [8]

Sufi saints like Jalaluddin Tabrizi, Shah Mahisavar, Shah Makhdum, Hazrat Badar Shah, Shah Jalal and others came to Bango and brought with themselves the teaching of the Qur'an, the Hadith and the ideal of human equality and brotherhood. Through their exemplary personal image and close contact with the common people, the message of equality spread and a large conversion took place during the 15th and 16th centuries. Sufis seldom preached Islam verbally; their faith radiated through their simple, pious lifestyle, mode of meditation and fasting.

What also attracted the masses was the cult of Pir and mureed. [9] The Pirs were believed to be possessors of supernatural power that did not die out with their physical death. Thus, people in distress gathered in the Khankas of

the living Pirs as well as the Mazar, or Dargha, of the dead but spiritually Zinda Pir. Both Hindus and Muslims were drawn toward the Pirs, as a rapport gradually developed between the Pir and his mureed or even the Pir with the common mass who wanted to get relief from life's miseries. The institution of Pir-mureed is considered by some Muslims as a debatable innovation or Bida't. One interesting fact is that amongst non-Muslim Bengalis, one finds legends and folktales about some Pirs such as Satya Pir, Manik Pir, Panch Pir and others. Thus the Pir phenomenon played an important role in the conversion process in Bengal.

It would be a deviation from the truth if one claimed that force was never applied in conversion; but it is equally true that the vast Hindu population, especially the lowest caste, the Shudras, were drawn to the new religion because of the practice of social equality. Now they found a religion which made it possible for them to draw their drinking water from the same well as the more privileged of society, and to offer prayer standing in the same row with them, as well. It was also made obligatory to pay Zakat, or poor tax, to which the less privileged had a right. This was not charity.

The caste system of Hinduism generated a system of class inequality in the worldly life and the life hereafter. Islam removed this imposed social inequality and brought relief to the crushed self-respect of the poor. That is why

one finds many Muslim converts in the lower professional strata of Islam. The lower classes among Hindus, such as the Jola (weavers), Darzi (tailors) and Kasai (butchers) accepted Islam but continued with their original professions. [10] Hence, proselytization was not as much the result of imposition by the Muslim rulers as maintained by K.S. Lal, but was due to the influence and humanitarian service of the Sufis. [11]

Another sector much deprived of their natural rights and who occupied a most subjugated role were women. Hindu saints considered both Kamini (women) and Kanchan (gold) as objects of allurement and vice, and they were to be forsaken in the spiritual quest. In a passage of the Yogavasistha, Ram, when anxious to renounce the world, is made to observe that women are the mines of all miseries. If a man renounces a wife, he renounces the world and would surely be happy. Child marriage used to bring honour (gauridan) to the parents, while on the other hand, the father of a grown-up unmarried girl was the victim of harsh humiliation by society. Since literature can be the reflector of society, some writers betrayed some such plights, and the novel written by the famous Bengali writer Sharatchandra titled Arakhyaniya (a daughter who could not be kept in parental custody) narrated the woe of such a case. The dowry payable to the prospective grooms made the system of marriage even more difficult.

Research findings have confirmed that the ritual like Shatidaho (the burning of the widow on the same pyre with her dead husband) or denial of widow marriage were not Vedic, but came to Hindu society as later innovations. [12] And the fate of many Hindu women rested in the hands of Brahman Pundits. [*] Later in the nineteenth century, the reform moves of Ram Mohan Roy and Ishwar Chandra put a stop to such social cruelty. The rights and status enjoyed by Muslim women presented before the Hindu population an open example for human rights. The straight and simple Shariah concepts such as a girl's consent to be taken in marriage, her right to divorce, the freedom of a widow to remarry and her inheritance rights, probably drew the Hindus toward the ideal of the Muslim social structure.

Then again, amongst the first converts in Bengal were a number of feudal lords and Rajas who helped to spread the religion among their subjects. Sultan Jalaluddin (son of Raja Ganesh), Murshid Quli Khan and Kala Pahar being powerful converts, exerted their influence in mass conversion. The excesses of the Brahmans lay heavy over society. A book written by Ballal Sen, father of powerful King Lakhsman Sen, described at least 1,375 varieties of ceremonial charities payable to Brahmans. This was an attempt to revive, once again, Brahmanical supremacy in Bengal.

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[*] Brahmans who knew the Hindu theology well.

In the 15th century, Raja Ganesh unleashed his reign of terror to suppress the Muslims, [13] when Sufi Nur Qutub Alam invited Sultan Ibrahim Sarki of Jaunpuri to intervene. But terrified Raja Ganesh allowed his son to embrace Islam and later on this son, as Sultan Jalaluddin, became the protector of Islam in Bango.

From this instance, another fact becomes clear: usually Ulema in a Muslim kingdom used to perform the important function of state machinery as exponents of law. Sufis, on the other hand, refrained from this and remained in the path of Allah (Sabilillah); however, whenever crises fell upon the Muslim ruler and the populace, they came to their rescue. Hazrat Shah Jalal and Nur Qutub Alam are examples.

Sufis were neither pro- nor anti-government; but in their conviction that Islam needed to spread in the Dar-ul-Harb, they fought with the infidels both in the battlefield, if necessary, and through advising the Muslim rulers. Sufis who came to Bengal cherished the ideal that anyone who aims to protect his religion should be prepared to become either a Ghazi or a Shahid. [14]

It can clearly be seen that Indian Muslims were part of Indian civilization and society, but they had their own distinct identity. As in India at large, and in Bengal too, Islam was introduced through the invaders and the Sufi Mashaikhs. Because of the distressed Buddhists and the depressed lower castes among Hindus under the orthodox Brah-

manical society, Islam found a soil ready to sow the seeds of Muslim ethics and life strategies. Some Buddhists accepted the emergence of Islam as their saviour dharma. [15]

So the most important element of the popular force of Islam was the Pirism, which was not an original idea in Bengal but came from the north. [16] That too found a fertile soil in Bango because it was not a totally alien idea; Buddhists of Bengal worshipped Stupa or Chaitya and the Hindus had a similar practice of Avatar. The converted Muslims found relief in the idea that either the living Pir or his spirit (Zinda Pir) would protect them in their misery.

Both descendants of the original Muslims and converts were inspired to adhere to the five pillars of Islam -- Iman, Salat (Namaz), Siam (Roza), Zakat and Hajj -- and promote it through the construction of mosques, establishing Khankas and madrasahs.

This is, in short, the progress of Islam from Bang to Bangla with her swelling Muslim population. The progress was not always smooth, but it was systematic. As in Indonesia as in Bengal, the message reached directly to the masses -- in this case with the inclusion of the tribal people. The religious profile of the Bengali population was, as has been rightly observed by Dr. Joseph O'Connell, pluralistic, complex and like the delta itself, ever changing in contour. [17]

CHAPTER 3

THE RESPONSE TO BRITISH ENCROACHMENT ON SOCIO-RELIGIOUS LIFE

The Indian subcontinent was very rich with the export potentialities of both raw and finished products. Like other trading companies from Arab and European countries, the East India Company of Great Britain also came to India as traders.

But before long, through intrigue, this company captured political power, first in Bangla and then across the entire subcontinent. These people, from a far-away island in Europe, differed in almost every respect from the people that they subjugated: religion, language, mannerisms, social values and the colour of their skin.

During their reign, the British rulers wanted to introduce what they felt were developmental moves, but not many of these moves were welcome to either Muslim or Hindu Indians. Both these communities were self-consciously proud of their own heritage, and so both considered the British action to be an encroachment on their privileges. The British moves did not affect the two communities in the same way. Muslims, from whom the political power was captured, felt the brunt of losing prestige and power. At first, the British were busy with annexing more and more Indian land under their administration, and soon the strategy was

amended by their skillful "developmental plans." It was at this point that the political resistance of the native states spread to the level of the Muslim masses.

The death of Aurangzeb (1707) saw the administrative machinery of the mighty Mughals collapse, and the vast Empire started to disintegrate. [1] The later Mughals, incapable of withstanding the court intrigues, gave away their kingdom to unwelcome intruders. While there was a nominal Emperor who reigned from Delhi, the Marathas, Sikhs and Jats made the most of such a feeble political situation. The different communities got involved in fighting with each other for their own political ambition. The situation was one of anarchy, and that further strengthened the British position to gain political supremacy.

In the period following the Battle of Palashy in 1757, Lord Curzon's masterly stroke of policy in securing Dewani of Bangla, Bihar and Orissa won for the British a legal status in India. [2] By the first half of the nineteenth century, the East India Company expanded British authority over a large part of India through annexation and by fighting the native rulers. The three fighting elements -- the Muslims, Sikhs and the Marathas -- all realized that circumstances were pushing India toward political submission to a totally alien power; yet they could not stop their mutual strife. [3]

It was often this mutual enmity and craving for power,

refuelled by the British instigation, which finally led to the failure of some ardent efforts for securing freedom. In Mysore, Hyder Ali and his son Tipu Sultan, known as the "Tiger of Mysore," remained a constant source of danger to the British, the latter making an alliance with the neighbouring states for war against Mysore. However, Tipu fell fighting for the defence of his homeland, whereupon the British restored a Hindu dynasty to power to ensure that they would be free from any future danger.

The Nizam of Hyderabad in the south had to play a passive role. Being threatened by Mysore in the south and the Marathas in the west, this Muslim ruler of a Hindu majority state had to look to the British for the assurance of their assistance.

But in the north, the dissolution of the Mughal power gave the Sikhs the opportunity to rise. They were hostile toward the Muslims because of their prior persecution at the hands of the Mughals. The treaty signed between Sikh leader Ranjit Singh and the British was violated soon after the leader's death. This led the British to conduct a military expedition against the Sikhs. Finally, the Sikhs surrendered and Punjab was annexed. This, in short, was the picture of political intrigue used by the British to expand their power over India.

As stated previously, the East India Company entered India with commercial motives, but ultimately, through

diplomatic manoeuvering, they made the vast land their colony. They found India to be rich in commercial potential, hence their primary policy based on the production of raw material in India for the manufacturers in Britain, and the consumption of British finished products by Indians. The import of Indian finished products was further controlled by easing British manufactured products through free trade in India and by imposing heavy duties on Indian finished products exported to England. [4] Besides these injustices, legendary cruelty toward the Muslin weavers [5] of Dacca, East Bengal, and the torturing of hired Indian peasants to work in the British-owned indigo plantation caused grievous humiliation to the Indians. The tea planters, jute, cotton and tobacco cultivators were forced to produce the raw materials for manufacturers in England.

This was the political and economic side of British encroachment. Once the British got their firm foothold in the administrative area, their impositions spread out to almost every aspect of Indian life, including religion, language and education. Their encroachments did not exclude the Hindus, but since the aim of this research is to study the process of the Indian Muslim's separatist mentality, our focal point will remain in this area.

When Islam got its mooring in India and the faith spread rapidly through the conversion of local inhabitants, a simultaneous process also started functioning. For the

general masses, the cohabitation of different communities over several centuries introduced an intermixture of cult, culture and customs; at the higher level of the ruling class and the aristocracy, deviation crept in.

There, the deviation might have partially resulted from the laxity of some of the Ulema, or theological advisors. They allowed considerable lassitude to their political masters in bypassing Shariah in matters affecting their personal comforts and conveniences. This had been rendered possible by giving new interpretation to the verses of the Qur'an and Hadith and through evolving so-called Bid'at-i-Hasana, or good innovations.

Parallel to the process of socio-religious assimilation, innovation and superstition flowed another stream: the revival of Islam. From the middle of the 17th century, Indian Muslims started to face an era of confusion due to the loss of political power, increased encroachment from Western administrators and the resulting overall degeneration of their own status. In this situation, Indo-Muslim society stagnated under despair and superstition.

At this juncture, Shah Waliullah (1703-1762) first attempted to give an integrated reinterpretation of Islam. His father, Shah Abdur Rahim, was one of the compilers of Fatwa-e-Alamgiri. Shah Waliullah exercised great influence on the subsequent socio-religious movements. [6] He had a clear vision about what the Muslims needed. To bring the

message of Shariah to his people, Shah Waliullah translated the Holy Qur'an into Persian and, at the same time, fought against all un-Islamic thoughts and practices. Thus he worked for the social and moral regeneration of the Indian Muslims.

The Mujahidin movement (1820-1863) sponsored by Sayyid Ahmed of RaiBereli could be attributed as the practical termination of the movement initiated by Shah Waliullah. Some English writers showed a tendancy to relate the Mujahidin movement with Wahabism in Arabia, but it does not appear to be substantiated by documentary evidence, [7] except that both movements worked in a parallel line to fight against innovation in religion.

Because of its character, the Mujahidin is known in Indian history as the Wahabi movement, but it might aptly be named Tariqa-i-Muhammadiya. Sayyid Ahmed's call to Indian Muslims was: "Follow none -- be he mujahid, imam, qaus, qutb, maulavi, mashaikh, king, minister, padri or pundit, against the authority of the Qur'an and the Hadith." [8] He was convinced that Islamic revivalism would be successful only when a sound political and social environment could be created and, for that end, his call was to "save and reconstruct" the essentially Islamic elements in the Indian Muslim's life pattern.

The fact that they were becoming class conscious and that they were adopting the stigma against widow marriage

and other such negative social practices pained Sayyid Ahmed, as these were deviations from the true path. He himself married a widow and made it obligatory to all his followers. He too, like some of his predecessors, felt that a stable political agency was needed, one which would implement and impose basic Islamic principles on actual life.

With this mission in his mind, he made extensive tours of India and, as a spiritual leader, he accepted Bai'at, or disciples. [9] He stayed in Calcutta for three months and, there, people from far away places came to take Bai'at. Taking the system of Bai'at in its traditional sense of strict allegiance to the Pir or spiritual path finder, he adapted this technique to promote amongst his disciples the revivalist spirit. As people thronged to see him, he, instead of touching the hand, threw open his long turban and accepted those who touched it.

