

Quest for Philosophy behind Partition of Bengal: Hindu-Muslim Relation in Bengal (1906-1947)

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Abstract—The partition of Bengal and India took place on August 14, 1947. However, there has been a limited amount of scholarly research conducted on the philosophical dimensions pertaining to the motivations and obligations underlying the partition of Bengal. The partition of Bengal can be attributed to several hypotheses, which can be broadly classified into three categories. One faction attributed accountability to Congress and Hindu Mahasabha, while another faction attributed blame to the Britishers, and a third group held the Muslim leadership accountable. However, the information encountered was not as straightforward as initially perceived. The partition of Bengal was influenced by a multitude of factors. The objective of this study is to investigate the philosophical factors that contributed to the development of a collective awareness of division and separation between Muslims and non-Muslims, ultimately resulting in the partition of India as well as the regions of Punjab and Bengal.

Keywords: Partition of Bengal, Philosophical Dimensions, Congress, Hindu Mahasabha, Muslim Leadership

I. INTRODUCTION

Partition of Bengal and India took place on 14 August 1947. However, very little work has been done to find the philosophical aspects of the reasons or responsibilities behind the partition of Bengal. (1) Asok Mitra in *ff* (Three Score and Ten) and Tapan Roychowdhury in *A* (Bangalnama) lament for the partition of Bengal. They believe that if the idea of United Sovereign Bengal, which was mooted by Abul Hashem, Suhrawardy, Kiran Sankar Roy and Sarat Chandra Bose, would materialize, Bengal would be far better place to live in than what it is now. They blamed the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha for partitioning Bengal. Joya Chatterjee in her book "Bengal Divided: Hindu Communalism and Partition: 1932-1947" categorically blamed the Bengali Hindus under the leadership of the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha for partitioning Bengal. (2) Jahanara Begum in her book "The Last Decades of undivided Bengal: Parties, Politics, and Personalities" concluded that "the British were the real planners of the partition of the Province" (p-176). (3) Suniti Kumar Ghosh in his book *semframar sis* "Political and Economic Aspect of Partition of Bengal", opined that this possibility was destroyed by the top leaders of the Congress and would force Bengal to suffer an endless tragedy. (The highest leaders of the Congress had throttled the possibility of a United Sovereign Bengal and forced Bengal to be a prey of an endless tragedy.) (P-294). According to him, the Congress helped the Marwari businessmen like the Birlas and the Goenkas in exploiting Bengal as their happy hunting ground. To him, the Hindu Mahasabha also played the game of the Congress. He stated, Shamsad himself was in the camp of Swapadas in the camp of Bivla Goekads, who are responsible for the division of Bajna, he and the Hindu Mahasabha played their supporting role. (Syamaprasad was in the camp of the carnivores in the camp of the Birlas and the Goenkas. He and the Hindu Mahasabha had played the role of supporters of those who were responsible for the partition of Bengal) (P-307). According to him, the interests of the big business communities ultimately led to the partition of Bengal. -to Jahanara Begum "the British were the real planners of the partition of the province" of Bengal, then it could be equally argued that the same British rule was the real planners of the partition of India or for that matter were really responsible for the "Pakistan Resolution at Lahore Congress in 1940. The Muslim League would not be reconciled until their demand for Pakistan was accepted. Like Suniti Kumar Ghosh, Abul Hashem and Suhrawardy had raised such false accusation that the Birlas and the Goenkas were foreigners to Bengal, before the partition in 1947. However, Marwari capitalists also did not want to part with the whole or any part of Bengal. It should be noted that Suhrawardy himself made frantic appeal to Lord Mountbatten to assure him that British Industrialists along with their American counterparts should come to the aid to his proposed sovereign Bengal. At that time, he did not feel that foreign business capital was detrimental to the economy of Bengal. The fact was that Suhrawardy wanted Bengal to remain united because he did not want to lose the Jute Mills along the banks of the Hooghly River where foreign (British) capital was so predominantly active. The other motto of the Muslim League was to exploit the Hindu population and their property of the western part of Bengal if they could wrest the whole of Bengal from the rest of India in the pretext of a United Sovereign Bengal, which would be a virtual Pakistan. The real cause lay elsewhere. The Hindus (Bengali or Indian) were against any kind of separation or partition. In 1905, Bengali Hindus did not want a separation with the Muslims. However, Bengali Hindus became tired of Muslim League's tyranny and oppression. In pre-Independent India, the Muslim Ministry left no stone unturned to Muslimise the administration, the police, the representative bodies, the school, the government offices etc. They preferred to appoint Muslims in government jobs and representative bodies through backdoor of nomination and reservation avoiding competition as most of them have no requisite qualification. They tried to Islamise the education and culture by compelling students of every community to study Islam in every government institutions. They forced Hindus to embrace Islam through encroaching, looting and plundering the belongings of the Hindus, and terrorizing Hindus by raping, ravaging and forcefully marrying Hindu women and killing the Hindus en-masse. They hated anything that is

Hindu or secular. The Muslim Ministry in Bengal made Bengal a virtual Pakistan or the Muslim Raj even before independence. Even after the Great Calcutta Killing in which the Muslim Leaguers indiscriminately killed the Hindus, Bengali Hindus did not want to accept their demand for Pakistan. However, Hindus feared that in the proposed Sovereign United Bengal, the Muslims would annihilate everything that is Hindu in name and nomenclature. Experience had taught the Bengali Hindus that their life, property, women, religion would be destroyed in the proposed United Sovereign Bengal. This fear of total annihilation made Bengali Hindus opt partition of Bengal. Naba Kumar Adak in his book "Syamaprasad Mukherjee: His Role in Bengal Politics, 1929-1953" has explained this issue with sufficient evidences. Therefore, they demanded the separation of the Hindu-dominated western part from the Muslim-dominated eastern part of Bengal, However, even then, they wished that both halves of Bengal would remain in India. Even after when the partition took place and the eastern part of Bengal formed the East-Pakistan, Hindus wished that one day both halves would be united. Their hopes have not yet been realized. Rafiq Zakaria in his book "The Man Who Divided India" argued that M.A. Jinnah had been solely responsible for the Division of India. Ayesha Jalal in her book "The Sole Spokesman: Jinnah, the Muslim League and the demand for Pakistan", made Jinnah a hero, who (according to Jalal) did not intend to divide India but was circumstanced to make the demand. These two writers with their differences of opinion, at least do not subscribe to any of the above three reasons or causes for the partition of India or for that matter for the partition of Bengal. Zakaria and Jalal want us to believe that there I would be no demand for creation of Pakistan if there were no Jinnah by name. However, reality, Jinnah was the product or culmination of the aggregate Muslim mentality that was governed by the canons of the Shariat i.e. the Quran and the Hadis. Jinnah commended support of almost 98% of the Muslims in India in the general election of 1946. Jinnah did not kill any non-Muslim yet the Great Calcutta Killing had taken place. In an interview with Mountbatten, Jinnah also confided that other Muslim League leaders would not accept if he took any decision without the prior approval of the Muslim League Committee. This is a proof that even if there were no Jinnah by name, the Muslims would carry out their religious mission of getting a 'pak'-land (dar-ul- Islam) for them. It reveals that, up till now, there is a serious lacking in searching the real cause supported by historical facts. The purpose of my study, therefore, is to search the philosophy that was responsible for the growth of a general consciousness of separation and partition between the Muslims and the Non-Muslims and ultimately led to partition of India as well as the Punjab and Bengal.

