

# **SOCIO-POLITICAL THOUGHT OF SIR MOHAMMAD AZIZUL HUQUE**

The thesis paper is submitted for M. Phil degree under Islamic History &  
Culture Department of Dhaka University

**MST. SAFIA SULTANA**

M. Phil Researcher

Registration No.:31; Session: 2009-10

**GUIDE**

**DR. MD. ATAUR RAHMAN MIAZI**

Professor

Islamic History & Culture Department,  
Dhaka University

Department of Islamic History and Culture  
Dhaka University, Dhaka-1000

June, 2014

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

Lot of thanks to Almighty Allah because for His endless grace I have been able to complete the M. Phil thesis.

I am indebted and ever grateful to my respectable guide Professor Dr. Md. Ataur Rahman Miazi, Islamic History and Culture Department, Dhaka University for his generous support, scholarly guidance, constructive criticism and sympathetic help throughout the preparation and completion of this study.

I would like to express my deepest regards to the teachers of my department for helping me during the conduct of the study. I would like to share special thanks to my honourable teacher Prof. Dr. Mohammad Ibrahim.

I am grateful to Prof. Husniara Huq, daughter of Sir M. Azizul Huque for her cooperation providing valuable information. I am grateful to Prof. Bhuiya Iqbal, Prof. Sirajul Islam, Prof. Abul Ahsan Chowdury and other teachers for their valuable information.

Last of all I would like to share thanks to my husband Md. Robiul Islam and my son Ridwan Abdullah Rafi who assisted me composing, drafting and formatting the thesis.

## TABLE OF CONTENT

<b>CHAPTER-I: INTRODUCTION</b>	<b>02</b>
1.1: Introduction	03
<b>CHAPTER-II: SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL BACKGROUND OF CONTEMPORARY BRITISH INDIA</b>	<b>07</b>
2.1: Socio-economic and political background of British India	08
<b>CHAPTER-III: EARLY LIFE AND EDUCATION OF SIR MOHAMMAD AZIZUL HUQUE</b>	<b>36</b>
3.1. Birth and early life of Mohammad Azizul Huque	37
3.2. Education life of Mohammad Azizul Huque	39
<b>CHAPTER IV: PROFESSIONAL LIFE</b>	<b>41</b>
4.0. Professional Life: at a glance	42
4.1. Lawyer in Krishnagar 1915-1925	43
4.2. Government Pleader, Public Prosecutor, Vice–Chairman of Nadia District Board, member of the Bengal Legislative Council (1926-1934)	46
4.3. Education Minister of Bengal (1934-1937)	50
4.3.1: Primary Education	54
4.3.2: Secondary Education	58
4.3.3: Higher Education	66
4.3.4: Professional Education (Vocational Education)	72
4.3.5: Madrassah Education	74
4.3.6: Female Education	79
4.4. Speaker of the Bengal Legislative Assembly (1937-1942)	83
4.5. Vice Chancellor of the Calcutta University (1938-1942)	92
4.6. High Commissioner for India in London (1942-1943)	98
4.7. Member of Viceroy’s Executive Council-Delhi (1943-1946)	101
4.8. Enrolment in Calcutta High Court and Death (1946-1947)	108
<b>CAPTER-V: A BRIEF DISCUSSION ON PUBLICATIONS OF M. AZIZUL HUQUE</b>	<b>110</b>
5.0. List of his Books/Booklets /Articles	111
5.1. History and Problems of Moslem Education in Bengal (1917)	112

5.2. The Man Behind the Plough (1939)	114
5.3: The Sword of the Crescent Moon (1984)	124
5.4. Education and Retrenchment (1924)	126
5.5. A Plea for Separate Electorate in Bengal (1931)	158
5.6. Publications in Journal	191
5.6.1: Primary Education in Bengal	191
5.6.2: Three Seats	199
5.6.3: An Article on Cultural contribution of Islam to Indian History	206
<b>CHAPTER-VI: POLITICAL THOUGHT AND SOCIAL WORKS AND ITS EFFECT</b>	<b>207</b>
6.0: An overview on Socio Political thoughts and its effect	208
6.1: Muslim Education: His Thoughts and Contribution	209
6.2: Farmer's Community: His Observations and Contribution	218
6.3: His Contribution on Economic development	246
6.4: His Contribution on Social Development	252
6.5: Cultural Development and his Contribution	254
6.6: Political Thoughts and Contribution	256
6.7: Legal Reform: his Views, Thoughts and Contribution	259
<b>CHAPTER-VII: EVALUATION</b>	<b>268</b>
<b>CHAPTER-VIII: CONCLUTION</b>	<b>281</b>
<b>APPENDIX:</b>	<b>286</b>
Appendix-I : Photograph of Sir Mohammad Azizul Huque	288
Appendix-II: Letters of Mohammad Azizul Huque	289
Appendix-III: Letters on Mohammad Azizul Huque	297
Appendix-IV: Lectures on the inside system of irrigation and its application	299
Appendix-V: Speeches of Mohammad Azizul Huque	302
Appendix-VI: Najrul Songit/Songs	318
Appendix-VII: Anondo Ussash poem of Korunanedhe Bondhopaddhay	319
Appendix-VIII: Poem of Sadat Hosen	321
Appendix-IX: Literature of Mohammad Azizul Huque	322
Appendix-X: Bibliography	325