The Mujahidin movement strengthened the Shah Waliullah-formulated tradition of Indo-Muslim resistance to the concentration of power in the hands of non-Muslims. The Western explanation of this movement as an emotional upsurge of a sector of orthodox Muslims against the non-Muslims -- for example, the Sikhs and the British -- does not provide access to the deeper philosophy. This actually was a reform movement, in and out, with a broad spectrum. The Mujahidin movement wanted to free Indian Islam from Hindu tradition and influence and bring the reoriented convert Muslims close

to and on the same plane as the original Muslim aristocracy. Thus the process which brought a cultural separation between the Hindus and the Muslims also brought Indian Muslims of diverse origins to the same platform.

Sayyid Ahmed of RaiBerili was looking for a neutral zone outside British India where he would fight the infidel Sikhs and chose N.W.F.P. for this purpose. Both he and his associate, Ismail Shahid, fell during confrontation with the Sikhs. [10]

The spirit behind the movement did not die out with the death of its leader. Around the same period, more reformers manifested a similar zeal of reviving the true Islamic spirit through the rejection of the peripheral, the eclectic, the syncretic and the heterodox. Some thinkers considered political life to be part of the Islamic mode of living, and that idea helped to nourish the centuries-old hostile feeling of the Muslims, especially the aristocrats, toward the growing aggression of the foreign rulers.

Now that the encroachment had spread out into the social, religious and educational life of the Indians, a state of alarm and agony was created. In the socio-economic field, the rulers patronized the landlords for their own benefits, but the neglected peasantry lived in constant misery. The alien rulers also started imposing their language and social values upon the very tradition-bound Indian society. To resist this, the reform movements focused their

energy upon rousing defiance against the foreign rulers. Besides this, they raised a protest against the torturing of hired Indian workers by indigo and tea planters. [11]

Two such religion based revolutions took shape in Bengal, both in the early part of the nineteenth century. They were religious movements in character and patriotic in spirit, but militant in action. Their main objective was to take off from their shoulders the oppressive yoke of alien administrators who had once entered their homeland as traders but who took steps to fulfill their ambition of making India their colony. Those foreigners joined hands directly with powerful traitor-conspirators, such as MirZafar, JagatSeth and RaiDurlav to dethrone Nawab Sirajud-daula. The East India Company, through political manoeuvering, refrained from capturing the throne for themselves; by putting a puppet on the masnad, they became the king-makers and took over effective power.

A book written by Capt. Charles Stewart bears the title A History of Bengal, from the Mohammedan Invasion until the Virtual Conquest of the Country by the British. He actually put the British on the same footing as the Muslims who came to India. He could not comprehend that the Muslims became one with the Indians and that they did not want to remain as foreign spectator-rulers. The British knew that their policy of "divide and rule" would only be successful if Hindus and Muslims were kept apart. Accordingly, the rulers had the

history of Muslim India written to suit their own end. [12] As the two communities read and judged history -- one as the "ruler" and the other as the "ruled" -- the growth of a single composite Indian nation disappeared and thus helped the political aspirations of the British. This point should be noted as a prefix to our exploration: whenever the rulers sensed a nationalistic fervour in the overtly religious reform movements, they had to take evasive actions.

The movement named Faraizi was one such event. Haji Shariatullah, a devout Muslim, became much impressed by the Wahabi stance in Arabia. In 1802, he initiated a reform movement. [13] Unlike Wahabism, Faraizi was basically a non-cooperative movement against Western encroachment and the exploitative Indian feudal lords. If one wants peace in this land, Haji Shariatullah thought, Muslim society needs to be remodelled and rid of accumulated superstitions, and to abide by the Farz (obligatory) duties prescribed by Shariah.

Haji Shariatullah was a contemporary of Sayyid Ahmed of RaiBerili, and the corruption they fought against were of a similar nature. For both of them, the spiritual cleanliness of every Muslim was a prerequisite to transforming society vis-a-vis the country into a Dar-ul-Islam. Although the two spiritual leaders preached separately, the success of the Faraizi movement in Bengal paved the way for the other. [14]

Haji Shariatullah's son, Dudu Mian (1819-1862), transformed the character of Faraizi from a socio-religious into

a politico-economic one. His remarkable achievement was in organizing a broad based and well-knit fraternity of Muslims. Dudu Mian, on one hand, raised lathials as a paramilitary force to protect the poor Muslim peasantry who lived under the agony and torture of the zamindars -- who were mostly Hindus -- and the foreign planters; he also formed panchayets as a local guardian body who would listen to the peasants' grievances. The entire mechanism, thus worked out, helped to unite the Muslims, make new conversions and protect the peasantry from long-practised oppressive customs such as Durga Puja tax, beard tax and others.

Along with these moves, their other noteworthy step was to translate the religious scriptures, which were customarily written in Arabic, into Bengali so that the message could be brought to the masses. This is what Haji Shariatullah had dreamt of: to rescue the ignorant and poor rural people from negativistic teaching, to imbue their simple hearts with the Islamic zeal to convert India to a Dar-ul-Islam, or land of peace. Thus he was convinced of making every participant a Mujahid. Absolute equality in society and economic improvement for the impoverished and exploited Muslim peasantry were his two pledges.

In the later stages, the Faraizi movement merged with the Wahabi movement. Another movement was taking shape in Barasat, West Bengal, under the leadership of Nisar Ali who

was popularly known as Titu Mir. This movement was more militant in approach and spread rapidly into those areas where Muslim ryats (land tenants) were being oppressed by Hindu landlords. Allegedly through plundering Hindu villages and slaughtering cows openly, Titu Mir's followers retaliated against the injuries that they suffered for so long -- the paying of the discrimination taxes and the burning of mosques.

Not that every action of Titu Mir or of the Faraizis could claim justification from a religious or social point of view, but besides shaking off the economic overburden, their more important contribution had been the promotion of an exclusive identity for Muslims in Bengal in particular, and in India at large. Now the community had learned to voice their grievances and to claim their rights. For the first time, their non-cooperation with the ruling power, their frankness in protecting their own religious beliefs and their bold attempt of taking into their own hands the responsibility of straightening out the social injustices gave the British an awareness of their separate social entity.

Through spiritual elevation, both these movements provided the Indian Muslim masses with a forum for the expression of their socio-economic grievances as well as the means to protest against the impositions of an alien ruler over their tradition-bound society. The British government

interpreted Faraizi objectives to be the expulsion of alien rulers and the restoration of Muslim power, but the movement could not be branded as a mere terrorist one because its strategies were imbued with noble spiritual ideals to be used in awakening the masses from their stupor.

Like other similar revivalist moves, the Faraizis (or that of Titu Mir) did not try to wipe out the 1,200 years of Muslim history and establish the life and customs of the Arabs in its totality. What they actually aimed at was to wipe out what they perceived as un-Islamic practices and contamination brought about by alien encroachments. Thus, they considered the Dar-ul-Harb would be transformed into a Dar-ul-Islam.

Their revolts were essentially against the bourgeois oppressors of the poor peasantry, be they Hindu or Muslim landholders or Nilkuthi walla sahibs (the indigo overlords). Hence these three categories of people, with their vested interest, became antagonistic toward these movements. However, these movements did not succeed in sending their message through to the urban elites and the tradition-minded (sabeqi) aristocrats, as these people enjoyed the benefits of a privileged class.

By the middle of the 19th century, the British attitude toward the Muslims was further hardened when the sipahis revolted in 1857 on religious grounds -- the forbidden greased cartridge incidents -- and the leadership was given

to them by a maulavi of Oudh. But the spirits once kindled through the Wahabi, Faraizi and the Titu Mir movements were not blown out altogether; they had already done their job of awakening the Indian Muslims.

Once the confusion was over, the Muslims started reacting toward the intrusion. The Islamic revivalist movements were motivated to strike at the roots of accumulated innovations, and armed with their enriched understanding of the religion along with their love for this homeland, they became determined to fight against outside encroachments.

CHAPTER 4

THE SIPAHI MUTINY AND ALIGARH MOVEMENT

The mutiny of 1857 was the volcanic outburst of the century-accumulated humiliation in the Indian mind, particularly among the Muslims. The annexation of Oudh by the British and their introduction of cartridges smeared with the fat of pigs and cows -- which were construed by the Muslims and Hindus to be an attempt to destroy their religious standing -- finally snapped the last string of the Indians' patience.

Already, educational exploitation by the British had hit the Indians hard. Gradually, Indian society felt it was left to the mercy of foreign rulers to do what they considered fit for the future of the vast population of the subcontinent. Lord Macaulay, who was president of the British Education Committee in India in 1834, boasted that by introducing both the English language and a Western system of education in Oriental society, his policy would create a class of people who would remain Indian in blood and colour, but English in their developed taste and opinion, morals and intellect.

The Indian Muslims did not like the British move of westernising their education, which included the replacement of the Persian language with English and the neglect of

Arabic -- the language of their Scripture. To add more to their dismay, Christian missionaries came into the country, and conversion efforts were expanding amongst the poor sectors of the Hindus and Muslims. [1] The 18th century and the early twenties of the 19th century saw a chaotic situation created with the forcing of western education, missionary activities and innovative superstitions among Muslims and Hindus.

To get over this confusion, Hindu society took to religious "reform," while, on the other hand, Muslims felt the urgency of "revivalism." The terminological difference between these two words points toward bringing in changes in two different ways in the present situation -- one through modernization, the other through orthodoxy.

But both these movements basically aimed at establishing the pure form of their respective religions, as were originally promulgated. Hence both communities, under Western pressure, resolved to bring back the teachings of their respective faiths to avoid the dilemma that then prevailed. This actually was a period when both the communities lived peacefully with an amicable mutual co-existence. [2] But they both were getting restless because of the economic and socio-political developments. [3]

At this juncture, the humiliating treatment of the native princes and nobilities caused further discontentment and gradually an idea of a revolt took shape. For certain

reasons, the Mutiny of 1857 turned the British absolutely against the Muslims and especially the maulavi class.

A prophecy had long been current that the 100th year from the Battle of Palashy would witness the downfall of the British rule, and that year had arrived. A mandate had gone forth from the palace of Delhi inspiring the Muslims in all their solemn gatherings to recite a song of lamentation about their race and the degradation of their original faith -- one which was once triumphant from the north snows to the southern straits, but was now encroached upon by the alien rulers. This provides the background picture.

In the late 19th century Col. G.B. Malleson wrote a book which gave the British version of the rebellion. He wrote in his preface:

> I have aimed at the compilation of a work, which, complete in itself should narrate the causes as well as the consequence of a movement unforeseen, undreamt of, sudden and swift in action and which taxed to the utmost the energies of the British people. [4]

Malleson worked as chief of the Commissariat Department at Kanpur. In his opinion, issuance of cartridges smeared with pig and cow fat was not the main reason behind the revolt: actually, the British policy of denying inheritance to Nana Saheb (the adopted son of Maratha Peshwa Bajirao), of barring the Rani of Jhansi from bestowing her inheritance upon her adopted son and, lastly, of annexing Oudh all acted as grounds for agitation against the British. [5] The inci-

dence of the greased cartridges only provided the opportunity to erupt.

All these pointed toward the fact that an alien power was insistently defying the religious laws and conventions of India. Consequences followed speedily. The telegraph house of the Barrackpur army concentration in West Bengal was set on fire by the Indian sipahis. The sipahis of Behrampur, Murshidabad and Jalpaiguri in North Bengal and other stations in the northwest region sensed that there was an imminent danger of forcing Christianity upon them. Thus the first armed revolt of 1857 was triggered on the soil of Bengal. [6]

But the man who acted behind the uprising was a Maulavi, Ahmedullah of Oudh. He was a man of great abilities, undaunted courage and stern determination and travelled like a whirlwind from Khyber to Calcutta and inspired the sipahis. His emissaries had done their work thoroughly. The midnight conferences in the huts of the sipahis, not just in Barrackpur but in other stations far apart, had aimed and agreed upon one point: the implanting of convictions in the mind of the native soldiers that the masters who had annexed Oudh would hesitate at nothing to complete their work of forcing them to become Christians. [7]

The dynamic leader of the mutiny was killed by the brother of a local Raja, a supporter of the British. "Thus...by the hands of one of his own countrymen, term-

inated the life of one of the principle fermentators of the mutiny and the ablest and most persistent supporter." [8] Narration from another European, Sir Charles Trevelyan, illustrates the grave aftermath of the revolution:

> The British now turned to avenge the wrong done to them and herewith a reign of terror and atrocities ensued...a general massacre followed and every member of a class of religious enthusiast named Ghazis were hanged. [9]

In retrospect, the real cause of the mutiny still stands to be the British attempt to force modern and Western ideas upon the Eastern people, as in the land tenure system of Thomason. To fight back against this encroachment, the Ulema, the princes of small native states, the nobles of the Mughal Court and, finally, ordinary sipahis all rose together.

After the suppression of the mutiny, Emperor Bahadur Shah was brought to trial and was charged with proclaiming himself the sovereign of India and abetting a revolution which caused loss of life to the British. He was finally declared guilty and was transported away from his own country for life. Thus faded into oblivion the last spark of Muslim rule in India. By now the East India Company was released from administrative responsibilities and on August 2, 1858, Queen Victoria was proclaimed the Empress of India. [10]

Over the ruins of the Indian Muslims' shattered dreams, Syed Ahmed Khan (1817-1898) came like a beacon of light. This pioneer of Muslim renaissance with his practical and

analytical mind probed deep into the cause of the Sipahi Mutiny and brought out the Asbab-e-Baghwat-e-Hind. [11] There, he wrote that the real causes behind the revolt were a) Indian misapprehension of the intentions of the British rulers, b) the ill-suitedness of British laws and regulations to this country, c) the ignorance of the government with regard to the grievances and the needs of their subjects, d) the lack of sympathy of the rulers toward their subjects and the policy of racial discrimination, e) the lack of access to the legislative council, and f) mismanagement in the army.

According to Syed Ahmed Khan, the main cause of the mutiny was that the British power in India maintained a gap between the ruler and the ruled by not accepting any representation in the legislative council. On the other hand, Syed Ahmed Khan was conscious about the folly of his own community, who he thought were clinging to their outmoded ideas and also shunned the Western system of education. Appendix I of this thesis provides data on the poor status of the Muslims' education, which naturally bears an effect upon the employment situation as well.