II. PLAN OF THE STUDY/ RESEARCH

My area of study is Hindu-Muslim relation in Bengal and covers the period between 1906 (the year of establishment of the Muslim League) and 1947 (the year of partition of Bengal). I will divide my studies regarding the root cause of the partition of Bengal in several chapters. There will be an introduction where I will deal with the existing literature about the partition of Bengal. There I will show what points are lacking in their treatment of the issue and suggest what type of enquiry I should make for a fuller understanding of the issue of the Hindu-Muslim relation in Bengal during the period of my study. Humayun Kabir, in his book "Muslim Politics (1906-47) and other essays", highlighted the myth that the Hindus knowingly and deliberately hindered the interests of the Muslims during the period between permanent settlement and the Sepoy mutiny. Humayun Kabir held the view that he "can trace the gradual elimination of Muslims from every position of vantage through state action in the successive instruments of permanent settlement, Resumption Proceedings, and education circulars. The Permanent Settlement resulted in many families, mainly Muslim, losing their land and their substitution by a new class of landlords who owed their origin to and depended for their survival on British power. The Resumption Proceedings impoverished the few Muslim families, which had survived the Permanent Settlement and tended to destroy the economic basis of all Muslim institutions of knowledge and learning. The substitution of English for Persian in educational institutions and government business contributed still further to the discomfiture of the Muslims in almost every field" (P-15)

The three measures, which Humayun Kabir referred to as the cause of the ruin of the Muslims of Bengal, were equally detrimental to the Hindus also. It is not a fact that all the Muslims lost their zamindari and that all the new zamindars were Hindus. The number of Muslim zamindars was less than the Hindus not only in Bengal but also throughout India especially in Bihar and Orissa, which were under the direct operation of the Permanent Settlement. The Resumption Proceedings hit both the Muslims and the Hindus equally. If the number of Hindu zamindaris was more than the Muslim zamindaris, that was not a fault of the Hindus. Murshid Quli Khan appointed Hindus as revenue farmers, certainly not because he had a deep sympathy for the Hindus, but because the Hindus were more efficient in revenue farming than the Muslims were. Therefore, it is obvious that in the competition, the Hindus would be in an advantageous position than the Muslims. The Hindus did not snatch zamindari from the Muslims. Besides, Zamindari was not at all much remunerative. During the rule of the Nawabs, many Hindu zamindars failed to pay their dues. Nilmani Mukherjee explained that, during the British rule, landlordism was a distressed one. The Muslims had been more a ruling class than a class of revenue farmers. The overall financial position of the Muslims reduced not because they lost zamindari, but because they lost their rule over Bengal and elsewhere to the British. However, though the ruling Muslims lost their rule, yet the wealth and property they had accumulated remained with them. The Hindus did not gain anything from the loss of the Muslims. They were not the rulers, yet as a result of British conquest, they also lost their earnings. Those Hindus who were attached to the courts, offices and households of the Muslim ruling class also lost their earning because of the fall of the Muslim rulers. The overall financial positions of the Hindus were also equally reduced. However, some Hindus found ways of alternative earning by accepting English education and getting jobs in the courts, offices and households of the British.

However, the Islamic philosophical base of the administration of the land had been lost forever. The new British administration followed a secular administration that was 'na-pak' to the Muslim. The Muslims were dying for regaining an Islamic administration. So long, the British were there, the Muslims had no hope of getting an Islamic administration in India. Therefore, they raised the slogan of "Islam is in danger". They became determined to have an Islamic administration when the British were gone. Therefore, they took up the quarrels with the Hindus without any valid ground. They even accused the Hindus of being anti-Muslim because the Hindus wanted to live united with them. This is the only reason that prompted them to oppose anti-partition movement and to establish the Muslim League. The education circulars, referred by Humayun Kabir, were aimed at promoting secular education and were not meant for the promotion of Hindu education. The Hindus took the advantage of the circular. The substitution of English for Persian was natural. The British Govt. of India was growing in extent and strength. Therefore, it was quite natural that their administration would one day be run in their own language, as it had been the case in the Pre-British period when Muslim rulers used Persian as court language neglecting the local languages of the concerned regions. During the Pre-British time, both Hindus and Muslims in Bengal (and in India) had to learn Persian language though Persian was not the mother tongue of the Hindus who were the majority in India. It was also not the mother tongue of the majority of the Muslims of India, because more than 90% of the Muslims were converts. If substitution of Persian by the English had caused any discomfiture in the Muslim community, then, it also hit hard the Hindus similarly English was not the mother tongue of any Hindu either. If Hindus could adopt English in place of Persian, why did the Muslims not adopt English? The religious belief of the Muslims taught them that English was not an Islamic language.