## **INDEX OF TABLES & DIAGRAM**

Diagram 1: Genealogy of M. Azizul Huque (1892-1947)	38
Table 1: Moslem Representation by elected representative in District Board (1927-28)	165
Table 2: Muslim Representation in municipalities	169
Table 3: Percentage of Muslim Representation in Bengal district Boards (1912-28)	172
Table 4: Muslim Professors and Lecturers in Bengal	183
Table 5: Muslim ministerial officers in Bengal	184
Table 6: Living expenses of an agriculturist family compared with Jail	228
Table 7: Average family income of agriculturist family	229

## ABSTRACT

I have completed a thesis on “**SOCIO-POLITICAL THOUGHT OF SIR MOHAMMAD AZIZUL HUQUE**” under the department of History & Culture, Dhaka University to explore socio-political thought and contribution of Sir Mohammad Azizul Huque which can enrich the store of Islamic History and Culture indeed. That is why, as a curious student and researcher of Islamic History and Culture, I am completed the thesis on above topic under the guidance of Prof. Dr. Md. Ataur Rahman Miazi.

My thesis has divided into the seven chapters; they are: Chapter-i: Introduction; Chapter-ii: Socio-economic and political background of contemporary British-India; Chapter-iii: Early life and education of Sir Mohammad Azizul Huque; Chapter iv: Professional life; Chapter-v: A brief discussion on publications of M. Azizul Huque; Chapter-vi: Political thought and social works and its effect; Chapter-vii: Evaluation and Chapter-viii: Conclusion. A brief discussion on the above chapters has presented in the abstract.

### **Chapter-I: Introduction.**

Those who were famous for their works in British Bengal, Mohammad Azizul Huque (1892-1947 CE) were one of them. He was well known for his socio-political thought and social work. As a student of Islamic history and culture, I am impressed to know about his practical thought, comprehensive views especially on education and rural economy. There is a scope of research to explore his socio-political thoughts and contribution. The true reward of a purposeful life is the affection and esteem of friends, contemporaries and next generation. Hon'ble Sir Mohammed Azizul Huque shines with the luster of public esteem and the brilliancy of talent. He represented great steadfastness of purpose. His manners were simple and easy. He had allied the politeness of a man well-born to the gravity of the philosopher. Mohammad Azizul Huque was a famous Muslim politician in British period. He was not only a famous politician but also a lawyer, parliamentarian, social worker and writer which were discussed in this Chapter.

### **Chapter-II: Socio-economic and political background of contemporary British –India.**

Socio-economic and political background of contemporary British –India has been discussed in this Chapter. My main focus was on the socio-economic and political situation of contemporary British India. After great movement of 1857, British government took steps against Muslim in India. Muslims were deprived from all assistances of British government due to those steps. They were less educated and fallen in to the dark of the society. But Muslims have taken education and got chance of government jobs by the initiatives of Syed Ahmed, Sir Ameer Ali, Nawab Abdul Latif and others famous educators. Muslims were re thought about their development after Bengal partition of 1905. They started to see dream to live as an educated person not as a deprived citizen. But they were unpleased on the British Government due to abolish of Bengal Partition in 1911 and broken of Caliphate of Turkish as a result of First World War. They started Caliphate movement to protect Caliphate system. Muslim development of last 60 years was going to stop due to Caliphate movement. Muslim started avoiding British assistance when Caliphate movement and non-cooperation movement was connected. Muslim students did not admit in government schools. They resigned from

government jobs. On the other hand, Hindus were taken the chance and filled out those vacant positions. Hindu-Muslim conflict was started. Mahatma Gandhi and C. R. Das called a campaign to establish religious harmony which was failed; because non-cooperation movement was first started by the support of Mahatma Gandhi. On the other hand, entry in politics by the middle class and voting power of rich farmer create a new complex environment in 30<sup>th</sup> decade. In this period, politicians were started competition in favor of new voter to get vote. As a result, policy makers of the society considered the issues of deprived Muslims (new voter). But they did not considered issues of general farmers and land less labor. In this situation, AzizulHuque entered in the politics actively and he raised voice to the government in favor of common people. He tried heart and soul by his initiatives to improve the situation of common people.