Syed Ahmed Khan plunged into a broad based effort to bring the merits of an English education to his co-religionists. He founded the Scientific Society in 1864 and planned to have English books written on various subjects translated into Urdu. This was his preliminary move, because the

bigoted maulavis looked upon the study of English by a Muslim as a little less than the embracing of Christianity. But Sir Syed had no intention to stop at that point. [12] He visited some of the British universities and planned to establish a similar one in India. Eventually, when he brought his plan into reality, it had some valuable additions to it. He had to keep in mind that his institution should infuse a spirit of nationality and brotherhood among the students and thus equip them to take on the responsibility of national development.

Under the forceful guidance of Sir Syed, and with the cooperation of Nawab Mohsin-ul Mulk, Altaf Hussain Hali, Maulavi Chiragh Ali and other enthusiasts, a vigorous campaign for the proposed Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental (MAO) College popularly know as the Aligarh Movement was started against severe criticism, threats and opposition from the orthodox class. Within a few years, post-graduate and law classes were started there, and the MAO College of Aligarh became affiliated with Calcutta University.

The philosophy behind founding this college was to impart modern and rational education to Indian Muslims in order to make of the future generations worthy citizens. It was not just a local educational institute, but was intended to serve as the centre for a nationwide educational programme and even expand it to the entire Muslim world beyond. With this purpose in mind, Syed Ahmed Khan organized in 1886

the All-India Mohammedan Educational Congress. Through the continuous efforts of this organization, MAO College was raised to the status of a Muslim university in 1920.

Syed Ahmed Khan was not a politician, and he made it very clear that the Aligarh Movement had no political motive. But at the same time he understood politics thoroughly. In the post mutiny period, British suppression of Muslims was more ruthless because of the fear that the success of the mutiny might have re-established Muslim rule in India. At this period, when British policy pushed the Muslims to the lowest ebb of misery, Sir Syed, a non-political person, appeared as a saviour of the political catastrophe. [13] He believed that according to the precepts of Islam, Jihad is not recommended against the rulers unless they prohibit Muslims from performing the Farz duties toward God, thus making the land a Dar-ul-Harb.

Such was not the situation in British India. Sir Syed took much care to disprove the allegations made by W.W. Hunter in his book The Indian Mussalmans against the Wahabis of India that they were rebels against the British. Through meticulous efforts, as was his habit, Syed Ahmed Khan actually proved that it was a movement against the advances of the infidel Sikhs and that the Indian Muslims were loyal to the Queen. [14]

Sir Syed's pro-British mentality was fiercely criticized by Jamaluddin Afghani (1838-1897), who was a promoter

of Pan-Islamism. During the second half of the 19th century, Christian powers were making successive moves against the Muslim countries such as Turkey, Egypt and the Sudan, for example. A man of charismatic leadership, Jamaluddin's message for the unification of the Muslim world exercised tremendous influence on all Muslim countries. But he was concerned about the world Muslims, whereas Sir Syed was devoutly engaged in thinking out ways to save the Muslims in India. They differed in another vital point: Afghani thought that Pan-Islamism and the anti-Western movement would free Muslims from oppression; but Syed Ahmed Khan was convinced that the Muslims of India could only develop their status through winning the confidence of the Western rulers.

The later part of the 19th century was important with regard to organizational efforts on the part of the Indians. Another Muslim visionary, Syed Ameer Ali, of Bengal, was trying to bring the Muslims under a national organization, namely the National Mohammedan Association (1877). Through this, he could foresee the emergence of a Muslim separatist spirit which was most needed at that time of despair.

A broad-based political organization named the Indian National Congress was founded in 1855. Sir Syed was critical of the founding of a political body like the Congress; he came to regard it as an organization of "Bengali Babus." To convince him otherwise, renowned politician Badruddin Tayabji wrote him a letter.

Syed Ahmed Khan's attitude towards the Bengalis was not very clear, because at times it appeared that he equated them with a nation or Qaum. In an article against Congress' move for holding the Civil Service competitive examination in India, he wrote:

> The first condition for introduction of a competitive examination is that all people in that country should belong to one Qaum...[The] case is quite different with India, where one nation is far ahead of the other in western education. Can the Mohammedans cope with the Bengalis in higher English education? I ask the Hindus and Mohammedans of Behar whether they are able to compete with Bengalis. [15]

The prime objective of the Congress, as was explained to Sir Syed by its leader Tayabji, was to unite the different communities and provinces under one umbrella organization. But exponents of Muslim separatism, such as Syed Ameer Ali and Nawab Abdul Latif in Bengal, maintained a negative opinion. To them, the diversity of religions and ethical norms made the absolute fusion of races among all inhabitants of India impracticable. Indian Muslims had a separate identity which they preferred to keep instead of merging into the milieu of Indian Hindus.

CHAPTER 5

THE SEPARATIST MOOD AND MOVEMENTS OF BENGALI MUSLIMS

That the Indian Muslims had a separate and distinct identity which they preferred to keep became gradually apparent during the 19th century and onwards. Syed Ahmed Khan was aware of it, and his Aligarh Movement was the motivated attempt of raising the standard of the Indian Muslims through amalgamation of Eastern values with Western education.

The separatist mentality as such was more conspicuous in Bengal; this probably was due to their own backward conditions in education and employment. The Hindus and the Muslims reacted in two different ways toward the advent of the West.

To the Muslims, British supremacy of power always reminded them of their defeat by the foreigners. Their antipathy towards the rulers was again reciprocated; the British did everything in their power to curb the Muslim intelligentsia and undermine their influence in every sphere of activities. [1] This fact, plus the unwillingness of the Muslims to accept a Western system of education, resulted in the denial of opportunities in service and commerce. Deprived of their own traditional mode of education and because of their present unwillingness or inability to derive bene-

fits from the new system, the Muslims as a community, went through a period of intellectual stagnation. [2]

Their antipathy towards the British was aggravated by the aftermath of the Mutiny of 1857. Both Muslims and Hindus took part in the revolt, yet the Mughal emperor, being the figurehead of the uprising along with a spiritual leader's patronage of the mutiny idea, shifted the entire blame over the Muslims. Earlier revivalist movements in Bengal supplied more fuel to the British idea that the Muslims were their chief enemy and potential source of danger.

On the other hand, Hindus adopted Western education, and, eventually in Bengal, the fields of education and employment were largely dominated by progressive minded Hindus. (See Appendix II) The rulers, who had to recognize the Hindu's superiority in education, were gratified to accept the fact that Bengali Muslims really lagged far behind. Finally, a time came when a small group of urban Urdu-educated and mainly upper-class Muslims of Bengal started articulating their grievances against the measures adopted by the British government.

To their disappointment, they found that the Hindu College established from the funds available through Hindu society was not open to Muslim students, whereas the Haji Mohsin College in Hughly founded by the philanthropic move of Haji Mohsin was being monopolized by Hindu students. For years, Hindu boys were admitted there free of charge and

books were given to them at the cost of the institute. [3]

Nawab Abdul Latif (1828-1893) occupied a revered position in the development programme for Bengali Muslims through his persistent endeavour and sincere-yet-liberal outlook toward community welfare. He was professor of Persian in Calcutta Madrasah and, later on, joined the government service. Like Syed Ahmed Khan, he too was not a segregationist, and in spite of devotion to his own religion, he never expressed any antagonism toward the other faiths. His primary aim was to direct his own community, but the strategies which he followed for spreading education and other movements were contributing toward the overall development of Bengal.

To two complete generations of his countrymen, Nawab Abdul Latif formed the link between the past and the present. He led his co-religionists onto a new path of achievement without losing his orthodoxy but at the same time drew appreciation from the Hindu intelligentsia. The Hindu Patriot of Calcutta claimed in its June 1880 issue that his name was a household name in many a Hindu family. It had been rightly observed that to Abdul Latif the Bengali Muslims owed a debt of gratitude, as did the Muslims of upper India to Syed Ahmed Khan.

Calcutta Madrasah was founded in October 1870 by Warren Hastings. The object behind its founding and keeping it under direct British patronage and bureaucratic control was

no doubt different from that of the Aligarh Movement, which accepted the English and the Western system of education with the inclusion of modern subjects in its curricula. Calcutta Madrasah was avowedly an institution for teaching Islamic fundamentals through Arabic and Persian, overlooking the fact of whether or not it kept them away from broader and more modern education fields.

Even after Nawab Abdul Latif moved away from his teaching post at Calcutta Madrasah, he remained active in the education for the Bengali Muslims and hence in the area of social welfare. He was fully aware of the big gap that had been created between the Hindu intelligentsia and the urban Muslim elites, who deliberately alienated themselves from the greater bulk of New (convert) Muslims whose socio-cultural background and language were pure Bengali. [4]

This bifurcation between the Sabeqi and New Muslims acted as a barrier against the overall progress of the community. The backward Muslims could not catch up with the more progressive Hindus. For them, at that moment, a need for two things was felt: the Muslims' own separate enterprise, and cooperation and protection from the rulers. This gave the British bureaucracy an opportunity to apply again in practice their policy of divide and rule; however, moves for separate enterprise were started thereafter.

Anjuman-e-Islami (an association), the Mohammedan Literary Society (a group promoting separate Muslim Bengali

literary achievements), and Durbeen (a journal voicing the need and reflecting on the plights of Muslims) all had emerged during this period of hope and aspiration. Thus a neo-modernistic movement was launched with the conviction that the Bengali Muslims should fully establish their separate identity.

Certainly there were differences of opinion about how to achieve this purpose, and the madrasah education was one such issue of debate. For example, the Calcutta Madrasah emphasized teaching Arabic and Persian languages along with Islamic ethics. No doubt, the system provided an opportunity to get oriented in one's own religious beliefs and practices, but it could not keep up its popular appeal and usefulness in the face of rapid progress made by the non-Muslims. Again, the Muslims were still not intellectually prepared to withstand the Western influence and were clinging to their Maktab and madrasah education. Sir William Hunter wrote: "Our system of public instruction is opposed to the tradition, unsuited to the requirements and hateful to the religion of Mussalmans." [5]

As stated earlier, Syed Ameer Ali (1849-1928) was another pioneer of the Muslim renaissance in Bengal. He pointed out while presiding over the 13th session of the All Indian Education Conference that Muslim education in Bengal needed to be remodelled along the lines of Aligarh, otherwise he opined that the gross disparity that existed in the

province would never be removed.

Syed Ameer Ali had a very progressive outlook with respect to reform strategies. While others before him tried to show that Islam was not opposed to progress, he virtually identified the religion with progress and characterized the faith with every modern virtue. With this conviction, he proceeded to introduce newer ideas for remodelling the madrasah education. This liberal reformer voiced the hopes of modern Bengalis through an association that he started in 1877 named the National Mohammedan Association.

Nawab Abdul Latif maintained a conservative approach toward Muslim education and opposed Ameer Ali's idea of remodelling the madrasah in the light of the modern and secular needs of the period. The ideological rift between these two dedicated Bengali Muslims was prolonged over the last quarter of the 19th century. But in spite of this difference of opinion, both served in an untiring manner to promote the cause of Muslims of Bengal.

Nawab Abdul Latif too, like Sir Syed, supported the notion of complete withdrawal from politics. He thought that for their future prosperity the Bengali Muslims needed the protection and patronage of the British. Both of them gave education top priority over all other matters. Ameer Ali could foresee a "Hindu nationalism" looming over the horizon of Bengal's intellectual field. The Hindu novelist Bankim Chandra in his book Anandamath openly depicted the Muslims

(Jabans) as the enemy of Indians or Hindus. His slogan Bande Mataram, later on with the initiative of the Indian National Congress, became their national slogan. It was not easy for Muslims to accept this sentiment of equating Hinduism with Indian nationalism.

Later on, Ranga Lal Banerjee and even liberal poet Rabindra Nath Tagore either consciously or unconsciously accepted this segregationist mentality of Hindus. Tagore in one of his well known poems, Bandi Beer, [6] narrated the revolt of the Sikhs in Punjab in their challenge to Muslims and praised their heroism. However, in Tagore's writings, the difference in the two religious faiths did not put up a barrier against appreciation of human sentiments. His short story Kabuliwallah narrated the plight of a Muslim Afghan moneylender who showered his genuine affections on a little Hindu girl, and it became a classic for its humane appeal.

On the other hand, Kazi Nazrul Islam not only introduced Islamic ballads into Bengali literature, but also brought forth the Pan-Islamic sentiment too. [7] Over the victory and renaissance of the Turkish people brought about by Kamal Ataturk, Nazrul wrote the opening verse of a poem thus: Kamal tu ne kamal kia bhai -- the first Kamal is the person and the other meant his bravado. Thus a trend was set in the development of a Muslim Bengali tradition in literature which slowly developed itself with a rich vocabulary taken from Persian, Arabic and Urdu scripts. The role of

Nazrul Islam to Bengali literature and Bengali Muslims could be compared with the poet-philosopher Sir Mohammed Iqbal (1873-1938) in his contribution to Urdu literature and the Muslim renaissance.

During the 19th century, the Hindu religion was subject to two strong currents of movements. The second quarter of the century saw a syncretic movement under the initiation of Ram Mohan Roy, Devendra Nath Thakur and Keshab Chandra Sen. This reform movement was named Brahma Samaj. Motivated toward bringing in freedom from the age-old superstitions of Hinduism, this movement shook the very foundation of the ancient religion. The other movement after the 1860s was a swing back toward reinstating Vedic Hinduism. In Bengal, Sree Ram Krishna and Swami Vivekananda started preaching Vedic ideology anew. The most remarkable factor here is that this revivalist movement demanded that "Indian nationalism" be a corollary to Hindu faith. Dr. R.C. Majumdar wrote about this nationalism thus:

> This was not an isolated expression of a view casually formed, but rested on a deep rooted conviction, at first confined to a small section, ...was gradually imbibed...by a large majority of educated people. [8]

Publication of the National Paper in 1867 and the foundation of an association named the National Foundation were only a few expressions of that conviction. It was during this period that a Muslim renaissance was initiated. The idea of a separate nationality was beginning to take

shape and a spirit of political consciousness developed. The National Mohammedan Association of Ameer Ali and the Mohammedan Literary Society (1863) founded by Abdul Latif received recognition from the government as the mouthpieces of the Bengali Muslims. Soon, they demanded education and employment facilities for Muslims as well as separate elective bodies for them.