They also thought that to speak Bengali was a sin, though Bengali was the mother tongue of most of the Bengali Muslims. The Muslims complained that Bankim Chandra and Vidyasagar used Sanskrit terms in their writings. Therefore, the Muslims could not read it. However, they themselves introduced many Arabic, Persian and Urdu terms in the Bengali language to orient the Bengali language 'Musalmāni e as Bangla'. They transformed Hindi into Musalmāni Hindi known as Urdu by introducing many Arabic and Persian terms into Hindi. It was the same religious feeling of the Muslims that prevented them from following secular education. British Indian Govt made provision for govt grants to those institutions, which followed secular education. Hindus availed of this opportunity. But the Muslims could not use such grants as their educational institutions followed Islamic education and secularism is a sin to them.

The British and the Hindus did not deliberately follow a policy that went against the educational and cultural interests of the Muslims. The fact was that the Muslims deliberately followed the policy of isolation from the educational and cultural atmosphere (even though it was secular) of the country. Syed Amir Ali donated lakhs of rupees (Abu Yusuf Alam's book "Muslims and Bengal Politics, 1912-1924") not for the promotion of secular education but for the promotion of Islamic education. However, in the Muslim society, very few persons donated for the promotion of even Islamic education (in Abul Mansur's book). Men like Sayid Amir Ali were the rare exception in this case. But in the Hindu community liberal grants were made for the promotion of both Hindu and secular education. Muslims were not barred to take admission in those secular institutions. Many of the Muslim leaders and intellectuals were the product of such secular institutions that were run by the donations of only the Hindus. In the one hand, the Muslims were alleging that they were not given education so that they may compete with the Hindus in grabbing govt employments, on the other hand, they deliberately neglected secular education, which would help them getting govt. employments. Therefore, they depended on demanding reservation in govt. jobs, Assembly elections, ministry and every occupation. Therefore, the Muslim education was hindered as a result of education circulars, because that education was Islamic. Though Muslims themselves kept outside the secular education, yet they alleged that Hindus deliberately neglected their educational interests. In the first chapter, which will follow the introduction, I will deal with the history preceding the establishment of Muslim League in December 1906. It was a fact that before 1857, communal bitterness was very less in intensity. However, that does not mean that there was a complete communal harmony. The apparent peace between the Muslims and the Non-Muslims depended on some historical facts. Both the Hindus and the Muslims resisted hand in hand the conquest of India by the British. They were sullen. In the Sepoy mutiny, Emperor Bahadur Shah II was hailed as the idol of the mutineers (both the Hindus and the Muslims). So, Muslims had no ground to go against the Hindus, though only a century earlier than the Sepoy Mutiny, when most of the rulers were the Muslims, the Hindus were treated as the subservient community by the Muslim rulers. Even during the early 18th century Bengal, the high caste Hindus were forced to embrace Islam to escape punishment mainly for the default of payment. When the British captured power from the Muslim rulers, the Muslims as well as the Hindus became the subjects of the British, there was apparent peace between the two communities because Muslims needed the help of the Hindus against the British onslaught. However, the Wahhabis, the Faraizis, the Deobondis and the Adamidis's preached for the unity and solidarity among the Muslims and for strict observance of the doctrines of Islam by the Muslims. In the second half of the 19th century, Bengal experienced a renaissance among the Muslims. The main aim of this renaissance was to shake off those Hindu rituals and practices that the Muslim-converts were continuing to observe for long after they had disavowed Hinduism. The Muslim preachers began to highlight that Islam had lost its originality, the originality that they thought prevailed during the time of the prophet and Khalifas. To make their religion as pure as it was during those Khalifas, educated Muslims of Bengal began to say that Hinduism and the Hindus were 'na-pak' (or impure) and to save the Islam and the Muslims from the influences of the 'na-pak' Hindus and Hinduism they should even avoid the association of the Hindus and the Hinduism. This renaissance

Islam was reflected in the thoughts of the educated Muslims like sir Syed Ahmed who advised the Muslims not to associate themselves with the Congress that was according to him (or them) was a Hindu organization. He went further. He told everything that was Hindu, should be opposed.

In this ideological framework of the Muslims in general, throughout India and especially in Bengal, WW. Hunter in his book "Indian Mussalmans" pointed out that after the Mutiny of 1857, the British neglected the interests of Muslims and upheld the interests of Hindus, as the British held the Muslims responsible for the upheaval Hunter suggested that the British should take the Muslims into confidence and should buy their allegiance through giving them facilities which the Muslims otherwise would not or could not get in competition with the Hindus. Thus, the renaissance among the Muslims in collaboration with the British design to use the Muslims to counteract the growing movements of the Hindus against the British made the separatism (which was latent in Islam) pronounced and the trend of opposing the Hindu interests took root in Bengal.