### **Chapter-III: Early life and education of Sir Mohammad AzizulHuque.**

The issue has been written in detail in this chapter. Mohammad AzizulHuque was born on 27 November 1892 C.E. in a middle class Muslim family of Santipur, in Nadia district of West Bengal. His father's name is Muniruddin Ahmed and he was only one son of his parent. He lost his mother infancy. His mother died in 1<sup>st</sup> January in 1893 C.E. He brought up by his paternal aunt RahimunNessa who was sterilize, wife of Mahfizuddin Ahmed. His early childhood was spending in a congenial family and community environment where the best of Hindu and Muslim culture co-existed because the region was reputed for the Bhaishnav religious cult and for communal harmony. He had well control in Sanskrit, Persian, Urdu and English, apart from his mother tongue Bangla. Education of Mohammad AzizulHuque was started in his grandfather's house by the support of his uncle MozammelHaque. At that time he was influenced by his uncle. He admitted nearby school for primary education. He got admission in Santipur Municipal H.E. School after completed primary education. He passed the Entrance Examination in 1907 C.E. Then he moved to Calcutta for further studies and got admission in Presidency Collage and he passed FA examination in 1909 from this collage and BA examination in 1911 C.E. respectively. Then he admitted University Law College and obtained the BL degree with distinction in 1914 C.E.

### **Chapter IV: Professional life of Sir Mohammad AzizulHuque.**

The following issues have been discussed in this chapter: Mr. AzizulHuque had a very bright professional life. He had occupied very important and vital positions of Bengal and India. In his long professional career he served in various dignified positions. I have classified his professional life in following ways:

- Lawyer in Krishnagar (1915-1925);
- Government Pleader, Public Prosecutor, Vice–Chairman of Nadia District Board, and member of the Bengal Legislative Council(1926-1934);
- Education Minister of Bengal (1934-1937);
- Speaker of the Bengal Legislative Assembly (1937-1942);
- Vice Chancellor of Calcutta University (1938-1942);
- High Commissioner for India in London (1942-43);
- Member of Viceroy's Executive Council-Delhi (1943-1946);
- Enrollment in the Calcutta High Court and Death (1946-1947);

He was a top class bureaucrat and he had played professional responsibilities at the home and abroad. He held the position of Government Pleader, Public Prosecutor, Vice Chancellor of

the Calcutta University (1938-1942), High Commissioner for India in London (1942-1943) and Member of Viceroy's Executive Council-Delhi. He served on most of Public Committees of the Legislature and helped in the passage of tenancy and debt settlement legislations. He served in every important selection committee. As a V.C. of the Calcutta University he introduced Islamic History and Culture Department. As a high commissioner of India he expressed his assertive comments infavor of liberty of India in the world forum. During the Second World War, he played his responsibilities properly. He worked to eradicate Bengal Famine from his portfolio in the department of commerce, industries, civil supplies and food. He was very capable bureaucrat and he contributed lot in his positions. He was rewarded by government several times due to his excellent performance and contributions. He was made Khan Bahadur in 1926 and awarded CIE in 1937 and Night in 1941. But in support of the protest call given by the Muslim League against the Vice Roy's actions, he renounced all titles bestowed on him by the British government on August 16, 1946. It is evident of his strong moral characteristics. As a minister of education of Bengal Government from 1934 to 1937, and as the Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University from 1938 to 1942, he had left an indelible impress of his constructive capacity on the Education Department of Bengal. As a Member of the Indian Franchise Committee of Bengal, Banking Enquiry Committee, Bengal Jute Enquiry Committee, the Public Accounts Committee, The Kamal Yar Jung Education Committee, he guided their deliberations admirably. As the Speaker of Bengal Legislative Assembly (1937-1942), he shone with distinction. As a High Commissioner of India in the United Kingdom, and created a great impression upon the British official and non-official opinion. It is with such great and glorious antecedents that he had come back to this country to handle the Commerce portfolio. Sir Mohammad AzizulHuque is un-doubt a man of high principles and the best of motives. The refinements of a mind, the persistent strength of his inborn virtues and his burning zeal have enabled him to achieve great things. It is therefore no wonder he was held in high esteem in official as well as non-official circles.