Both of them tried to keep the Muslims away from getting directly into politics and the Congress party. The reason behind their conviction was that unqualified adoption of the Congressite programme would lead to the political extinction of the Muslims.

The most interesting fact was that in Bengal the Muslims restrained from joining the overwhelmingly popular National Congress, whereas in northwestern, central and southern India, Muslim membership in the Congress was not at all negligible. Also among them were the Deoband Seminary Ulema. [9] Sir Syed was probably the first Muslim leader in these regions who was publicly critical of the role and claim of the Congress. In spite of that, nobody called him a communally biased person because of his towering service to society. In reply to Badruddin Tayabji's request to join Congress, he wrote back that he objected to every congress, in any shape or form, which regarded India as one nation."

But in Bengal, the Muslims themselves were confused as to what should be their proper political approach. Three

factors might have contributed to the growth of their feeling of political and social insecurity: First, convert Muslims were looked down upon by Hindu Bengalis. By "Bengali" they only meant themselves; Muslims were nicknamed Mlechchas, and the two communities did not eat together or intermarry. Second, there was a disparity in education and employment. Third, Bengali Hindu leaders entertained the idea of equating Hindu nationalism with Indian nationalism. Hence we find that Bengali Muslims were seeking a solid and honourable platform to stand upon; they had to recover from the inferior status that they had acquired through force of circumstance.

Now the development of the Muslim separatist movement in Bengal had been established. Had the leaders been accommodating to each other's points of view and joined hands across provincial boundaries, the status of Bengali Muslims would have been lifted up onto the same solid platform as their co-religionists in upper India. But history witnessed how, during the course of the last 100 years, the Muslims of Bengal had to fight a lonely battle against anti-Muslims on the one hand and with leaders of their own faith on the other.

CHAPTER 6

MUSLIM SEPARATISM CRYSTALLIZES

The province of Bengal always occupied a distinct position in Indian politics. Among Bengali Hindu intellectuals, many were endowed with great potentialities and leadership abilities. At one time, the venerated congressman Gopal Krishna Gokhale said that what Bengal thinks today India thinks tomorrow. In this context, it was presumably natural that the happenings of Bengal would influence Indian national sentiment and policy.

Already a rift was becoming apparent between Muslim and Hindu Bengalis in the last quarter of the 19th and early part of the 20th century. The British adopted measures in such a fashion that it only widened the gap.

One such move was Lord Curzon's decision to partition Bengal. To the Indians, this policy fixed the contour of future political development, stirred deep apprehension and plunged the country into communal animosity. Moreover, political historians believe that this British policy dragged the Bengali Muslims into politics and brought the two communities, who lived together for centuries, face to face with open rivalry.

Curzon came to India in 1899 as viceroy. As a capable diplomat, he first gained the confidence and friendship of

the Bengalis, who were attracted by his eloquence. He thought that the combined territories of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa -- which the Mughals lumped together and had a population of 80 million people in an area of 189,000 square miles -- was really too great a responsibility for the administrators. [1]

It was true that East Bengal, on the other side of the Ganges river, was a neglected area. Unlike the western side, this part was not urbanized, and there the peasantry under the wealthy Hindu zaminders, who mostly lived in the great city of Calcutta, were crushed under poverty and illiteracy. Even the police system was feeble, and, as a result, people of rural areas lived constantly under unstable conditions of law and order. In short, there existed a sharp difference between the educated and alert gentry -- mostly the Hindus of West Bengal -- and the depressed men behind the plough of East Bengal.

Whatever political motivation worked behind the British move of partitioning Bengal, the official reasons advanced were that a) the overburdened government of the province of Bengal needed administrative relief, b) the administration of the districts of East Bengal was exceedingly defective, and c) Assam was in need of an outlet to the sea and the port of Chittagong could serve that purpose. Lord Curzon forward-ed this scheme to the India Secretary in February 1905 with his suggestion of naming the new province as North

Eastern Province. The scheme was approved, but the name was changed to Eastern Bengal and Assam.

The partition of Bengal caused very strong repercussions in the Bengali community, whose members equated this move with dividing the Bengali race into two. But evidence showed that the Hindus felt they would cease enjoying a monopoly in government jobs in the newly-created Muslim-majority province, and that Calcutta, which had always been a privileged spot in British rule, would now have a rival in Dacca. [2] The educated Hindus, including members of the bar, condemned the idea of partition. Four leading journals of Calcutta, all owned by Hindus -- The Bengali, Amritbazar Patrika, The Indian Mirror and The Hindu Patriot -- started a vehement campaign against partition. [3] October 16th was observed as a day of mourning for the dismemberment of "Mother Bengal."

Turning to the other community, although partition might have been planned with a political motive by the British, the Muslims, who had not demanded it, were generally in a welcome mood. The Hindu leadership tried at first to resist partition by giving the impression that the opposition was an expression of general national feeling and enlisted the support of the Muslims. Swadeshi Andolan, or the movement for boycotting British goods, was launched as a token challenge to the rulers' decision. But gradually the opinion of the two communities became sharply divided along

religious lines, and the movement took a turn toward communalism. On September 20, 1905, thousands of Hindus gathered in the temple of the goddess Kali to take vows. The anti-partition agitation installed Shivaji as a national hero. [4]

This humiliated the Muslims because they were used to listening to the pathos expressed in Bengali lullabies about the plunder made by the Maratha Bargis. A suspicion now crept into the Muslim mind as to who the Hindus were opposing -- the British ruler or the Bengali Muslims, whom they did not consider as "Bengali proper."

The gravest part of this issue was that the embittered feeling between the Hindus and the Muslims was no longer confined within Bengal, the province concerned. It spread into other parts of India and affected mutual feelings. The ruling power was apprehensive of such a turn of events, but to add more to their achievement, a split came even amongst the Muslims. Some leaders and zaminders, such as Maulavi Dildar Baksh, Dr. Gafoor Ismail and Abul Qasem voiced their protest against partition and ignored the enthusiasm of their own community in anticipation of gaining favours.

Syed Ameer Ali thought that the National Mohammedan Association, which he launched in 1877 and with branches all over India, would gather together all the Indian Muslims under its banner and help them formulate their own strategy in order to safeguard their existence in the subcontinent.

He expected Syed Ahmed Khan to join hands; however, Syed remained firm about not mingling in politics and refused Ameer Ali's proposal. But the time had come when it was no longer possible for the Muslims to keep themselves aloof from political developments.

If Ameer Ali should be credited with visualizing the need for Muslim politics in India, Nawab Khawaja Salimullah of Dacca deserves to be called the architect behind its foundation. Under his initiative, the Muslim League was founded in Dacca on December 30, 1906. Actually, the urgency of founding a national Muslim organization might have been lying dormant in Bengali Muslims' minds because in spite of their being the majority community in the province, a very discreet effort had been creating an undercurrent through the generations to keep them at a lower social stratum. Again, the concept of ruling India by holding the two communities against each other was embedded in the British policy of administration, and it found expression from time to time in their statements and actions, producing the anticipated result.

N.C. Chowdhury, the Hindu author of The Autobiography of an Unknown Indian, described how the partition of Bengal left a permanent legacy of estrangement between the two communities and how a cold dislike for the Muslims settled down in the Hindu heart. He recalled how Hindu boys would refuse to sit with their Muslim classmates. "New arrange-

ments were made to meet the Hindu demand, by dividing each of the school classes into two sections." [5]

On the opposite side of the picture, an even more tragic tale was waiting: Muslims of upper and central India considered themselves as the descendants of the original Muslim immigrants and looked down upon the Muslims of Bengal, since they were mostly converts. These two corrosive ideas created a confusing mentality in the Bengali Muslims, who, in fact, were neither inferior Muslims nor outcast Bengalis. So they strongly felt the need for a forum for their self-expression and thought that their self-assurance could develop only through political stability.

The political events moved fast. After six years, the partition of Bengal was annulled, presumably for administrative reasons. The leaders of East Bengal were bitter in their resentment, for whatever prospect for progress came to their doorstep was lost in the gloom of despair.

The humiliation of East Bengal was further enhanced by later events. One such event concerned the government's plan to establish a university at Dacca in order to introduce higher education to the people. The Congress leaders and especially Surendra Nath Banerjee were insistent that such a move would accentuate the existing differences between the different communities and that there was no point in establishing a university for the primarily agricultural people of East Bengal. However, Dacca University was eventually

founded in 1921 and became a great seat of learning. This was the first Indian university where Islamic Studies was included in the curriculum.

While all these developments took shape in Bengal, there was a more amicable communal environment in central India. The Khilafat issue emerged in 1919, and both Maulana Mohammad Ali and M.K. Ghandi politically utilized the situation. The Ali brothers gave a clarion call to Muslims to join the Khilafat movement, and Mr. Gandhi arranged to align his Non-Cooperation movement with them. Both movements targeted the British to come down and accept their proposition, but the political situation was not as easy as those leaders conceived it to be. Young Turks rose in rebellion against Caliph Sultan Abdul Hamid, and their leader, Kamal Pasha, abolished the office of Caliph itself. Gandhi was disappointed, because he actually aimed to use the Khilafat issue as an experimental ground for proving the success of his Ahimsa Ashohojog or Non-Violent Non-Cooperation theory. Of course, this was not a totally new concept. Tolstoy too believed in the success of such a programme, and Maulana Azad also suggested a similar strategy.

The Muslim leaders of Bengal mostly gave their moral support to the Khilafat movement. But none of the ventures brought the expected result. Even the structure of Hindu Muslim unity which was supposed to build up through the two

movements crumpled very soon. Whatever unity developed turned into communal hatred, as the anti-cow slaughter, Shuddhi Andolan and Shangothon movements spread their fury and fume against Muslims all over India, from Kohat in the north to among the Mapilas in the south.

The Khilafat movement and Gahdhi's Non-Cooperation movement terminated the entire political mechanism, which failed through the lack of coordination of efforts and coherence of actions among the leaders who were working mostly with their own strategies. [6]

It is also important for anybody who is interested in following up the political developments in India to study the religio-political evolution and to take note of the fact that the re-entry of Hindu Mahasava into aggressive politics made the Muslim League's role easier for rallying the confused Indian Muslims under its banner. Hindu Mahahava leader Vinayak Damodar Savarkar once said: "If you wish, O Hindus, to prosper as a great and glorious Hindu nation under the sun, and you will have a claim on it, that state must be established under the Hindu Flag." [7] His voice captured the imagination of the Hindu masses. He ascertained that India could not be assumed to be a unitarian and homogeneous nation because there were two nations in the main: the Hindus and the Muslims.

For the purpose of this thesis, we shall explore the political situation which made M.A. Jinnah -- who entered

politics as a congressman but at a later stage became a most prominent Muslim leaguer -- change his political conviction. Through his intimate contacts with two political stalwarts, Dadabhai Naoroji and Gokhale, Jinnah built up his reputation as a gifted and unprejudiced politician. Sarojini Naidu, a Congress leader, called Jinnah an ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity.

As a strict constitution-bound politician, Jinnah refrained from giving his support to the emotional call of either the Khilafat or the Non-Cooperation movement. Over successive disagreements with Gandhi about political strategies, Jinnah found it increasingly difficult to cope with Mahatma's personal ways of handling national politics. Once a staunch supporter of Congress, Jinnah now became alien to the party's policy, machinations and motivation. He joined the League in 1913 and was elected to be the party's president in 1924. That he still cherished the ideal of communal harmony was evident in the statement: "The Muslim League is fighting the British and not the Hindus. It is a wicked lie to say that we are fighting the Hindus. We are not fighting the great Hindu community." [8]

The second Round Table Conference held in 1931 in England did not bring forth any outstanding results. In despair over political stagnation and for personal reasons, Jinnah decided to stay away from politics and settle down in London; he left for England in early 1932. The despair he

felt over the political situation in India is evident here:

> ...The Hindu sentiment, the Hindu mind, the Hindu attitude led me to the conclusion that there was no hope of unity...I began to feel that neither could I help India, nor change the Hindu men tality,..nor could I make the Musalmans realize the precarious position. I felt so disappointed and depressed that I decided to settle down in London. Not that I didn't love India, but I felt so utterly helpless. [9]

In spite of this, he tried to come into personal contact with Mahatma for the purpose of settling Congress-League disputes; but his reconciliatory move was not reciprocated. The election in India was fixed to be held in early 1937, but the Congress and the League followed their own separate election organization. Jinnah still insisted that there was no difference between the ideals of the Muslim League and of the Congress, the idea being complete freedom for India.

Although Congress had an overwhelming victory in seven provinces, it was apparent that an overall Muslim political consciousness was developing. After the election, the League expressed its willingness to enter into a coalition with the Congress, but Jawaharlal Nehru dishonoured Jinnah's offer and attempted to ignore any role of the League by saying that in the political history of the country there were only two parties that counted: the British and the Congress. Jinnah retorted at this contemptuous dismissal of the League saying that there was a third party: the Muslims. About the situation Maulana Azad wrote in his book <u>India Wins Freedom</u>:

> If the U.P. League's offer of cooperation had been accepted, the Muslim League Party would for all practical purposes have merged in the Congress. Jawaharlal's action gave the Muslim League in U.P. a new lease of life...it was from U.P. that the League was reorganized. Mr. Jinnah took full advantage of the situation...which ultimately led to Pakistan. [10]

However, the Muslim community of India could not spare Jinnah into political retirement. The poet-philosopher Sir Mohammed Iqbal wrote to him, insisting that in that critical moment Jinnah come back to politics. Jinnah re-entered into active politics before the end of 1937.

CHAPTER 7

AKHAND BHARAT AND THE TWO-NATION THEORY

A couple years after Jinnah came back into direct politics, the Muslim League had been successful in accumulating a large amount of support. The Indian Muslims were rapidly losing faith in the secular stance of the Congress, and they developed a conviction that the Congress was essentially a Hindu body. Soon, Jinnah was held up before the Muslim populace as the one leader with whom the Congress was anxious to come to terms. [1]

In Bengal, A.K. Fazlul Huq -- whom the Muslims adoringly gave the title Sher-e-Bangla (Tiger of Bengal) because of his undaunted and dedicated service to the Muslims in Bengal -- H.S. Suhrawardy, a most gifted orator and organizer, and political intellectual Abul Hashem made the progress of the League even faster.