W. W. Hunter wrote "Indian Mussalmans urging the British government to trust and favour the Muslims, When Muslim and Non-Muslim united movement would be more effective to compel the British government to make concessions, the Muslims chose to go alone. Besides, when the Non-Muslims (the majority of the Indian population) came under the umbrella of the Congress to make movements against the British government. Syed Ahmed Khan advised the Muslims not to associate with the Congress and to oppose the Congress and to obey the British government as a policy of getting concessions for the Muslims. During the period between 1970's and the establishment of the Muslim League, the Muslims of Bengal (especially the educated and reascent ones) developed a notion that their primary duty was to maintain their identity as Muslims. The land of their living (ie. Bengal or any other part of the world) is immaterial to them as their identity. They took pride in establishing the idea that Urdu was the language of Islamic religion. They tried to Islamise their mother tongues (Bengali, Hindi etc) by introducing Persian Arabic terms replacing the terms in their mother tongue. Educated Muslims were reluctant to write in Bengali. Thus by their thoughts and practices they themselves made a separate identity of their own different from Bengal and Bengali language. By this very practice and thought, the Muslims separated themselves from the non-Muslims of the land (in this case Bengal). The non-Muslims of Bengal took pride to be Bengali by origin. They used to relate their identity with the myths and customs (which took shape throughout the ages since the ancient times) of the land. The Muslims felt no attachment with the mythological, cultural and ethnic past of the land. They drew their ancestry from the land of the Islamic religion of the past (especially of the Arab during the time of the first four Khalifas). They also developed a thought that all the spiritual, ethical and mythological past of Bengal as well as of India were untrue, false and it was a sin to talk about the heritage and traditions of Bengal as well as India. The Muslim saints preached that everything that was Hindu was 'na-pak' and Muslims should give up observing Hindu practices and customs to make Islam free of any sin. They went further by preaching and believing that to wage war against the non-Muslims was a holy act and it is a religious duty of a Muslim to fight against the non-believer (non-Muslims or the idolaters) so much so that in or around the 1906 (when Muslim League was established) they felt that they should take part in Jihad AbulHasem stated that, in his childhood they had been taught in the Madrasha a rhyme: "Allah jodidoakare Lahore jaibo, sekhanejehadkarbo, morlehaboshahidAmarlehabogazi" (With the blessings of Allah, I will go to Lahore, there I will wage 'jihad' (holy war). If I die, I will be a 'shahid' (martyr) and if I kill, I will be a 'gazi'). If those kinds of lessons were imparted to a Muslim child in a Madrasha in a far remote corner of Bengal, then it can be easily assumed that such an idea was prevalent among the poor uneducated Muslims throughout Bengal. In such a background of an anti-non-Muslim mentality of the Muslims, MahasinUl-Mulk, Secretary of the Aligarh Collage and the three consecutive British Principals of Aligarh Collage Theodore Beck, Morrison and Archibald helped promote the communal feeling in Aligarh Collage and made Lord Minto accept Simla deputation on 01.10.1906. They also helped to form a political organization purely for the Muslims. On 30 December 1906, Muslim League was established at Dacca under the leadership of the Nawab of Dacca, Salimullah. Aga Khan became the first President of the League and MahasinUl-Mulk and Vikar-Ul-Mulk became to Joint Secretaries of the League. Lord Minto was requested to accept the Muslim League as the sole representative of the Muslims of the whole of India Thus with the active British help the League which was out and out an anti Hindu and anti-Congress organization was accepted by the British Govt as the sole representative of the Muslims of the wholeIndia. In Simla deputation, the Muslim demanded their appointment in military and civil services without going through the competitive examinations that the Hindus had to go. through They demanded special electorate for the Muslims as they thought that any Muslim elected by the joint electorate would not reflect the real interest of the Muslims They also demanded a separate university where Islamic education would be imparted to the Muslim students. Lord Minto and other British Officials promised to fulfill these demands at their earliest. The declared aims of the Muslim League were opposition to the Congress, loyalty to the British Government, and secure favor for the Muslims from the British Government.

In 1905, the partition of Bengal took place. Some Muslims joined the anti-partition movement. But. soon they realized that their interest would be best served if they would side with the British Govt as the British officials including Lord Curzon promised them many advantages and privileges that the Muslims would otherwise not deserve. Therefore, the Muslims, who earlier had joined the anti-partition movement changed the side and very soon joined the League. Morley-Minto Act accepted their demand for a separate electorate. They even grudging the annulment of partition in 1911 as their predominance in the East Bengal and Assam had been lost because of the annulment.

Historians of the anti-partition Swadeshi movement are under the notion that the Hindu rituals highlighted by the Hindus during the Swadeshi era, like Shivaji and Ganesh Utsav, and that taking oath by the extremist in the name of Kali etc embittered the Muslims so much so that they chose not to make compromise with the Hindus. No other assertion of the historians is as grossly misled as this notion is. Muslims had been organized much before the partition of Bengal in the name of Islam, they dissociated themselves from the secular political organization like the Congress blaming that it was out and out a Hindu organization. They remained outside the Congress not because the Congress was a Hindu organization but because they were anti-Hindu. The Congress did not take any step, which might go against the legitimate interest of the Muslim. The Congress kept open its membership to every community. During Swadeshi Movement also, Hindus, though they highlighted some Hindu deities, did not ask the Muslims not to organize protest movements in the name of their religion. The Muslims had protested the British in the name of their religion long before the Swadeshi movement. Titu Mir is one of the examples. They organized protests in the name of their religion even after Swadeshi movement. The Khilafat movement is one of the examples. The Hindus did not complain that Muslims should not organize protests in the name of religion. On the other hand, the Hindus and the Congress supported their cause wholeheartedly M K Gandhi became the President of the Khilafat Committee. But, the Muslims (whether they are associated with the Muslim League or with other Muslim parties) did not support any Hindu movement. The fact is that even if the Hindus would give them the lion share of the total national interest sacrificing their (Hindus) own yet the Muslims would not compromise with the Hindus because of two reasons. First, the Hindus are 'impure' and Muslims cannot live in the association of a Hindu. Second, British Raj would offer more opportunity than what the Hindus would give them because the ultimate donor was the British Raj. The British Raj also needed the help of the Muslims to combat the anti-British movement of the Hindus. The allegations of the Muslims that they were ill-treated by the Hindus were just pretexts for not joining hands with the Hindus in the movement against the Raj. The Muslim leaders tried to convince the Muslims that after independence the Hindus will take revenge and torture the Muslims, in the same way, the Muslims tortured the Hindus during the Muslim rule. Therefore, they raised the slogan of "Islam is in danger".

When the Sultan of Turkey joined Germany against the allied force and the Britain had to wage war against Turkey, the Muslim League leaders put pressure on the British for doing no harm to Turkey, because the Sultan was the Khalifa (religious head of the Muslims all over the world). Therefore, they supported the Congress in its movement against the British Raj. But, even in their hour of need they bargained from the deal with the Congress. They (the Muslims) demanded more favor than what they deserved, from the Hindus at the cost of the interest of the Hindus. They got more seats than what their numerical strength would command, reducing the number of seats of representation of the Hindus in those provinces where Muslims were in a minority. They also made the Congress accept separate electorate for the Muslims. Thus by joining the movement against the Raj, they improved their position better than before. The Muslim League, who vowed to remain loyal to the Raj, became anti-British for a purely religious cause that had nothing to do with the Indian National interest. The cause was confessedly anti-national in the sense that they remained stuck to their idea that Muslims are a separate community and that too was not as Indian Muslims but as a part of the Islamic solidarity (brotherhood) throughout the world. According to Lucknow Pact, the Congress had indirectly accepted the Muslim League as the sole representative body of all the Muslims throughout India. It implied that the Congress was the representative of the non-Muslims of India, especially of the Hindus. The Congress, though it asserted that it was the representative of all the communities including the Muslims, could not make the Muslim League accept that Muslim representatives should be elected through the system of joint electorate or that some Muslim representatives should come from the Congress also. Thus, Congress had to accept indirectly that a Muslim candidate elected through joint electorate could not uphold the true interests of the Muslims and that only a Muslim elected by the Muslims only could uphold the true interests of the Muslims of India. Reserved seats for the Muslims were to be filled in by the Muslim candidates elected by only the Muslim voters and not by the Muslim candidates elected by the Hindu voters.