## **CAPTER-V: A BRIEF DISCUSSION ON PUBLICATIONS OF M. AZIZUL HUQUE:**

**In this chapter the following issues have been discussed very briefly:**

Sir Mohammad AzizulHuque has some important publications of books, booklets, pamphlets and articles. Before going to detail discussion, I want to list down the publications of Sir Mohammad AzizulHuque. His books, booklets, pamphlets and articles are listed down here:

- History and Problems of Moslem Education in Bengal (1917);
- The Man Behind the Plough (1939);
- The Sword of the Crescent Moon (1984);
- Education and Retrenchment (1924);
- A Plea for Separate Electorate in Bengal (1931);
- Publications in Journals and News Papers.

Above mentioned books, booklets and articles explain a clear idea about his political thoughts, social works and his contribution. I have found him as a brilliant writer on social, economic and political problems. His publications are very much analytical. He tried to illustrate realistic solutions of identified problems in his publication. His publications are important documents of history which have historical significance. Prof. Bhuiya Iqbal discussed about the publications of Sir M. AzizulHuque in his book ‘Sir AzizulHuque’. I have discussed about his most important publications one by one in this section. Mr. M. AzizulHuque has many write ups which were published in different contemporarily Journals and Newspaper. Some of that write ups are included in the appendix of the thesis. I have found three important writeups which have been discussed briefly in this section. They are: 1. Primary Education in Bengal; 2. Three Seats; 3. Cultural contributions of Islam to Indian History.

## **CHAPTER–VI: POLITICAL THOUGHT AND SOCIAL WORKS AND ITS EFFECT:**

The following points have been discussed on the above topic:

- An overview on Socio Political thoughts and its effect
- Muslim Education: His Thoughts and Contribution
- Farmer’s Community: His Observations and Contribution
- His Contribution on Economic development
- His Contribution on Social Development
- Cultural Development and his Contribution
- Political Thoughts and Contribution
- Legal Reform: his Views, Thoughts and Contribution

We get huge information on Sir Mohammad AzizulHuque’s political view, thoughts, social works and its effect in his publications. I have found him as a brilliant problem identifier and logical analyzer of socio-economic and political problems. He had tried to solve that identified problems by his heart and soul engaging all resources. He had contributed lot based on his intelligence. He had contributed significantly in the Muslim Education, Farmer’s Community; Economic Development, Social Development, Cultural Development, Political Thoughts and Legal Reforms. I have discussed in detail on his socio-political thoughts and contribution on the above identified areas. My main focus was findingout of his thoughts and contribution from his publications/works and I did analysis on them. In these purposes, I have presented his different statements from his own publications and other relevant publications on him.

## CHAPTER-VII: EVALUATION

Sir M. AzizulHuque was one of them those who were eminent in British Bengal due to their significant works and contributions. He had grown up in middle class family and held up top class positions when Bengal society was dominated by landlord or blue blooded family. He is an example of success: 'how a man can ascend in the top of success fighting with unfavorable condition'. This study found him as a brilliant politician, a great educator, an excellent philosopher, a good writer, a bright legal and social philanthropist and a high skilled bureaucrat.

Based on his bright political insight, he held several high level positions in his life. He held the positions of Vice-Chairman of Nadia District Board, member of the Bengal Legislative Council, Education Minister of Bengal (1934-1937) and Speaker of the Bengal Legislative Assembly (1937-1942). As a politician he held up a moral standard and ensured welfare of the poor citizen as much as possible. He raised his voice infavor of common people of the society whenever need. He tried to educate poor and under privileged group of people. In perspective of Hindu-Muslim conflict he supported for Pakistan state (1947). He did not curb any problems with view of any political party. He analyzed problem based on the practical ground with proper judgment which prove him as a brilliant politician. This study found him as a neutral and honest politician.