In 1940, the All-India Muslim League held its convention in Lahore. There, Fazlul Huq tabled the Pakistan resolution: that is the demand for a separate homeland for the Muslims. In the face of the circumstance, this was thought to be the only political solution; Hindus and Muslims belonged to two religious philosophies and social codes of life. Whatever affinity developed between the two communities was destroyed through the rise of Hindu revi-

valism. The bridges which the Muslims took many years to construct were destroyed. But Gandhi together with other Congress leaders expressed their downright opposition to this Two-Nation Theory. Under no circumstances were they prepared to dismember the Akhand Bharat.

Turning toward the social, political and economic scene of Bengal, there was a prolonged state of turmoil and agony between 1939 and 1943. There was high inflation due to the effect of the Second World War, terrorist activities were widespread during 1942, and then the devastating man-made famine of 1943 wiped away hundreds of thousands of lives. On the political scene, disagreement between Sher-e-Bangla and Jinnah, along with some leaders of the Muslim minority provinces, gradually became very apparent. In a letter to Liaquat Ali Khan, secretary general of the Muslim League, who later was to become the first prime minister of Pakistan, A.K. Fazlul Huq wrote on September 8, 1941:

> I protest emphatically against the manner in which Bengal and Punjab Muslim interests are being imperiled by Muslim leaders of "Minority Provinces." ...They neither realize responsibilities of Muslim Premiers of these provinces nor care for repercussion on politics of Bengal. [2]

Fazlul Huq challenged Jinnah and the League Working Committee, at one point, on the issue of the National Defence Council. As prime mover of the Pakistan Resolution, Fazlul Huq never could nor did say anything against the concept of Pakistan. It was in his province where the Muslim

League was born in 1906, during the period when the people of East Bengal got their first chance to speak out about their needs and demands. Bengal was partitioned in 1905, and Bengali Muslims felt their freedom lessen under the oppressive monopoly of the Hindus in every area of life. If there was one Bengali Hindu liberal leader such as liberal leader Deshbandhu C.R. Das, there were many more like Surendra Nath Banerjee to overpower his decision about Muslim welfare.

The gravity of the situation gave the Muslim leaders of Bengal the conviction that Muslims of the province would never be granted their rightful share if they themselves failed to strive for those rights. It was this realization of the harsh reality that made the Muslims move away from the Congress, and, as was observed by the politically-wise Congress leader, Maulana Azad, the first seed of Pakistan was sown in their mind. But Sher-e-Bangla found to his dismay that his straightforward political views were giving the non-Bengali leaders opportunity to make allegations against him. He wrote on November 14, 1941:

> It is an irony of fate that of all who have given their best to build up the only national organization of Muslim India, I should have the object of so much misunderstanding and so much uninformed criticism. [3]

This was not a letter of "apology," as had been described by Sharif-Al-Mujahid, Jinnah's biographer, but a letter of "regret" for the uninformed criticism against him.

But the more regrettable fact was that he was expelled from the League, and instead of another leader from Bengal, M.A. Ispahani replaced him in the League Working Committee.

While the British were busy fighting against Germany and Japan in the Second World War, India's hope for freedom receded, and the whole country seethed under political unrest. At that moment of high tension, Gandhiji launched his "Do or Die" movement to captivate the attention of the British.

At last, the war came to an end, and the victory was in favour of Great Britain and her allies. The British government realized the gravity of the situation in India and were prepared to grant her freedom.

Prime Minister Atlee decided to send a high powered cabinet mission to India. Shortly before the mission arrived in India with two proposals, the election of the central and provincial legislatures had taken place, and this time the results from the Muslim electorates gave them the impetus to march forward toward obtaining their separate homeland.

The first proposal of the Cabinet Mission, on discussion with the Indian political leaders, was to take positive steps towards the future constitution of India. Their second objective was to form a representative body with members from the Congress, the Muslim League and the Indian Native States. The Congress considered the Mission had come just to kill some time. Later, persuaded by the viceroy and members

of the Mission, Congress joined in to discuss their programmes.

It was humiliating for the League to find that in the Cabinet Mission Plan there was no explicit mention about the separate sovereign Muslim state, an issue which they had demanded to be settled prior to the British departure. At the same time, the Mission confirmed the very real Muslim apprehension that their culture and political and social life would become submerged if there were a purely unitary India in which the Hindus, with their greatly superior members, would be the dominating element. But the Mission virtually rejected the partition proposal on the grounds that it would not solve the communal minority problem. It saw no justification for including the districts of Punjab, Bengal and Assam, where the population was predominantly non-Muslim, within a sovereign Pakistan. The Mission stated that every argument which could be used in favour of Pakistan could also be used in favour of the exclusion of the non-Muslim districts of Pakistan. In spite of this, the Muslim League Council decided to accept the Cabinet Mission plan, as that was the last string that they could hang on to.

About the representative body or the Interim Government, the viceroy assured Jinnah that it would be formed even if only one of the two political parties agreed to join in. The Congress rejected the proposal outright, and the

League accepted it conditionally. But for some political intrigue unknown to us, the viceroy considered it essential to have a short interval before resuming negotiations about the Interim Government. This was a breach of the previous assurance, and thus shocked the Muslims. The Cabinet Mission went back to England, and under the circumstances, the League passed a resolution withdrawing their acceptance.

But the British did not stop there. Their next move was to come back to India with another offer to Congress, this time assuring them that the new Interim Government would be treated by His Majesty as a dominion government. An offer was made to Nehru to form the Interim Government in which he would serve as the vice-chairman of the executive council and be second only to the viceroy. He accepted and asked Jinnah to join in, but he declined as was expected under the circumstances. Nehru thus prepared to form the government without the League. [4]

By totally ignoring the largest Muslim representative party, the British government had given a great blow to the Indian Muslims. It was a period of great tension in their life, and, in despair, a constitutional-minded politician like Jinnah made a drastic move in protest. The Muslims in India had authorized him to negotiate on their behalf in the tripartite negotiation between the Cabinet Mission, the Congress and the League. Jinnah showed his superior statesmanship in the first phase, but the plan, as was later

proposed, cut across the principles of justice, honour and equity to be ensured for the Muslim League, and that later on made it impossible for Jinnah to compromise. He declared that August 16, 1946, would be observed as Direct Action Day against the injustice done to them. [5] But his motive was misinterpreted by both the Muslim and Hindu populace, and a violent communal riot gave the city of Calcutta a bloodbath. Riots spread like fire to other places. [6]

Under the crucial circumstances, the British rulers considered it wise to accelerate the transfer of power to India. At this stage, a political parley took place to which not many political historians paid enough attention -- but it contained the seed of a sovereign Bangladesh. Punjab and Bengal, the two Muslim majority provinces, were to be partitioned. But some leaders of Bengal were getting weary and apprehensive that they would be ruled by the Punjabis and Pathans from the larger unit of Pakistan some thousand miles away. They observed that since Bengali Muslims and Bengali Hindus were united through common language, culture and history, it is possible that the two neighbouring communities could live happily in a united sovereign Bengal.

The leaders who championed this issue were H.S. Suhrawardy (chief minister of undivided Bengal), Mohammad Ali of Bogra (later on prime minister of Pakistan) and Abul Hashem (secretary of the Bengal Muslim League). Among the Hindu leaders who shared a similar political approach were Sharat

Chandra Bose and Kiron Shankar Roy. [7] These leaders approached both Jinnah and Gandhi with their proposition. Jinnah replied that if the Congress and the Muslim League in Bengal could come to an agreement with regard to a "Sovereign Bengal" outside Indian and Pakistan territories, then he would not stand in their way; but he also added that in that case Pakistan must have the whole of Punjab within her territory.

Gandhi's attitude was cautious and diplomatic. According to him, since the Muslim leaders agreed that Bengal's common culture is embodied in Tagore, which again had its root in the philosophy of the Upanishad -- the common heritage of the whole of India -- shouldn't the Sovereign Bengal contemplate entering into a voluntary association with the rest of India? To this, Suhrawardy furnished a reply through a press conference held on May 15, 1947. He made it clear that it was a mistake to think that the Bengali culture was based solely upon the Upanishads. In the course of time, Bengal had imbibed aspects of other cultures. Bengali culture had a cosmopolitan aspect of humanism in it, which explains why a rigorous caste system and untouchability (Harijan in Gandhian vocabulary) did not find a congenial soil in Bengal. Suhrawardy pointed out the profound influence Islam rendered on Bengal, however, the central Congress leaders including Nehru and Sardar Ballav Bhai Patel were vehemently against this move. [8]

To depict the careless feelings that the wealthy non-Bengali Congress supporters maintained toward Bengal, one must recall what Nehru said when he was visiting the eastern district of Bengal, Noakhali, with Gandhi. He referred to the slime, water and bushes there and said he would better cut those parts away from the mainland of Bharat. Actually, the industrial magnets of northern India, such as Tata and Birla, were interested in getting Calcutta and the western belt of Bengal, rich with iron and coal mines; they were not interested in knowing how a partition would affect the sentiment and economy of the Bengalis. The Bengali Hindu Mahasava leader Shayama Prasad tried his best to build up the support of the Hindu Bengalis in favour of the partition of Bengal. Thus the same people who fought against the partition of Bengal in 1905 were now leading the fight in its favour.

A cursory look at the role played by Jama'at-I-Islami in respect to the Pakistan movement should also be studied. Maulana Abul Ala Mawdudi, its founder, opposed the movement because he firmly believed in the universal nationhood of Muslims. His contention was that all Muslims of the world constituted a nation (Umma), and hence the Muslims of India were essentially a part of that. [9] He held that if the system of government was not based on the sovereignty of Allah and was run according to the Western democratic theory, it would be a Na-pakistan (unholy land). [10] Once

Pakistan was established, however, he began to work toward moulding this new Muslim state to fit his idea of an Islamic state. This short introduction to the viewpoint of Maulana Mawdudi will prove important when the role of Maulana concerning Bangladesh will be studied.

India obtained her independence on August 15, 1947, and Pakistan was established in the eastern and western zones of India (on the 14th). West Pakistan which comprised the provinces of Sindh, Baluchistan, N.W.F.P. and the western half of Punjab, differed in language, dress, food habits and, to a certain extent, in general culture from East Pakistan. All the four provinces had their own dialects, but Urdu served as the medium of communication. In East Pakistan, Bangla was the only language that people could speak and write, besides reading the Holy Qur'an in Arabic; people of the two units were united only by the common bond of the same religious faith. The combined population of West Pakistan was less than that of East Pakistan, which was a very densely populated area and whose economy was primarily agrarian. The capital, Dacca, was once a prosperous centre of craftsmanship during the Mughal period and the reign of Bengal ruler Shaista Khan. This city of mosques was also a seat of learning for the Alia Madrasah and Dacca University.

Mr. Jinnah had grave concerns for the Muslims who remained in Bharat. Maybe due to his concern over them or because he was basically a man of religious liberalism, he

thought it wise to define the role of the newly achieved state of Pakistan. In the inaugural session of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly (1948), Mr. Jinnah said:

> You may belong to any religion...that has nothing to do with the business of the State...You will find, in course of time, Hindus will cease to be Hindus and Muslims cease to be Muslims, but not in the religious sense...but in a political sense as the citizens of the State. [11]

Although this statement represented a debatable stance for the new state, it no doubt carried a historic significance for the future administrative structure of Pakistan.

CHAPTER 8

THE EMERGENCE OF BANGLADESH

At the time of the subcontinent's partition, approximately 15 per cent of the inhabitants of the central and north Indian provinces were Muslim, whereas in East Bengal the ratio was nearly 90 per cent. According to the 1951 Pakistan census, Urdu was the mother tongue of only 3.3 per cent of the country's entire population, and in East Pakistan merely 1.1 per cent. But to the utter dissappointment of the people of East Pakistan, Quaid-I-Azam Jinnah declared, during his address to the convocation of Dacca University on March 24, 1948, that Urdu would be the national and state language of Pakistan. The decision to lift Urdu up to the level of state language meant that the entire population of East Pakistan would have to learn this language and, until they managed to master it, were bound to lag behind in every field.

Until the collapse of the Mughal empire, Urdu was not used in the court or public offices. During the 19th century, the intelligentsia of the United Province developed the language, which ironically had the same alphabet as the Mughal court language -- Persian. Through the efforts of intellectuals and government patronage, Urdu gained popularity in northern India; but when the controversy over

Hindi-Urdu arose around 1883, Muslims of several cities including Aligarh, Roorki and Meerut claimed that Persian alphabets had been used in the Indian courts for centuries and that Urdu, as a later innovation, had been the native tongue of the majority of these provinces. So, though there existed so much similarity in conversational Urdu and Hindi, it was impracticable to require the populace to learn the Devnagari characters used in Hindi. For the same reason, the great gap between Urdu and Bengali could not conceivably be bridged within a considerable period of time, as their phonetics and characters were different.

East Bengal considered the decision to make Urdu the only state language anomalous to the Pakistan resolution, which assured maximum autonomy to the component units. [1] Moreover, Bengali language and literature had a very rich heritage, and the Bengalis were not prepared to barter that away for any other traditon at any cost.

But their demand cost them a number of valuable lives: on February 21, 1952, police opened fire on students who were trying to demonstrate in front of the Provincial Assembly building in Dacca. [2] There was a very stong repercussion, and students, workers and intellectuals became united under the banner of the "Language Movement." During the following years, every attempt to erect a monument on the [redacted] of the martyrdom was foiled by the Pakistan government. Bengalis, on the other hand, observed that same

day every year as Shahid Dibash, and a stream of homogenous crowds would invariably turn up on the spot to place a wreath or a single flower as homage to the Shahids.

Finally, in 1954, when the United Front of the followers of Fazlul Huq, Maulana Bhasani and Suhrawardy won the provincial election against the Muslim League and formed a joint ministry, a Shahid Minar was erected. Later, that monument, the landmark of the first Bengali movement against the oppression of the Pakistan government, was demolished at midnight on March 25, 1971, by the Pakistan army.