The British Govt. announced the Montague-Chelmsford Reform of 1919 incorporating the decisions of the Lucknow Pact. Thus the Muslim League, by giving lip-promises to forge an alliance with the Congress to fight against the British, had succeeded in making the Congress and the British Raj accept their demands. Therefore, when after non-cooperation Movement had been called off, the Muslims and the Muslim League began to fight against the Hindus and the Congress; the Congress could not withdraw or withhold the advantages that it had already given to the Muslims of India by the Pact of Lucknow. Before the non-Cooperation Movement was launched, the Krishak-Praja Party had been established in Bengal under the leadership of FazlulHaq. That party was a party to look into the interests of mainly the Muslims. It had been claimed that this party was organized to secure the interests of the Krishaks and Projas of all religion, but the manifesto of the party clearly showed that the interests of the Muslim Krishaks and Projas were its principal concern. While Muslim League represented the Zamindar, wealthy and upper section of the Indian (including Bengalees) Muslims, the Krishak- Projas party of Bengal represented the poor and agrarian Muslims of Bengal. Krishak- Proja Party also did not disavow their demand of separate electorate. Thus, while Muslim League mustered the support of the Muslims of higher strata, the Krishak-Proja Party mustered the support of the Muslims of lower strata. Both the parties without accepting the secular creed of the Congress had succeeded in getting concessions for their own community at the expense of the Hindus whom they professedly considered as their enemy. The Congress in the false hope of forging an alliance on the national level with the Muslims had been keeping on granting concession after concession to the Muslims who never after non-Cooperation movement joined any movement led by the Congress,

Taking advantage of the Khilafat Movement, Muslims of India consolidated the Muslims against the Hindus. In rural areas, Mullahs and Maulvis preached that even Gandhi (the leader of the Congress) had accepted that the interest of the Islam and the Muslims should be safeguarded and flourished. Thus, under the leadership of Gandhi as the president of the Khilafat Committee, the Muslims strengthened themselves by uniting under the banner of the Muslim League (whom the Congress leadership practically accepted as the sole representative of the Muslims throughout India). During the Khilafat movement, the Congress hailed the spirit of Islam so much so that the Muslims began to take up quarrels with the Hindus in different parts of India even when Khilafat Movement was going on in full swing. Immediately after the Khilafat Movement was called off, the Muslims began to fight with the Hindus in the region where Moplahs used to reside. During this period, to appease the Muslim a university was set up at Aligarh, another university was set up at Dhaka to impart Islamic education to the Muslim student. Thus during the period of Khilafat Movement Islam and Muslim League were strengthened as anti-national institutions.

Sh After the Khilafat Movement is over, the Muslims returned to their old policy of opposing the Hindus. Many riots took place throughout India during the next few years. The Congress of Bengal was divided on the issue of entering the legislature to implement their non-co- operation creed Many Congress MLAs boycotted the Assembly. Thus after the election on the basis of Montague-Chelmsford reform, the Legislature of Bengal was mainly run by the Muslim MLA's and the Govt. parties. This predominance of the Muslim MLA's and the Govt parties continued even after the election of 1937 was held based on the India Act of 1935 barring a brief period of Syama-Haq ministry up to 1947. During this period, the British in cooperation with the Muslim members ran the Govt of Bengal without being opposed even on those issues where Hindu interests were severely neglected or ignored. The Education Commission (the Sadler Commission) suggested that the number of Muslim members in the university education system was much less than their numerical strength in the province. The commission suggested that incorporation of some more Muslim member in the education system was necessary The Muslim MLAs interpreted this suggestion of the Education Commission that the number of Muslim members in the education system should reflect the numerical strength of the Muslims of the province. Govt. also tried to incorporate Muslim members in the education system by nominating more Muslim-members and decreasing the number of Hindu members by nomination.

Muslims could not be elected in those seats that were to be filled in through election process because there were very few Muslim candidates who were eligible to contest the election. During the election of the Senate and Syndicate of the Calcutta University in most of the seats, Muslims even could not place any candidate for election Thus, the number of the Muslim members did not reach to such a number, which will correspond to their population strength of the province of Bengal. Muslim members of the Assembly (both of the Muslim League and the Krishak-Proja Party) demanded that in that case some seats (for election) should be reserved only for the Muslims. Thus, Muslim members took up a quarrel with the Calcutta University authority and alleged that Calcutta University did not give sufficient importance to the education of the Muslim students. Though the University education followed a policy of secular education, the Muslim MLAs demanded that there should be curriculum, which would include Urdu, Arabic and Islamic History, so that Muslim students could take interest in coming to study in the University. They even demanded that in the educational curriculum, subjects like vernacular and history contained communal (Hindu) bias that (if the Muslim students would read them) would Hinduize the Muslim students By alleging the curriculum of the Matriculation education of its communal character, the Muslim MLAs demanded that in the Matriculation education system the Muslims should be represented according to their population strength in the province. They wanted to separate the Matriculation system of education from the Calcutta University system and hand it over to the Govt, so that with the active connivance with the Muslim officers and the Muslim MLAs they could shape the curriculum of the Matriculation education system purely into an Islamic education. While the Muslim MLAs were accusing the secular curricula of being communal in nature, at the same time they tried to re-orient the curricula purely in an Islamic one. C. R. Das made an understanding with the Krishak-Proja Party in 1923. This understanding is known as 'the Bengal Pact. He suggested that the number of Muslim members in the Union Boards, Calcutta Corporation, and other representative organizations should be enhanced through a quota system. C. R. Das agreed to share 80% of the total employment with the Muslims, retaining only 20% for the Non-Muslims in Bengal. This concession, promised by C R Das, made Muslims members jubilant Citing the example of C. R. Das, they demanded more representation and appointment commensurable to the ratio of the Muslim population of Bengal. 12

During the Moplah uprising, more than 20,000 Hindus were forced to embrace Islam. Swami Shraddhananda organized a 'Suddhi' campaign to bring those converts back into the Hindu fold again. This act of making 'Suddhi' was strongly resented by the Muslims all over India. Muslims even demanded to ban a book written by Swami Shraddhananda. During this period, the Hindu Mahasabha was established. Muslims of Bengal labelled the Swarajists as Arya Samajists and Hindu Sabhaites though the Arya Samaj and the Hindu Mahasabha were purely defensive organizations of the Hindus and the Swarajists were inclined to appease the Muslims at the expense of the Hindu interests and Indian Nationalism.