His proficiency and ability was made him a very good education minister (1934-1937)of Bengal. As an education minister he took very important initiatives to improve educational status of under privileged Muslim communities in Bengal. He sowed the seed of education among the Muslim in Bengal which is a big plant at present. He introduced free compulsory education for 6-10 years old boys at 9 No. ward of Calcutta Municipality. Implementation of free compulsory primary education act was started at Calcutta city through following his initiative. Education tax was imposed on the citizen of Mymensigh district as alternative option of government. As a result, free compulsory primary education was started in 1937. A free primary education day was observed on 3<sup>rd</sup> January 1938 to accomplish this objective. He declared a regulation on overall problem and progress of education in Bengal. Due to his step publicity had been continued to keep educational institutions free from political terrorism and communal conflict. Based on his recommendations, government recognized huge number of old Madrassah, government fulfilled the vacant positions of Muslim female teachers in government girl's schools and for the improvement of the pay scale of primary school teachers. He took a particular interest in the advancement of Muslim Education by granting Science Scholarships and by Overseas Scholarships from Mohsin Fund. He was largely instrumental in the change of the medium of Instruction from English to Bengali, and his Scheme of Primary Education is still in force. As an education minister, his above contribution had significant value to improve Muslim education in Bengal.

He jumped in to prominence by his ability as speaker; his in-depth knowledge on large number of subjects came before the house, his zeal and energy not only for his own community but for the province as a whole. In debate he has always been important measure did not show his name on its select committee. He had substantial contribution to pass Bengal Tenancy Bill (1938). He was closely associated with passing of the Bengal Tenancy Act of 1928 and the Bengal Money Lender's Act of 1933. As a speaker, he has lived up to the best traditions of the office. Throughout his term he has shown himself ready to devote the whole

of his ability to the good of the Assembly, and he is looked to by all for justice and impartiality.

As a social reformer he is very important to us because he sacrificed his life to reform the society. We should keep in mind that he raised from middle class family. So, it was not easier for him to reform the society like as other elite class people. Firstly he had to achieve believable position in the society. It is found analyzing his life that he raised the problem of Muslim education to the government from his student life. As an education minister he reformed the education system taking courageous steps. Besides this, not only he raised the farmer's problem to the government but also he wrote some books, speeches and organized campaign on the issues. He believed that nation cannot develop without developing citizens. So involvement of everybody with development is essential. But the task was very much difficult. He observed that maximum people of the country is farmer. So he wanted to improve farmer's situation through providing education of their son and daughters. His ultimate objective was to build poverty free educated society. If we want to compare his contribution with others, he is not less important contributor than Raja Ram Mohon Roy as social reformer. Similarly as an education reformer, he should not get less importance than Syed Ameer Ali or Syed Ahmed. Unfortunately we are not evaluating him properly and there is no acknowledgment of his contributions like others.

As a writer Sir AzizulHuque did not write to create literature. His aim was to ensure welfare of mass people through improvement of education and economy. That is why, though he started writing by poem but he established himself as a writer of informative book. His Bengali literature is very few; we have found only three Poems, two Articles, and two written Speeches in Bengali. Numbers of English Articles are not many but all of them are very important. Only two articles were published by 'the Morning Sun' and 'the Mussalman Journal'. Some Articles were published by monthly newspapers which are rare at present. But around ten booklets were published in the period of 1913-1942; most of them were written speeches which were presented in the convocation of different universities. Three books were published; among them two books were translated and published in 1969 and 1992. An English book named "The Sword of Crescent Moon" unfinished life history of Prophet Hazrat Mohammad (sm) which published the book after his death in 1984. His first booklet on 'Mohemmadan Education' was published when he was twenty years old. His 'Mahommedan Education' published and appreciated by eminent persons. He was not a regular writer. He wrote in the gap of his duties, social & political works and administrative responsibilities. Though he was not a professional writer but he considered as a great writer for his two books named 'History and Problems of Muslim Education in Bengal (1917)' and 'The Man Behind the Plough (1939)'. He was involved with cultural organization in Delhi when he was Executive Counselor of Viceroy. He delivered speeches in the programs organized by Delhi Bengal ShahittaSamity. In 1939, the publication of 'The Man Behind Plough' his socio-economic study of the peasants of Bengal. 'The Man Behind the Plough' is a wide-ranging, in-depth and moving study of the endemic problems and tragic suffering of the peasants of the undivided Bengal. It was a research work of very high quality, and may be regarded as what is now called an interdisciplinary work. His publications have great historical value. That is why it is logical to say, he is not only a very good writer but also a good historian. This study found him as a great educator in Bengal. He was the first Bengali who tried to spread out education widely among the Muslim and as well as among all population of

British Bengal. He had thought about problem of Muslim education and its solution since his student life. Introduction of a new department as well as subject 'Islamic History and Culture' in Calcutta University was one of the proof of his contribution as an educator. His book 'Man Behind the Plough' had been included in B. A. course of Calcutta University which was recommended by Rabindranath Tagore at that time.<sup>7</sup> He contributed lot through his writeup and initiatives to improve education of Bengal. His various good initiatives for improvement of education of British Bengal proof him as a good educator.