The two decades after the inception of Pakistan were a period of continuous agitation in East Bengal. Personalities changed in the central administration, but the policy remained the same. Moreover, it took a long time for the leaders to decide what would actually be the nature of the state. [3] Canadian scholar W.C. Smith observed that in the early years, Pakistan had the spectacle of Muslim divines, none of whom agreed on the definition of the Muslims.

Soon after Pakistan was established, some of the Muslim League leaders got themselves involved in establishing an Islamic identity for the new state; unfortunately, East Pakistan was targetted as the experimental ground. For that purpose, the central government started to impose a certain 'religiosity' upon the people's lifestyle. The first step was to Islamize the Bengali language through a succession of devices. With the aim of purifying the literature and cult-

ure by excluding Hindu contributions, songs composed by Tagore were banned from broadcasting. As Tagore's songs had always been part of Bengal's musical culture, East Bengalis thought this to be an unjustifiable attempt to cripple their tradition.

The intelligentsia of East Bengal protested. Renowned Bengali linguist Dr. Muhammad Shahidullah said that Tagore's presence was pervasive in the linguistic tradition of East Pakistan. Abul Hashem, an Islamic scholar, said that those who talked of Tagore as anti-Islam understood neither Tagore, nor Islam; if international humanism was not anti-Islam, then to speak of Tagore as anti-Islam was only exhibiting one's ignorance. [4] Thus the Pakistan government's attempt to eradicate Rabindra Nath from East Bengali culture was opposed. (Later on, Bangladesh was to select one of his songs as its national anthem.) Simultaneously, a deliberate attempt to include more and more Urdu words in East Bengal's vocabulary was started by the Pakistan government.

All these attempts were very humiliating for the East Bengalis because they felt there was no reason to raise an alarm over the pollution of their language and culture. Whatever assimilation of other cultures had taken place, it was of a superficial nature; it had not affected the inner core of their faith. Hence any attempt to rectify the hypothetical situation of pollution would only amount to

striking at the root of their existence as Bengali Muslims. The reality that they were mostly descendants of convert Muslims who embraced Islam of their own choice did not humiliate them. On the other hand, to be pinpointed as "insufficiently Muslims" was offensive.

The founder of Muslim rule in this land, Mohammad Bakhtiar Khilji first established his rule in the name of Delhi Sultan Mohammad Ghori (1205). During that period, the Abbasid Khilafat existed in Baghdad and Khalifa was regarded as the spiritual head of the Muslim world, including the Delhi Sultanate. [5] Thus the first Muslim ruler in Bengal showed his allegiance to the Khilafat and the Muslim Ummah. This was the beginning of Islamic character of Bengal, which for so long was dominated by Brahmanistic principles. At a later period, the coins of Bengal were inscribed with the Kalima, which meant total submission to Allah and faith in the Prophet (p.b.u.h.).

Bughra Khan, the founder of the Balban Sultanate in Bengal, also followed this pattern to show the Islamic character of his kingdom. [6] It was actually the spirit of Islam which went undaunted through the following ages, along with the conviction that Islam needed to be spread in this far-away land.

But the process of spreading Islam was not smooth. The Muslims came prepared with the ideal of fighting the infidels and becoming Ghazi or laying down their lives as Shahid

in their effort. [7] Moreover, it was not easy to establish the new faith because the culture and civilization of this land was diametrically opposed to the fundamental beliefs and ethics of Islam. In spite of that, in the natural course of social evolution, the Bengali Hindus also assimilated many aspects of the Muslim lifestyle, as evidenced by the history of Islamization of bangla over the centuries.

Gradually, Bangla turned out to be a great Muslim kingdom. Shams-ud-din Elias Shah was the first ruler to unite the whole of Bangla, and the Muslims got their opportunity to develop the Muslim society therein with more fervour. The rulers and the learned men among the Muslims realized that the new converts would not be expected to become completely isolated from their previous culture, so they encouraged the promotion of Bangla -- by now the language of the Hindus and the New Muslims. Their efforts were rewarded by cooperation from the people.

The Sultan of Bangla kept in close contact with the holy cities of Mecca and Medina and donated large sums of money to build madrasahs and eating houses for travellers, as well as excavating canals in the dry area. Bengali Muslims were facilitated in performing their Hajj pilgrimage through the arranging of voyages by ship from Chittagong to Arabia. [8] All these items only point out that since the 13th century onwards, in spirit and in practice, Bangla was a Muslim region.

The Bengali language had its roots in Pali and Sanskrit, but it was enriched through the introduction of Persian, Arabic and English words into its vocabulary. It was true that after the discontinuation of Muslim rule, Hindus played a predominant role in the creation of literature; the expression and characterization were exclusively Hinduistic.

During the late 19th and middle 20th centuries, some Muslim writers ventured to enter the field, and some of them -- like Mir Musharraf Hossain, Kazi Nazrul Islam, Gholam Mustafa, Nurun Nessa Khatoon and Begum Rokeya -- were consciously building up a separate Muslim Bengali literature by means of the depiction of Islamic society and culture. Mir Musharraf Hossain's book Bishad Shindhu still stands as a classic episode of the martyrdom of Imam Hossain (RA) in Karbala. Nazrul's Islamic songs brought in a totally new era in Bengali music. Gholam Mustafa's beautiful biography of the Prophet (p.b.u.h.) and his translation of the opening Surah of the Qur'an in Bengali verse is still recited today at religious gatherings. This only testifies that Bengali language and literature did not lack in Islamic spirit.

During the post partition period, in every sphere of culture there was an enthusiastic awakening, and the spirit behind it was 'Muslim Bengali,' if not Islamic. The Islamic Foundation was established, and retired politician Abul Hashem was its first chairman.

When the government of Pakistan was fervently busy in Islamizing Bengal's language and culture, a gross disparity between the two units in the fields of economy, employment, industry and education was very much apparent.

The Awami League was founded in 1949 by H.S. Suhrawardy (1893-1963) with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman (1920-1975) as secretary. With the emergence of this party, and Suhrawardy as the leader of the opposition in the National Assembly, came the fight for more provincial autonomy. The issue was further given prominence when he became the prime minister of Pakistan (1956-1957). But he was forced to resign at that juncture by the powerful coterie of West Pakistan.

General Ayub Khan took power in 1958 and through a referendum got himself elected as president. He took power with the help of the armed forces and imposed an oppressive system on the nation. Through his dictatorial rule, he turned the country into a prison. Opposition politics grew stronger in both East and West Pakistan.

Political stalwarts Fazlul Huq and Suhrawardy both died in 1962. Octagenarian pro-Chinese leader Maulana Bhasani of National Awami Party was still very active. Also, younger political recruits under Sheikh Mujib became active to stop the gross disparity between East and West Pakistan.

The Awami League presented its six-point demand to ensure parity and autonomy for East Pakistan. [9] Ayub Khan was still busy organizing the celebration of "the Decade of

Development" as the culmination of his 10 years of administration.

Jama'at-i-Islami had been playing a changing role. In 1965, they supported a woman candidate, Fatima Jinnah, against Ayub Khan. Now that Ayub Khan remained in power, they started claiming that his government was a right-wing government and so was Jama'at-i-Islami. But acute political agitation against the Ayub regime in both the units of Pakistan forced him to step down in March 1969.

After Ayub's regime's collapse, Maulana Mawdudi made a hasty retreat and claimed that his party was neither rightist nor leftist, but people of the centre. The party directed its attack against the Pakistan People's Party and the National Awami Party, both who called their movements Islamic socialism. Jama'at began to pay more importance to political issues than to religion.

General Yahya Khan took power and promised a general election in 1970. The Awami League in the East and the People's Party in the West were acting as the two leading political forums. Here, a statement made by Sheikh Mujib was significant; he stressed that the Lahore Resolution was the Magna Carta of Pakistan; the people who disown the Lahore Resolution, disown Pakistan itself. So the rulers of Pakistan were duty bound to stick to a constitution based on the Lahore Resolution. [10]

This statement was a valuable document in the fight

against the central government's continuous allegation that East Bengal planned to secede from Pakistan and, thus, also from Islam. The general election of 1970 in East Pakistan became virtually a referendum on Awami League's six-point charter of autonomy. The victory was total; the Awami League won an absolute majority of over 53 per cent in the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. But the massive mandate the party received converted its six-point programme into a minimum non-negotiable demand of East Pakistan, and the Awami League, now reflecting the mood of the entire province, became the prisoner of its own victory. Pressure from within and outside began to mount so steadily that any compromise would have amounted to betrayal of the Bengalis.

The People's Party in West Pakistan won nearly 60 per cent of the seats (of West Pakistan's share in the Constituent Assembly), including three-fourths of the seats from Sindh and Punjab. Thus emergence of a strong party in West Pakistan with a right to speak for almost two-thirds of the people of that unit seriously curtailed the Awami League's bargaining power. The inaugural session of the National Assembly was to be held on March 3, 1971, but was abruptly postponed; a deadlock situation prevented political negotiations. The reluctance of PPP leader Z.A. Bhutto in allowing the transfer of power to the democratically-elected majority party, the Awami League, led to a tremendous mass protest in East Pakistan. The police and the military opened

fire on the protesting mobs, killing several people.

Now came the crucial juncture when the Awami League was forced to fall in line with the public demand; instead of leading the people, it was led by them. Sheikh Mujib called for a non-cooperation movement, which resulted in a non-violent disobedience never seen before. [11] East Pakistan's people had lost faith in the neutrality of Yahya Khan. Incidents apparently went out of the leader's control, and the students brought out a separate flag with the East Pakistan map in the middle of a golden sun, although the background still remained the green of the Pakistan flag.

General Yahya Khan again fixed March 25 for the Assembly session. But this time, the Awami League offered four conditions: a) the cancellation of martial law, b) the return of the military to their barracks, c) the restoration of civil rule, and d) an enquiry into the civilian killings. The party by now was convinced that they would never be allowed to rule from Islamabad, so they wanted to rule East Pakistan themselves.

The conditions forwarded were only the strategies for achieving self-rule. To that end, Sheikh Mujib issued 35 directives as to how the civil administration should operate. In Dacca, Yahya Khan and leaders of East and West Pakistan sat on serious discussions about the transfer of power. But during this period, disturbances broke out in the various district towns between the civilians and the army.

President Yahya was only buying time through the political parley for sending in massive military reinforcements to East Pakistan. The West Pakistan leaders left the parley unfinished and went back.

At midnight, March 25, 1971, the Pakistan army cracked down with full force upon the people of East Pakistan. Bangladesh was proclaimed, and thus ensued a period of civil war. After a period of struggle with the help of Mukti Fauj (the liberation army), the Pakistan army was made to surrender with the help of the Indian army.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSION

Bangladesh emerged as an independent nation on December 16, 1971, with a population nearly 90 per cent Muslim. But before that day, the people of this region had to undergo two decades of mistrust and socio-economic exploitation of their rulers.

Before the partition of India, the majority Muslims of the British province of Bengal supported the India Muslim League's demand for a separate homeland. Thus the new state of Pakistan came into existence on August 14, 1947, but, surprisingly, it was soon discovered that the two units of Pakistan, namely West and East Pakistan, were unable to look at matters from the same perspective. As early as 1948, people of East Pakistan were accused of cherishing cultural ideas akin to the Hindus. The main controversy centred around Bengali language and culture. Gradually, the rift between the two wings became wider, and finally came the political break-off. Why did it happen?

In the vast subcontinent, there were 14 major languages. Muslims of all the provinces except Bengal chose Urdu as their common language -- an innovation of the Mughal court language of Persian and Arabic, the language of their Scripture. Urdu had the same alphabet. On the other hand,

Bengali was an old indigenous Indian language with a different alphabet, and had been enriched through adoption of foreign vocabularies including Persian and Arabian.

For almost 1,000 years, the Muslims who lived in different regions of the subcontinent nurtured their own regional language and tradition, yet shared with other co-religionists the common religious cum social experiences. No one claimed superiority or accused others for their lack of religiosity; Arabic had been the venerated language of the Scripture to all. In the introduction to his Tarjumanul Qur'an, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad wrote that mankind is one family, though the different sections of it have different languages and rites. [1] This was in fact the basic teaching of the Scripture. The people of the subcontinent were only a portion of that broader mankind, and in spite of their own diversity in language and rite, the Indian Muslims lived as one family.

Bengal was ruled by Muslims over a long period. The Muslim rulers and scholars were not prejudiced against the local dialect, and through encouraging translation of Arabic and Persian literature into Bengali, they actually enlarged the content of Bengali literature with Islamic ideas and zeal. [2]

In the light of such past experience, it was a matter of surprise to find that the rulers and leaders who belonged to one unit of Pakistan would find the urgency to purify the

language and age-old culture of the other. They thought Urdu and the dress and culture of West Pakistan were 'Islamic' in its undiluted form, and to safeguard the integrity of Pakistan and secure loyalty of the Bengalis, it was their duty to superimpose those on East Pakistan. This was the beginning of the rift.

The rulers of West Pakistan were always alert to detect a secessionist mentality among East Bengalis. After the Awami League won the 1970 general election, they were refused to form a government and sit in the Constituent Assembly with their majority. The mass upsurge in protest was ruthlessly suppressed by the army, with the accusations that Bengalis who were already second rate Muslims had been planning to break up the integrity of Pakistan and secede. This contention was not constitutionally valid, as the majority people of a country could not be accused of seceding from the minority counterpart.

To answer the other allegation about Bengalis being inferior Muslims, we turn to Islam itself. The basic beliefs of Islam rest on the Absoluteness of Allah, who created man, and every man is accountable only to Allah Almighty for all his actions. There is no priesthood in Islam, and no human shortcomings could be forgiven through confessing to a member of a priestly class.

Thus it followed that neither the rulers, nor the learned maulanas of West Pakistan were endowed to pass such

a verdict. Moreover, it was strictly forbidden that a Muslim should call another Muslim a kafir. Yet, the Pakistan army did so in order to convince its soldiers that their operation was aimed against kafirs (unbelievers).