When the Simon Commission came in 1929, J. L. Nehru prepared a report on the basis of an All Party Convention which accepted many of the demands of the Muslims by reducing the genuine interests of the Hindus But, M. A. Jinnah placed a separate charter of demands namely Fourteen Points demand One demand was to give majority seats to the Muslims in the provinces where they were in majority without reducing their advantageous position (number of members) which the Muslims were enjoying in the provinces where they were in minority according the settlement between the Congress & the Muslim League in Lucknow Pact

of 1916. Thus, Muslims developed a habit of demanding more concession when their earlier demands for more concession were accepted and a habit of never to be satisfied until they demanded Pakistan, a separate homeland only for the Muslims and where the administration would run on the Sariat

The 14 points of the Muslim League and the Nehru Report gave the British an excuse that there were differences between the demands of the Congress and the Muslim League. So, they formulated a policy of Communal Award during the Round Table conferences. At that time, the Congress was waging the Civil Disobedience Movement To reduce the strength of the Congress, Macdonald (the Prime Minister of England) raised the number of Muslim seats in the Assemblies of the States and the Center Not satisfied with that, to curb the power of the Congress further, the Macdonald Award reserved legislative seats for the scheduled castes by separating scheduled castes from the Hindu fold. This award also gave the Sikhs separate electorate, and thus weakened the Congress or the Hindus. The position of the Hindus became worse by the decision of the Mahatma Gandhi. He began fasting for achieving a compromise between the high-caste Hindus and the Scheduled Castes, and then by an understanding with Ambedkar was bound to raise the number of seats for the scheduled castes (it was doubled in case of Bengal). Only after having these concessions for the scheduled castes, Ambedkar, on behalf of the scheduled castes. agreed to the system of joint electorate. The seats thus gained by the scheduled castes were lost to the Hindus. Jinnah came back to politics after his long retirement from politics. His comeback inspired the Muslims all over India The Muslim MLAs constantly fought for Muslimise the Education system (both Calcutta University & Matriculation Board) of Bengal and Islamise the curriculum of education (both Calcutta University and Matriculation education).

The Congress protested vehemently against the communal Award but ultimately accepted it and participated in the election that was held in 1936 under the provision of Govt of India Act of 1935. In the election, none of the three major parties (the Congress, the Muslim League, and the Krishak-Proja Party) got sufficient seats to be able to form the Govt in Bengal However, the largest number of seats went to the Krishak-Proja Party FazlulHuq, the leader of the Krishak-Proja Party, apparently sought the cooperation of the Congress to form a coalition Govt. It was pointed out by the historians that the central leadership of the Congress forbade the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee to forge any coalition Govt. with the Muslims. However, the fact was that Sarat Chandra Bose the real leader of the Congress Party in Bengal, requested Huq to make the issue of releasing the political persons imprisoned during Civil Disobedience movement as a point of demand of the Coalition Government. FazlulHaq declined to accept that condition because the Muslims, whether they were under the Muslim League or under the Krishak-Proja Party, did not think it proper to go against the British. Therefore, Sarat Chandra Bose did not forge a coalition with FajlulHaq. It was also said that FazlulHaq gave a condition that Zamindary should be abolished and Sarat Chandra Bose did not agree to it, and that was the main reason of not having a coalition between the Congress and the Krishak-Proja Party. However, FazlulHaq forged an alliance with the Muslim League even though the Muslim League was vehemently against the abolition of the Zamindary. To fazlulHaq, abolition of Zamindary was not as important as it was to prove that the Hindus were against the interests of the poor Muslim peasants. But, the fact remains that many of the Muslim MLAs and their relatives were Zamindars and that though barring a brief period of Syama-Haq Ministry the Legislative Assembly was predominated by the Muslim MLAs and their supporting European group, yet the Assembly did not pass the Zamindary Abolition Bill. From the very beginning, the Muslim MLAs demanded that the number of the Muslim employees and representatives in the Calcutta University, the Education system and the departments of the government of the province should be proportionate to the numerical strength of the Muslim population of Bengal. They took the policy of not granting sufficient fund to the Calcutta University. At the same time, they made lavish grants to the University of Dhaka. They tried to establish their allegation that the Calcutta University was acting in a way that was anti-Muslim in nature. Throughout the period up to the partition of Bengal, Muslim MLAs tried to Muslimise the education department, institutions, and their managing committees. They tried to introduce only Islamic education throughout Bengal. Thus, they tried to do away the secular education of the Hindus and to impart Islamic education even to the Hindu students. In 1940, FazlulHaq Ministry brought "Secondary Education Bill, 1940 to convert the secular nature of education system to a purely Islamic one. FazlulHaq swore by his religion that, "they would be untrue to Islam and untrue to their heritage if they do not place this Bill permanently on the Statute Book (Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol. 60, No. 4, 04.09.1941, P. 151) The Congress MLAs and Syamaprasad Mookerjee seriously challenged and contested this effort of the Muslim members. Therefore, the Secondary Education Bill (S. P. Mookerjee called it a "Back Bill", SaratBasu called it a "Cobra Bill") could not be passed.