#### **CHAPTER-VIII:CONCLUSION:**

I have concluded my study with some concluding remark. The study found that his thought, views or books are not included in any course in any educational institution of Bangladesh. But his thought, views, works has significant effect on our present education, economy and society. It can be recommended to include his biographical history and political thought in the Curriculum of Bachelor and Master's Degree Courses of Arts and Social Sciences departments of Universities and Colleges as the way to uphold his contributions to Bangladeshi students, teachers and researchers. His thoughts, views, writeup and its contribution has great value in history, culture, politics, social welfare, economics, rural development and agriculture. That is why, it can be recommended to include his life and thoughts in the relevant courses of Dhaka University especially in the department of Islamic History & Culture. Besides this other Universities of Bangladesh can take initiative to include his thoughts in their curriculum. More research also can be done on him and his work to unsolved question rose from this study. His socio-political thought and contribution has great effect in Bengal. Analysis and publication of his views and thoughts can bring useful result for our present society. Initiatives can be taken to conduct seminar/symposium to do analysis on his articles. His thoughts and contribution should be shared widely through appropriate media to aware mass people about the great son of Bengal. His thought and work can be a role model for any policy maker, social reformer, educator, bureaucrat and researcher. As a great contributor of British Bengal, he should get proper respect and honor from present society for his contribution. If we cannot show proper respect to this great Bengali Muslim son; no great son will born in this society.

As a researcher, I would feel proud if my work can contribute little in any of the relevant field of the history and culture. This is really an important topic which has great scope of more research. I hope this initiative will create an opportunity to learn more about this great son of Bengal.

---

# **CHAPTER – I**

## **INTRODUCTION**

### **1.1. Introduction:**

Those who were famous for their work in British Bengal, Mohammad Azizul Huque (1892-1947 CE) were one of them. He was well known for his socio-political thought and social work. As a student of Islamic history and culture, I am impressed to know about his practical thought, comprehensive views especially on education and rural economy. There is a scope of research to explore his socio-political thoughts and contribution.

The true reward of a purposeful life is the affection and esteem of friends, contemporaries and next generation. Hon'ble Sir Mohammed Azizul Huque shines with the luster of public esteem and the brilliancy of talent. He represented great steadfastness of purpose. His manners were simple and easy. He had allied the politeness of a man well-born to the gravity of the philosopher. Mohammad Azizul Huque was a famous Muslim politician in British period. He was not only a famous politician but also a lawyer, parliamentarian, social worker and writer.

He was born in 1892 in a very respectable family and brought up in an ideal environment. He studied at Presidency College, and later at University Law College, Calcutta. He was appointed Government Pleader and public prosecutor of Nadia and elected Vice-Chairman of the District Board. Also he was elected the member of the Bengal Legislative Council. He was the Education Minister of Bengal from 1934 to 1937 C.E. and the first Muslim speaker of the Legislative Assembly constituted by the 1937 C.E. general election. He became a fellow of Calcutta University and a member of Dhaka University Court in 1928 C.E.

As a minister of education of Bengal Government from 1934 to 1937, and as the Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University from 1938 to 1942, he had left an indelible impress of his constructive capacity on the Education Department of Bengal. As a Member of the Indian Franchise Committee of Bengal, Banking Enquiry Committee, Bengal Jute Enquiry Committee, the Public Accounts Committee, The Kamal Yar Jung Education Committee, he guided their deliberations admirably. As the Speaker of Bengal Legislative Assembly (1937-1942), he shone with distinction. His sobriety, impartiality and fair-mindedness are remembered even now-a-days. When the distressing food-situation threatens to engulf this whole subcontinent, at the head of the Commerce Department of the Government of India such an able and far-seeing person who, with extensive organizational experience to his credit, can be looked up to and depended upon for pooling and re-adjusting the food resources of the different Indian provinces in order to ease the situation. What with post-war planning and partly due to the ever growing multiplicity of current problems created by the war situation, the Commerce Department had speedily grown up into formidable proportions and naturally acquired an importance which it never before possessed. It is therefore in the fitness of things that a person of the eminence of Sir Mohammed Azizul Huque should preside over such a department. He also became a High Commissioner of India in the United Kingdom, and created a great impression upon the British official and non-official opinion. It is with such great and glorious antecedents that he had come back to this country to handle the Commerce portfolio. Surely, Sir Mohammad Azizul Huque is a man of high principles and the best of motives. The refinements of a mind, the persistent strength of his inborn virtues and his burning zeal have

enabled him to achieve great things. It is therefore no wonder he was held in high esteem in official as well as non-official circles.