To emphasize the fact that it was a baseless allegation that Bengali Muslims be considered unsifficiently Muslims, thus we have outlined a brief history of the Muslims to that land. We have also traced the history of when and how Islam penetrated the subcontinent, and for our purpose, how Muslims arrived and introduced the monotheistic faith in the far eastern corner called Bango. An area primarily dominated by Hindus, and to some extent by Buddhists, rapidly turned into a zone of newly-converted Muslims. This fact points towards a characteristic situation peculiar to Bango. As Asim Roy observed, it is easy to understand why Muslims are found in large numbers in the regions that were situated on or near the route by which successive hoardes of Mohammedan conquerors entered India, such as Sind or other frontier routes. But it posed a question why Muslims were even more numerous in Bangla. These findings have established the valuable fact that ancestors of the converted Muslims did not take the faith as a result of pressure from the ruling power. From their large numbers in rural areas, it is apparent that the conversion was largely voluntary. [3]

The first Muslim invader to have come into Bangla and conquer the land was Ikhtiar-ud-Din Mohammad Bakhtiar Khilji

(1205); he entered Nadia with only a handful of horsemen. No matter how weak the position of a local ruler, it is not possible under normal circumstances to bring about such a catastrophic defeat as did Bakhtiar's small cavalier. It only became possible because the soil of the land was ready for foreign intrusion; the people of Bango were already alienated by the tortuous Brahmanistic control of the rigorousness of the Hindu caste system.

We have discussed how the Bengali mass was impressed and finally took conversion under the pious influence of the Islamic ascetics called Sufis. Abdul Karim pointed out how their Khankas and alms houses were open to anybody who sought their help and guidance. [4] He emphasized how their peaceful devotion to their faith was coupled with the moral strength of their character.

The Sufis came to Bango alone or with disciples and scattered out in rural and urban areas. They mingled with common people as friends and guides, and helped them enormously to relieve their social distress. Sufi activities and the conversion process did not concentrate around the locality of regional capitals, such as Dacca, Lakhnawati or Murshidabad, but rather spread all over the rural areas. [5] Therefore, it is not right to assume that the Muslim population grew because of the allurement of the court or that the religion was forced upon the other communities by the

Muslim rulers. In fact, it was the message of social equality which acted as the main point of attraction, manifested in the lifestyle of the Sufis. Thus the Muslim population spread rapidly and turned Bango into a land of mosques, mazars and monasteries.

Then the British entered the subcontinent as traders, but before long had captured political power, first in Bango (1757) and then in other regions of India. Before 100 years had passed, since they defeated Nawab Sirajuddaulah of Bangla, the British practically became the masters of India. We have already pointed out the basic difference in the administrative policy between them and their predecessors, the Mughals. The British policy was to rule over India as a colony, from far away England. The second unwelcome aspect of this alien rule was their encroachment over Indian society, its language and religion. Those moves were disliked both by the Hindus and the Muslims. But the Muslims -- who ruled over this country for over 600 years and made India their homeland and from whom the British had captured political power -- came to despise the alien encroachment more intensely.

Still, the Muslims could not help being influenced by the Western impact; superstitions and innovations gradually enveloped them. The revivalist movements of the Mujahidins, the Faraizis and Titu Mir in Bengal resolved to resist all innovations that were making their way into Indian Muslim

life, and they tried to free them from all subjugations. These turned the British hostile towards the Muslim community. [6]

The pent-up emotion of the Indian mind burst forth through the Sipahi Mutiny of 1857. The last surviving Mughal emperor was made the nominal convenor of the revolt, and the upsurge was initiated by a maulavi of undaunted spirit. All this made the British even more antagonistic, and they were ruthless in their suppression of the Muslims.

Following the deep despair after the Muslims came the able guidance of Syed Ahmed Khan. He had profound understanding of the Indian political situation and was unbiased in his judgement. Syed Ahmed Khan was a reformer who believed in and advocated self-help as a basic virtue. [7] He was confident about this need if the Indian Muslims were to prove their worth to the foreign rulers. As a step to prove his belief and to bring modern education to the Muslims, Syed Ahmed Khan founded MAO College and initiated the Aligarh Movement.

Two of his Bengali Muslim contemporaries worked in a similar way for the development of Muslims, particularly so in the British province of Bengal. Those two exponents of Muslim progress were Nawab Abdul Latif and Syed Ammer Ali. Through their conscious developmental efforts, the crystallization of the separate identity of Bengali Muslims became possible. This was an important development in the life of

Indian Muslims at large. Because of their own conservative outlook and lack of initiative, the Bengali Muslim community was backward in the field of education, employment and other related areas. They suffered from a feeling of exclusion and inferiority because both Bengali Hindus and Muslims of the northern provinces looked down upon them. Emergence of a separate identity gave them a boost to make progress.

The Muslim League was founded in Dacca, East Bengal, in 1906. This was the period, when following Lord Curzon's partition of Bengal, the Muslims of East Bengal were making some progress and strong agitation was launched on behalf of the Hindus to revoke the partition of Bengal. At the violent extreme of the anti-partition campaign of the Bengali Bhadroloks (Hindu gentry) were the youthful 'terrorists' who conceived their acts of violence as sacrificial offerings to their motherland. [8]

The Muslim League became the mouthpiece of the majority of Indian Muslims. The Indian struggle for freedom became varied and intensified during the middle of the 20th century. In that period, the Muslim League demanded a separate homeland for Muslims. Against the All-India Congress demand of 'Akhand Bharat,' it meant partition of the subcontinent into Hindu and Muslim majority areas.

Mohammad Ali Jinnah, who in the beginning of his political career was a staunch supporter of the Congress and Hindu-Muslim unity, drifted away and joined the League. To

him, the Congress could no more claim to be the only mouthpiece of all the Indians. Jinnah supported the cause of Muslim separatism. Strong support was already extended by leaders of Bengal in favour of partition of India, and the League's Lahore Resolution propounding the two-nation theory was brought forth by Sher-e-Bangla Fazlul Huq in 1940 and was seconded by Shaheed Suhrawardy of Bengal.

The British gave India its freedom in 1947, and on the eve of their departure, Pakistan was established in two units: East Pakistan and West Pakistan. Although the population of East Pakistan alone was greater than the total of West Pakistan's four provinces, the central government was formed mostly with the League leaders of West Pakistan. To the Bengalis, the most objectionable and humiliating step of the Pakistan government was their decision to make Urdu the only national and state language. Students of East Pakistan brought out a peaceful protest rally, but it was resisted with arms. This first bloodshed on the soil of a free country brought shock to the Bengalis, and this Day of Martyrdom or Language Movement has since been a landmark in their struggle for autonomy.

Bengali received the legal status of a second state language only after a strong Language Movement, but it failed to get a proper acceptance in letter and spirit. On the contrary, other successive attempts to Islamize Bengali language, literature and overall culture were launched by

the government. Thus a significant rift was created between the two wings of Pakistan, through preaching and developing a notion that Bengalis were a community much influenced by Hindu culture.

On the other hand, Bengalis saw no reason to abandon their own language. It shaped their culture and made them no less Muslim than Muslims of other nations; after all, Malaysia and Indonesia retained their indigenous language and culture. The fact remained in this case, that the Urdu-speaking Muslims tended to equate Urdu culture with the dominant Muslim culture of the Mughal age. But even the Mughal court celebrated the Hindu festivals of Dashera and Diwali with as much splendour as their own festivals, like Eid. [9] It was quite common for both the communities to join together in both social and religious fairs, such as Rakhibandhan and Mehrauli. In later days too, there had been enough mingling of culture among Muslims and Hindus in northern and other parts of India.

Yet for reasons of their own, the Urdu-speaking Muslims considered themselves to be the valid flagbearer of Islam. This was very humiliating to Bengalis. Under their upsurge of cultural integrity was also working the strong undercurrent of gross economic disparity maintained steadily between the two units. For two decades, East Pakistan remained like a virtual colony of West Pakistan; the Muslim League leadership and the central government were virtually

dominated by the industrial magnets and feudal lords of West Pakistan. Relentless had been the policy of economic and industrial exploitation of East Pakistan which was the main raw-material supplier of jute, tea, rawhide and tobacco. [10]

The major outburst came during 1969. Under simultaneous mass pressure of East and West Pakistan, Pakistan's President Ayub Khan had to step down from power, and General Yahya Khan took over as self-made president-dictator. A general election was held in 1970 and the Awami League of East Pakistan, under the leadership of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, won a landslide victory in both the national and provincial assemblies. Yet they were not allowed to form the government. Instead an army crackdown amounting to genocide was ordered over East Pakistan on March 25, 1971.

As indicated in the introduction, the fundamentalists of Pakistan tried to justify West Pakistan's attack on East Bengal by arguing that the latter were insufficiently Islamic and were corrupted by Hindu influence. There was no serious basis to this argument, because this overlooked the fact that Jinnah, the founder of the nation, once explained the role of Pakistan to be secular and that the religion of the citizens had nothing to do with the state. Secondly, the history of the Muslims in Bengal had not been significantly different from the history of the Muslims in the other parts of the subcontinent. The activist reformism of the _Mujahidins_ or Indian _Wahabis_ had its parallel in the reform

activities of Titu Mir and the Faraizis of Bengal. Again, the educational reforms of Syed Ahmed Khan had their parallel in movements initiated by Syed Ameer Ali and Nawab Abdul Latif. Moreover, it was in Bengal that the spirit of separate identity of Muslims was first kindled.

The people of West Pakistan and the Muslim world were kept carefully ignorant of the actual nature of happenings in East Bengal. If they knew and had arisen against it, probably the biggest atrocity done in the name of Islam upon followers of the same faith would not have taken place. In fact, the Pakistan goverment attempted to obscure the truth of prolonged economical disparity between the two units by colouring every endeavour of Bengalis towards autonomy as their lack of devotion towards both Pakistan and Islam.

The first Awami League regime that officially proclaimed 'secularism' did not mean rejection of Islam. Actually, many of the Muslim states, including Pakistan at certain stages, stood on a secular platform. Again, the declaration of the two later regimes of Bangladesh as an Islamic state made no difference towards her non-Muslim citizens.

Following the path of Bangladesh's past history, the nation is still striving with the Islamic lifestyle and adhering to the fundamental tenets of Islam. Her secular tolerance towards those who do not share this faith or her recognition of the gradually accumulated tradition that

might have penetrated in the people's lifestyle do not in any way affect the Islamic character of the society. East Bengal became East Pakistan because of her Islamic heritage, and ultimately that same fundamental Islamic identity has acted in the creation of the nation of Bangladesh.

NOTES

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

[1] Abdul Karim, Social History of the Muslims in Bengal (Calcutta: Baitush Sharaf Islamic Research Institute, 1985), p. 20.

[2] Kalim Bahadur, The Jama'at-i-Islami of Pakistan (New Delhi: Chetana Publications, 1977), p. 119.

[3] Kalim Bahadur, p. 119.

[4] Abdul Hamid, Muslim Separation in India (Dacca: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 61.

[5] Jayanti Maitra, Muslim Politics in Bengal, 1855-1906 (Calcutta: K.P. Bagchi and Co., 1984), p. 99.

[6] Abdul Karim, p. 180.

[7] Jayanti Maitra, pp. 43-49.

[8] Gaziul Huq, Bangladesh Unchained (Calcutta: Indian Associated Publishing Co., 1971), p. 51.

CHAPTER 2

THE IDENTITY OF INDIAN MUSLIMS

[1] Kamruddin Ahmed, The Social History of East Pakistan, 2nd ed. (Dacca: Amina Khatun, 1967), pp. 1-2.

[2] Humayun Kabir, Muslim Politics and Other Essays, 1906-1947 (Calcutta: Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay, 1969), p. 1.

[3] M. Mujeeb, The Indian Muslims (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1967), p. 23.

[4] Humayun Kabir, p. 5.

[5] Dewan Muhammad Azraf, Background of the Culture of Muslim Bengal (Chittagong: Islamic Foundation, 1979), p. 5.

[6] M.N. Mustafa, "Bangladesher Sangskriti: Tar Abyob," Daily Ittefaq (Dacca, February 21, 1988).

[7] Ram Gopal, Indian Muslims -- A Political History, 1858-1947 (Delhi: Asia Publishing House, 1959), p. 141.

[8] K.S. Lal, Growth of Muslim Population in Medieval India (AD 1000-1800) (Delhi: Research, 1973), p. 174. Dr. K.R. Qanungo had been referred to by a number of researchers on Muslims in Bengal. This particular observation in his book Historical Essays threw light upon the profound influence of the Sufis.

[9] Asim Roy, The Islamic Syncretistic Traditions in Bengal (Princeton, 1983), p. 120.

[10] Abdul Karim, Social History of the Muslims in Bengal (Chittagong: Baitush Sharaf Islamic Research Institute, 1985), p. 205.

[11] K.S. Lal, p. 170, writes: "From early times each seat of government and each military station was more or less centre of missionary agitation."

[12] A.S. Altekar, The Position of Women in Hindu Civilization from Prehistoric Times to the Present Day (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1973), p. 323.

[13] Abdul Karim, p. 121.

[14] Abdul Karim, p. 164.

[15] Abdul Karim, p. 182, referred to the book Sunya Puran, ed. by C.C. Bandopadhaya (Calcutta, BS 1336). The chapter "Niranjaner Rushma" depicts how the Buddhists invoked Khoda, Paigamber, Pir, Ghazi, etc., in the face of oppression by the Brahmans.

[16] Abdul Karim, p. 271.

[17] Joseph O'Connell, "Bengali Religion," The Encyclopedia of Religion, vol. 2, p. 108.

CHAPTER 3

THE RESPONSE TO BRITISH ENCROACHMENT ON SOCIO-RELIGIOUS LIFE

[1] Sharif-Al-Mujahid, Quaid-I-Azam Jinnah (Karachi: Quaid-I-Azam Academy, 1981), p. 325.

[2] Shan Muhammad, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan: A Political Biography (Meerut: Meenakshi Prakashan, 1981), p. 1.

[3] Shan Muhammad, p. 2.

[4] Shan Muhammad, pp. 7-8.

[5] "Muslin" was a fabric of exquisitely fine texture which had an export market in European and other countries. It is said that the British officers cut off the thumb of the Muslin weavers so that they could not weave the fine fabric any more.

[6] Q. Ahmed, Wahabi Movement in India (Calcutta: Mukhopadhyay, 1966), p. 6.