To prove that the Congress ministries in other provinces were discriminating and torturing the Muslims, the Muslim League, formed enquiry committees to show how much injustices were being done to the Muslims in those provinces where non-Muslim Govt were in power. Thus in the Pirpur Report, the Shareef Report and a third report which were the personal productions of Mr. FazlulHaq, purporting the grievances of the Moslems in most of the Congress provinces, were published. However, Sir Reginald Coupland in "India A Restatement stated that "in dealing with communal issues Ministers had normally acted with impartiality and a desire to do what was fair" (P-185) Sir Reginald Coupland also opined that the Congress, not the League, was the champion of the poor and had put in hand a drastic policy of agrarian reform which would benefit Moslem peasants equally with Hindus" in the Congress provinces. In Bengal Congress could do nothing because the Congress had no member in the ministry (P-182). The Muslim Ministry of Bengal under FazlulHuq. Suhrawardy and Nazimuddin acted in various capacities so that Congress prisoners might not be free. Even they helped the Govt. to pass most stringent laws to curb any anti-govt. agitation. When the

Congress decided to leave the Govt. where they were in Ministry in 1939, the Muslims of Bengal along with their counterparts throughout India observed the "Deliverance Day". In 1942 when the Congress started the quit India Movement, Bengal Muslim Leaders like Sir Nazimuddin wanted to crush the Movement in Bengal (TOP, Vol.-II). When FazlulHaq formed a coalition ministry with SyamaprasadMookerjee, Muslims of Bengal condemned FazlulHaq and even abused him. However, FazlulHaq was not serious about promoting communal harmony between the Hindus and the Muslims. He did not spend Rs. 1,00,000 which S. P. M. allotted in his budget for promoting communal harmony in Bengal. Just before the Syama-Haq Ministry was formed, FazlulHaq threatened the Hindus of Bengal that if any action were taken against the Muslims in other provinces he would take a fitting 'condign' revenge against the Hindus in Bengal. After the Syama-Haq Ministry was over, FazlulHaq again became a loyal member of the Muslim League. During the famine of 1943, the Muslim League Ministry of Bengal did every partiality to the Muslims that they could do. When an Air Raid Prevention (ARP) force was being organized to prevent the casualties from possible air raid by Japan, Muslim MLAs expressed their strong suspicion that the Hindu ARP personnel would attack the Muslims in the event of any attack by the Japanese Air force. The Muslim MLAs told in the Assembly that the Hindu ARP personals would not come to any help of the Muslims when the "bala" (trouble) would come. They did not believe that any Hindu could come to the help of any Muslim. Thus, by preaching every possible falsehood against the Hindus, the Muslim MLAs and leaders helped increase the communal tension in the province of Bengal. Suhrawardy formed a "Muslim National Guard" to use it against the Hindus. During the Nazimuddin Ministry, hundred percent of Govt appointments were given to the Muslims. The posts that remained vacant due to non-availability of Muslim candidates were allowed to remain vacant until any fit Muslim candidate is found for the post. They even declared that they would prefer to fill those posts by the Muslims whether he was a Bengali, an Indian, a foreigner or a resident in the Polar region (if there were any) to allow any Hindu to fill those posts. In 1946, the Muslim League fought the election only on the Pakistan issue. The result was overwhelmingly in favor of the Muslim League and the 15 demand for Pakistan. As the Hindus did not agree to the Pakistan demand, so the Muslims observed Direct Action Day on 16 August and killed thousands of Hindus. The Muslim League called for observation of the Direct Action Day only for one day i.e. 16 August. However, the Muslims continued the killing for three more days. Thus, the Muslim League proved that they could go even to the extent of genocide to realize their demand of Pakistan. During the famine of 1943, Suhrawardy bought almost all paddy that were available in Bengal and thus people were left with no paddy in their hands. However, he did not distribute the paddy in the famine-affected areas. Thousands of tons of rice were piled under the open sky near railway stations and elsewhere and were allowed to be wasted in the rain and the sun. But, he made huge profits from buying rice for the government through his agents like Ispahani and others.

Not satisfied with the killing of more than ten thousand of Hindus in Calcutta, Suhrawardy Government began to kill the Hindus (mostly Namasudras) in Noakhali from where it was simply impossible for a Hindu to fly as the place was situated in the farthest east of Bengal. Suhrawardy employed a great number of Urdu speaking Pathan up-country Muslims in the police service of Bengal to torture the Hindus. He brought many Muslims from Bihar and settled them in many parts of Bengal to increase the Muslim population to a majority, so that he can claim that part for Pakistan as a Muslim majority area. He appointed Muslims as Officer-in-charge in all the thirty-nine police stations of Bengal.

When it became clear from Mountbatten's announcement that India was going to be partitioned, Suhrawardy, who was the Prime Minister of Bengal and led the carnage in Calcutta and Noakhali, began to propagate for a united Sovereign Bengal. M. A Jinnah, the president of the All India Muslim League did not subscribe to the view of United Sovereign Bengal. Suhrawardy himself did not commit that the proposed Sovereign United Bengal would not join Pakistan afterward. Congress leaders like Kiran Sankar Roy, Sarat Chandra Bose etc tried to get support in favor of Suhrawardy's proposal of Sovereign United Bengal. But by then the Hindus of Bengal were so much embittered by the deeds and acts of the Muslim masses and leaders of Bengal that they (the Hindus) demanded partition of Bengal on communal line. However, they demanded that India should remain united. Akram Khan, the President of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League and Sir Nazimuddin another Muslim League leader in Bengal did not support the view that united Bengal should be a sovereign nation independent of Pakistan. The Hindu Mahasabha, led by Dr. SyamaprasadMookerjee, disparately asked the people of Bengal to support for partitioning Bengal. The Congress also supported the movement for partition of Bengal. Ultimately, on 20th June, the MLAs of the non-Muslim areas of Western Bengal decided by 58 votes to 21, that the province should be partitioned and that West Bengal should join the Indian Union. On the same day, the MLAs of the Muslim majority areas of Eastern Bengal decided by 106 votes to 35, that the province should not be partitioned and by 107 votes to 34, that East Bengal should join a new Constituent Assembly (i.e. Pakistan) should partition eventuate (TOP, Vol. XI, P-536)16

III. CONCLUSION/ PHILOSOPHY OF PARTITION

Hindus did not want separation or partition with the Muslims. Hindus did not want to make To United India a Hindu State. After the Great Calcutta Killing in August, Hindu Mahasabha President Syamaprasad Mookerjee sated on 27 December, that religion should be removed from politics and protection of the cultural and religious rights of all the communities should be established. Not only did the Hindus want not to partition either India or Bengal, but also they wished that Bengal and India would be united again when the Islamic communal frenzy will be subsided even after the partition took place. The President of Bengal provincial Congress Committee Surendra Mohan Ghosh stated on 1 May 1947 that "We to dream of a united and greater Bengal in a United