Sir Azizul Huque realized the extreme poor socio-economic and educational condition of backward Bengali Muslims and wrote for them in his books 'The Man Behind the Plough (1939)' and 'History and Problems of Moslem Education in Bengal (1917)'. Apart from his being an erudite scholar and a versatile genius, he had attracted considerable notice as a public man. It has been well said that nothing throw so clear a light on the career of any man as knowledge of his character and aims. Sir Azizul Huque had throughout his career shown exemplary character and shaped his aims clearly. Unostentatious public service to which every moment of his spare time was devoted had become almost a passion with him. Clear thinking, unflinching foresight and singleness of purpose mark him out for great leadership. Combined with this were his judicious spirit, untiring industry and an even amiable disposition endowed as he was with a quick and intelligent grasp and keen observation of men and matters he took little time to raise into eminence. He held with distinction the different positions of eminence in the provincial and All-India spheres of public life. He took some important steps to develop the condition of Muslims through his administrative authorities and social works. He was awarded the titles 'Khan Bahadur' and 'Sir' by British Government for his significant contributions.



An initiative like this research to explore socio-political thought and contribution of Sir Mohammad Azizul Huque will enrich the store of Islamic History and Culture indeed. That is why, as a curious student and researcher of Islamic History and Culture, I have conducted this study under the guidance of Prof. Dr. Md. Aaur Rahman Miazi.

## **CHAPTER-II**

# **SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL BACKGROUND OF CONTEMPORARY BRITISH INDIA**

## 2.1: Socio-economic and political background of Contemporary British India:

I would like to focus on the socio-economic and political situation of contemporary British India before going to detail discussion on the life and contribution of Sir Azizul Huque.

The history of the Indian mutiny in 1857 shows that it was basically a revolt of the army, encouraged and relieved by the existence of profound displeasure amongst some sections of the civil population.<sup>1</sup> The army involved of both Hindus and Muslims; similarly the discontented element of the civil population was haggard from both communities and some of Islamic scholars were leading the mutiny in Bengal.<sup>2</sup> But unfortunately great currency is given by some writers to the belief that it was the last bid of the Muslim traditional forces for power and for a rehabilitation of the society which had given them status.<sup>3</sup> The belief seems to gain ground<sup>3</sup> from the fact that the Muslims were the last sovereigns of India from whom power was transferred to the British.

In January 1857 a rumor pervaded the army that cartridges to be used with the new infield rifle had been greased with the fat of cows and pigs with the deliberate intention to outcast and defile both the Hindu, to whom the cow was sacred, and the Muslim, to whom swine were impure. The discontentment of the Bengal army took the form of an outbreak first at Barrackpur and then at

---

1. Sir P. Griffiths-*The British Impact of India*, p-103.  
2. *Encyclopidia of Islam*, Vol-I, p. 169  
3. W.C.Smith- *Modern Islam in India*, p-11

Berhampur and was followed by other revolts in other parts of India. The principal scenes of mutiny were confined to the Punjab, central provinces and some parts of Behar. Bengal was on the whole quiet throughout.<sup>4</sup> The Mutiny had many causes. After 1757, the great famine, Permanent settlement, Resumption proceedings, abolished the Persian Language from the court and many other reforms of British Government made Muslims abandoned. In this period, blue blooded Muslims became peasantry. So, they were irritated to British.