[7] Q. Ahmed, p. 21.

[8] Freeland Abbott, Islam and Pakistan (New York: Cornell University Press, 1968), p. 90, referred to this quotation from Taquiyat-ul-Iman.

[9] Q. Ahmed, p. 37.

[10] Freeland Abbott, p. 94.

[11] Dinobandhu Mitra of Dacca, East Bengal, wrote a tragic saga of Indian indigo workers titled "Neel Darpan," meaning "Reflection of the Indigo." The book was published in 1860.

[12] Sir Jadunath Sarkar, History of Bengal (Dacca, 1948), p. 486, writes: "It was becoming apparent that many persons besides the English came to fear Sirajuddaula...and they desired a revolution in the government." This well-known historian went on to portray the last Muslim Nawab of Bengal who fought and fell for his country as a ruthless and immature ruler. The British government conferred knighthood on this historian.

[13] Freeland Abbott, pp. 101-104.

[14] Q. Ahmed, p. 87.

CHAPTER 4

THE SIPAHI MUTINY AND ALIGARH MOVEMENT

[1] Shan Muhammad, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan: A Political Biography (Meerut: Meenakshi Prakashan, 1981), p. 14, stated that at first the British government maintained neutrality in religious advancement made by the Christian missionaries. But soon, allegedly, the mentality changed into active patronizing. It is known that Mr. Fisher, who was the senior member of the Governor General's Council, actively participated in the conversion activities when in office. The Indian Press condemned these actions.

[2] Shan Muhammad referred to Modern Review, India (November 1912), p. 521.

[3] The missionary activities and government support behind it turned the Muslims away from English school, and hence the doors to employment were closing for them. To Indians in general, many judicial rights were denied, and English officers succeeded the Indian judges. See Appendix I.

[4] G.B. Malleson, The Indian Mutiny of 1857 (London: Seeley, 1890), p. v.

[5] G.B. Malleson, p. 32.

[6] G.B. Malleson, p. 36.

[7] G.B. Malleson, p. 53.

[8] G.B. Malleson, p. 377.

[9] R.C. Dutt, The Economic History of India in the Victorian Age (London, 1908), p. 105, referred to Sir Charles Trevelyan's straightforwardness when he reported to his government that Dacca, the Manchester of India, had fallen off from a very flourishing town to a very poor and small one. The distress there had been very great indeed. For a report of Trevelyan about the Mutiny, see Shan Muhammad, p. 24. (Trevelyan had a distinguished service record in India under Lord William Bentinck.)

[10] The East India Company was relieved from administrative responsibility, and on August 2, 1858, Queen Victoria was proclaimed the "Empress of India." The change of her status from "Queen of England" to "Empress" is to be noted.

[11] Sir Syed Ahmed Khan gave this evidence before the Education Commission of 1882.

[12] Sheila McDonough, Muslim Ethics and Modernity: Comparative Study of the Ethical Thought of Sayyid Ahmed Khan and Mawlana Mawdudi (Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1984), p. 27.

[13] Shan Muhammad, p. 142.

[14] Shan Muhammad, p. 142. Reference made of Bombay government records (1885-1930), vol. II.

[15] The Aligarh Institute Gazette (Aligarh: March 1, 1890).

CHAPTER 5

THE SEPARATIST MOOD AND MOVEMENTS OF BENGALI MUSLIMS

[1] Humayun Kabir, Muslim Politics and Other Essays, 1906-1947 (Calcutta: Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay, 1969), p. 15.

[2] Humayun Kabir, p. 16.

[3] Jayanti Maitra, Muslim Politics in Bengal, 1855-1905 (Calcutta: K.P. Bagchi and Co., 1984), p. 115.

[4] Jayanti Maitra, p. 59.

[5] W.W. Hunter, The Indian Mussalmans (London: Trubnor and Co., 1872), p. 177.

[6] This poem appears in Rabindra Nath Tagore's famous poetry collection Shanchayita, published in Calcutta.

[7] Although a contemporary of Tagore, Nazrul had so much originality that he was not overshadowed by the former's brilliance. He profusely introduced Persian and Arabic words in Bengali compositions and brought in Islamic zeal. One such song urges: "Put me in a grave close to the prayer house, so that I can hear the adhan (prayer call) lying down there!"

[8] See Asoke Mehta and A. Patwardhan, The Communal Triangle in India (Allahabad, 1942).

[9] Report of the Second India National Congress (Calcutta, 1886), p. 9.

CHAPTER 6

MUSLIM SEPARATISM CRYSTALLIZES

[1] Abdul Hamid, Muslim Separation in India (Dacca: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 49.

[2] Jayanti Maitra, Muslim Politics in Bengal, 1855-1906 (Calcutta: K.P. Bagchi and Co., 1984), p. 242.

[3] Jayanti Maitra, p. 242.

[4] The Maratha chief Shivaji had been regarded by the Indian Muslims as a coward because out of his extreme hatred of Muslims, he betrayed Afzal Khan by driving steel-made tiger nails into him while embracing him in a friendly gesture. Again, during the 18th century, Maratha plunderers, locally known as Bargi, used to come into Bengal and ravage the poor villagers' food crops. There was a popular lullaby in which the peasant mother said: "How am I going to pay my taxes, since the birds ate away the crops and the Bargis are already here?"

[5] Abdul Hamid, p. 51, referred to N.C. Chowdhury, The Autobiography of an Unknown Indian, where he narrated the typical behaviour pattern of the middle-class Bengali Hindus toward Muslim neighbours.

[6] S.K. Majumdar, Jinnah and Gandhi: Their Role in India's Quest for Freedom (Calcutta: Mukhopadhyay, 1966), p. 53.

[7] Dhananjay Keer, Veer Savarkar (Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1950), p. 556.

[8] Sharif-Al-Mujahid, Quaid-I-Azam Jinnah (Karachi: Quaid-I-Azam Academy, 1981), p. 205.

[9] Hector Bolitho, Jinnah: Creator of Pakistan (London: John Murray, 1960), p. 100.

[10] S.K. Majumdar, p. 156.

CHAPTER 7

AKHAND BHARAT AND THE TWO-NATION THEORY

[1] Humayun Kabir, Muslim Politics and Other Essays (1906-47) (Calcutta: Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay, 1969), p. 59.

[2] Shila Sen, Muslim Politics in Bengal, 1937-1947 (New Delhi: Impex India, 1976). The full text of the letter is given in appendix IV, p. 264.

[3] Sharif-al-Mujahid, Quaid-I-Azam Jinnah (Karachi: Quaid-I-Azam Academy, 1981), p. 398, referred to the leader's disagreement with A.K. Fazlul Huq. The letter quoted here has been attributed to Huq's apology with no regret about the happenings. This shows the author's biased viewpoint.

[4] Humayun Kabir, p. 67.

[5] Humayun Kabir, p. 67.

[6] Abdul Hamid, Muslim Separatism in India (Dacca: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 234.

[7] Shila Sen, p. 233.

[8] Shila Sen, p. 243.

[9] Freeland Abbott, Islam and Pakistan (New York: Cornell University Press, 1968), p. 181.

[10] Kalim Bahadur, The Jama'at-i-Islami of Pakistan (New Delhi: Chetana Publications, 1977), p. 39.

[11] The Pakistan Constituent Assembly Gazette (Karachi, 1948).

CHAPTER 8

THE EMERGENCE OF BANGLADESH

[1] Humayun Kabir, Muslim Politics and Other Essays, 1906-1947 (Calcutta: Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay, 1969), p. 107.

[2] Gaziul Huq, Bangladesh Unchained (Calcutta: Indian Associated Publishing Co., 1971), p. 51.

[3] Kalim Bahadur, The Jama'at-i-Islami of Pakistan (New Delhi: Chetana Publications, 1977), p. 52.

[4] Gaziul Huq, p. 55.

[5] Abdul Karim, Social History of the Muslims in Bengal (Chittagong: Baitush Sharaf Islamic Research Institute, 1985), p. 65.

[6] Abdul Karim, p. 65.

[7] Abdul Karim, p. 164.

[8] Abdul Karim, p. 86. Chittagong was the major sea port of Bangla. The Sultans arranged sea voyages to far-away Arabia for pilgrimages.

[9] See appendix III.

[10] The Lahore Resolution assigned maximum autonomy to the units that would comprise Pakistan.

[11] Muhammad Ayoob, "From Martial Law to Bangladesh," The Challenge of Bangladesh (A Special Debate) ed. by Pran Chopra (Bombay: Popular Prakashani, 1971), pp. 40-59. Articles in this book provide details of the struggle of East Pakistan and its political developments.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSION

[1] Moin Shakir, From Khilafat to Partition (Delhi: Ajanta Publications, 1970), p. xix, referred to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, The Tarjumanul Qur'an, trans. into English by Syed Abdul Latif (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1962).

[2] M. Mujeeb, The Indian Muslims (London: George Allan and Unwin Ltd., 1967), pp. 317-318.

[3] Asim Roy, The Islamic Syncretistic Traditions in Bengal (Princeton, 1983), p. 180.

[4] Abdul Karim, Social History of the Muslims in Bengal (Chittagong: Baitush Sharaf Islamic Research Institute, 1985), p. 116.

[5] Asim Roy, p. 20.

[6] Jayanti Maitra, Muslim Politics in Bengal, 1855-1906 (Calcutta: K.P. Bagchi and Co., 1984), p. 12-18.

[7] Sheila McDonough, Muslim Ethics and Modernity: Comparative Study of the Ethical Thought of Sayyid Ahmed Khan and Mawlana Mawdudi (Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1984), p. 43.

[8] The issue of partition of Bengal (1906) was viewed from different aspects by the Hindu community. One such viewpoint was the belief that the British were calculatively dismembering the motherland by playing 'divide and rule' and giving the Muslims more privileges.

[9] Shan Muhammad, p. 21.

[10] Gaziul Huq, Bangladesh Unchained (Calcutta: Indian Associated Publishing Co., 1971), p. 30.

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APPENDIX I

Syed Ahmed Khan compiled this table in 1878 and gave this evidence before the Education Commission in 1882. [1]

NUMBER OF STUDENTS WHO GRADUATED FROM MISSIONARY AND GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES (1858-1878)

NAME OF UNIVERSITY DEGREE	TOTAL NUMBER OF GRADUATES	NUMBER OF MUHAMMEDAN GRADUATES	REMARKS
LAW			
Doctors	6	-	
Honours	4	-	
Bachelors	705	8	None from the N.W. Provinces
Licentiates	235	5	None from the N.W. Provinces
CIVIL ENGINEERING			
Bachelors	36	-	
Licentiates	51	-	
ARTS			
Masters	326	5	No Muhammedan has passed
Bachelors	1,343	30	either English or Science
MEDICINE			
Doctors	4	-	
Honours	2	-	
Bachelors	58	1	None from the N.W. Provinces
Licentiates	385	8	None from the N.W. Provinces
TOTAL:	3,155	57	

[1] Shan Muhammad, Syed Ahmed Khan: A Political Biography (Meerut: Meenakshi Prakashan, 1969), p. 56.

APPENDIX II

MUSLIM EDUCATION IN BENGAL (1870-1871) [1]

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

	HINDU CANDIDATES		MUSLIM CANDIDATES	
EXAMINATIONS	PASS	FAIL	PASS	FAIL
Entrance Exam, 1871	504	859	27	44
Fine Arts Exam, 1871	166	268	1	18
B.A. Degree, 1870	56	95	0	2
TOTAL:	726	1,222	28	64

COLLEGE EDUCATION ENROLLMENT

COLLEGE	HINDU STUDENTS	MUSLIM STUDENTS
Dacca	108	2
Hughly [2]	130	21
TOTAL:	238	23

ZILLA HIGH SCHOOL ENROLLMENT (1871)

SCHOOL	HINDU STUDENTS	MUSLIM STUDENTS
Chittagong	123	44
Noakhally	109	14
Mymensing	342	19
Burrisaul	347	27
Commillah	145	21
TOTAL:	1,066	125

RURAL SCHOOL ENROLLMENT (1871)

SCHOOL	HINDU STUDENTS	MUSLIM STUDENTS
Chittagong district	1,272	348
Sylhet district	1,344	208
TOTAL:	2,616	556

[1] Hafeez Mailk, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and Muslim Modernism in India and Pakistan (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980), p. 143.

[2] The college was founded by Muhammad Mohsin, a Muslim.

APPENDIX III

TABLE 1:
DEVELOPMENT EXPENDITURE IN EAST AND WEST PAKISTAN [1]

PLAN	FISCAL YEAR (July-June)	WEST PAKISTAN	EAST PAKISTAN
Pre-plan	1949-51 to 1954-55	80%	20%
1st Plan	1955-56 to 1959-60	74%	26%
2nd Plan	1960-61 to 1964-65	68%	32%
3rd Plan	1965-66 to 1969-70	64%	36%

TABLE 2:
ALLOCATION OF FUNDS FOR DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS [2]

PROJECT	WEST PAKISTAN	EAST PAKISTAN
Foreign exchange for various developments	80%	20%
Foreign aid (excluding U.S. aid)	96%	4%
U.S. aid	66%	34%
Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation	58%	42%
Pakistan Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation	80%	20%
Industrial Development Bank	76%	24%
Housebuilding	88%	12%
TOTAL AVERAGE:	77%	23%

TABLE 3:
GROWTH OF INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENTS [3]

INDUSTRIAL UNITS' PRODUCTION	WEST PAKISTAN 1947 1948	1966 1967	IN-CREASE	EAST PAKISTAN 1947 1948	1966 1967	IN-CREASE
Cotton textiles (in million yards)	350	6,836	1,853%	508	550	8%
Sugar production (in thousand tons)	10	304	2,940%	25	112	348%
Cement production (in thousand tons)	305	1,934	534%	46	75	63%

[1] Government of Pakistan, Planning Commission, Report of Advisory Panels for the Fourth Five-Year Plan (Karachi: July, 1970), table 1 of the "Harvard Paper."

[2] Subrata Roy Chowdhury, The Genesis of Bangladesh (New York: Asia Publishing House, 1972), the "Harvard Paper."

[3] Subrata Roy Chowdhury, the "Harvard Paper."