India. We have lived for it, and suffered for it. We shall continue to do so till the temporary partition is annulled and we have achieved undivided and free Bengal in an undivided free India. However, Hindus demanded partition of Bengal in fear of being annihilated by the Muslims if Bengal would remain united, though they wanted both halves of Bengal to remain in India. Working President of the Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha Nirmal Chandra Chattopadhyaya said that the Hindus of Bengal must constitute a separate province under a strong National Government. This was not a question of partition. It was a question of life and death for the Bengali Hindus. Unless they could have an administration of their own choice, they would be serfs under an anti-Hindu regime. The British did not create a division between the Hindus and the Muslims; it was the Muslims who chose to be parted with the Hindus. The British had used the anti-Hindu sentiments, which are already there, of the Muslims. The British divided the non-Hindus and Hindus in European, Anglo-Indian, Christian, Scheduled Castes, and Sikhs in the India Government Act of 1935. Muslim League leader Sir Feroz Khan Noon threatened that "If Britain puts us under the Hindu Raj, let us tell Britain that the destruction and havoc that the Muslims will do in this country will put into shame what Chengiz Khan did."

It was the Muslims who wanted to create an Islamic state purely for their religious exclusiveness. Their real issue was to restore Islamic administration under which they can live and profess their religion. They hate non-Muslims as *na-pak* and don't want to live in association with the Hindus; they don't want to follow any secular administration. Advisor to Lord Mountbatten Lord Ismay wrote, "The dominating feature in Mr. Jinnah's mental structure was his loathing and contempt of the Hindus. He apparently thought that all Hindus were sub-human creatures with whom it was impossible for the Muslims to live." They were afraid that Hindus would take revenge if they would have to live in India after the British were gone. Mr. Abdul Quayum said that "The Hindus had been governed by the Muslims for 800 years and the Hindu mind is deep in its heart for revenge. I hope the Muslim nation will strike swiftly before such a Government can be set up in this country." Before the Direct Action Day of 16 August 1946, All India Muslim League, on 29 July 1946, passed a resolution stating "All India Muslim League is convinced that now the time has come for the Muslim Nation to resort to Direct Action to achieve Pakistan to assert their just rights, to vindicate their honour and to get rid of present British slavery and the contemplated future caste-Hindu domination. The Direct Action Day was to them a Jihad to achieve Pakistan which would be run on Islamic religion and philosophy. Before the Direct Action Day, S. M. Usman stated, "In this month of Ramjan, the first open war between Islam and Kafirs 'started and the Mussalmans got the permission to wage Jihad splendid victory... According to wishes of God, the All India Muslim League has chosen and Islam secured a this sacred month for launching this Jihad for achieving Pakistan." On the Direct Action Day, Khwaza Nazimuddin said, "Our fight is directed against the Congress and the Hindus. On 2 August, Maulana Akram Khan raised the battle cry in Bengal that "the struggle for Pakistan has begun. Our resolution of Direct Action will soon be translated into action. The Muslims did not want to live in a secular administration that the Hindus were favouring Akram Khan (a Muslim League leader of Bengal) stated, "Think you Muslims, why we are under the Kafirs today? The result of love of Kafir is not good. Oh! Kafir do not be proud and happy. The doom is not far and the general massacre remains. We shall show our glory with swords in hand and shall have a special victory." One leaflet reads. We shall have the swords in our hands and the noise of Takbir. Tomorrow there will be Doom's Day."

Therefore, it was not a riot between the Muslims and the Hindus. It was a Jihad launched by the Muslims to establish an Islamic state. It was not also communal as we understand in general sense of the term. Hindus did not cause any harm to the material and religious interests of the Muslims, The Muslims also did not complain that Hindus were causing any discomfiture for them. Their only issue in the general election of 1946 was Pakistan demand, no allegation against the Hindus except that the Hindus were not accepting their demand for Pakistan. This was the only reason they waged Jihad, a general massacre of the Hindus, to compel the Hindus to accept their demand for Pakistan.

Therefore, it is Islamic philosophy of exclusiveness of the Muslims that was the only and real cause of Partition of India, Bengal and the Punjab and formation of a separate state of Pakistan. They would not stop until they achieved Pakistan, a land of Islam. On 30 April, Jinnah clearly stated that, "the underlying principle is that we want a national home and a national state in our homelands which are predominantly Muslim and comprise the six units of the Punjab, the NWFP, Sind, Baluchistan, Bengal and Assam." The Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League argued, "I fail to appreciate why a united and sovereign Bengal, where the Muslims are in a majority, will be anti-Pakistan."

The sense of separateness of the Muslims from the non-Muslims did not develop as a response to any outside stimulus; it did not take shape gradually against any influence from outside also. This philosophy of exclusive separateness had been preached with no uncertain terms by the religious preachers of the movements like Wahhabis, Farazis, Deobandis and Ahmadiyahs etc. The renaissance among the Muslims in Bengal taught the Muslims to treat Hindus and Hinduism as '*na-Pak*'. During the coalition ministry of Fazlul Haq between 1939 and 1941. Muslim MLAs and Ministers, in different occasions, stated: "The Muslims must boycott the Hindus economically in such a way that they may be reduced to the position of prisoners of war without rations." "Muslim Raj was re-established in Bengal after 250 years and the Hindus must completely surrender if they want to live in Bengal and keep their existence." "Hindu Goddesses are prostitutes" "Let the Hindus beware that at present Bengal is under the rule of Mr. Fazlul Haq. If they want to live they must live as subordinates. We shall kill the Hindus not by hands but by starving them." "Do not the Hindus see what I have done to the bazaars in the villages of Raipur, Dattapara, Nandigram and Karpara. You Muslims should stop going to bazaars owned by Hindus." (Position of Hindus of Bengal, December, 1939, P-5-7). The Hindus

were not at all responsible (directly or indirectly) for the origin and development of communalism among the Muslims. In India, the Hindus did not want to establish a Hind-Raj There philosophy of governance was and is a secular administration under which everybody can get equal opportunity to profess and observe his own faith. The Muslims could not reconcile with any form of administration (even secular) that does not follow the Islamic philosophy. They were not prepared to listen that people of other religion might also demand that the administration should run according to the philosophy of their own religion. This is the one and only reason for the uneasy relation between the Muslims and the Hindus throughout the period of my study 13.

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