Military causes actually began the revolt while others helped in the spread and development of the movement. Politically the foreign policy of Dalhousie expressed in the annexation of Oudh and in the doctrine lapse had sufficiently disturbed the existing order of the pension formerly enjoyed by the ex-Peshwa Baji Rao, made Nana Sahib, his adopted son, the bitter and relentless enemy of British rule. The application of the doctrine of lapse to Jhansi, invited the hostility of the Rani of Jhansi.<sup>5</sup> The economic factor was manifest in the disbandment of the native soldiers of Oudh in large numbers which left them without their Talukdars of Oudh offended them in a body. The Bengal Hurkaru<sup>6</sup> attributed the disaffection of the Sepoys to the reduction of their pay. Further, a revulsion against western influence actual or potential<sup>7</sup> was also to some extent responsible for the Mutiny. The impact of Western influence was felt in the suppression of Sati, the legislation of widow marriage, the work of

---

4. Latifa Akanda, *Social History of Muslim Bengal Dacca-1986* p-19.

5. P.E.Roberts-*History of British India Under The Company And The Crown, 2nd Ed, pp.361-367.*

6. Latifa Akanda , *Social History of Muslim Bengal Dacca-1986* p-18

7. L.S.S.O Malley- *Modern India and the West, p-74*

Christian missionaries and in the application of modern scientific methods like telegraph and railways.

Lastly the Bengal army<sup>8</sup> had always been more difficult to deal with because of the presence of great numbers of high caste men in its ranks. From 1824 onwards some of the regiments of the Bengal army rose from time to time mainly for reasons of caste prejudices. Great uneasiness was caused to them by the Act of July 1856, by which Dalhousie forbade the enlistment of any recruit who would not be prepared to sign for service overseas.

The Muslims of Bengal, however, shared the fate of their co-religionists in other provinces, through no fault of their own. The government maintained a suspicious attitude all through the period of the mutiny and after wards. The attitude of the non-official European residents of Bengal was clearly hostile towards the Muslims. The prominent members of the Muslim Community in Bengal, although they showed their loyalty to the state by active cooperation with the government in the work of suppression of the rebellion and in maintaining peace among their fellow Muslims, could not change the attitude of the ruling class. These and many other causes of all kinds prepared the ground for an outbreak and the incident of greased cartridges merely aided in precipitating the event.

Before the mutiny the only organization of the Muslims in Bengal was the Mahommedan Association. Nawab Abdul Latif said “the condition or popular ignorance is everywhere the condition of political danger, and for that reason

---

8. Sir P. Griffiths-*The British Impact of India*, p-104

along we ought to preserve in our endeavors to remove it.”<sup>9</sup>

The suspicions of the ruling class towards the Muslims were especially expressed in a controversy over the subject of the propriety of maintaining the Calcutta Madrassah at Government cost. The failure of the Calcutta Madrassah became more conspicuous in the light thrown on it by the events of the mutiny. The lieutenant Governor was led by the letters of W. N. Lees, the principal of Calcutta Madrassah, to think that it was a ‘Nursery of disaffection’.<sup>10</sup> He was not favorably disposed towards the Muslim especially towards the upper class of whom he commented: They are not only well affected towards our Government, but that if not openly, they are in heart, decidedly hostile to British Supremacy in India.<sup>11</sup> Mr. Lee passed this opinion without giving any evidence. His proposal for reforms in the course of instruction was sanctioned to some extent. His letter to the Secretary to the Government of India on 4 February 1870 revealed the following fact: “the mutiny occurred in 1857-1858, and for this reason, and for others fully explained in my verbal conversions, and subsequently in my reports of 1858 and 1860, and concurred in by the government of India, as well as the governor of Bengal, it was decided to give very much less extended course in Arabic as especially in law than was originally intended”.<sup>12</sup>

---

9. *Latifa Akanda, Social History Of Muslim Bengal, Dacca-1986 p-24*

10. *Minute by the Lieutenant Governor F.J.Halliday, 15 Sept. 1858.*

11. *Letter from W.N. Lees (Principal of Calcutta Madrassah) to the D.P.I.No.185, 11 May 1858, para12*

12. *Letter from Bengal, No, 632, 28Feb1871.*

The proposal of the Lieutenant Governor for the abolition of the Calcutta Madrassah was, however, rejected by the Governor General, who could not assent to the view that the Madrassah had exercised a bad influence over the minds of the Muslims of the whole of the lower provinces; that it was producing extensive political evil; or that it was in fact a nursery of disaffection. According to him, not only did the Mahommedans educated at that Institution not show any hospitality to the government during the period of the Mutinies, but some of them were better affected towards it than other members of the Mahommedan Community<sup>13</sup>.

Thus it is clear that without any evidence of disloyalty and disaffection on the parts of the Muslims, the responsible officers of the state passed a biased judgment on them.

That the non-official European's attitude was clearly hostile towards the Muslims was evident from many facts. The friend of India, an English paper often expressed this feeling of the non-official European Community. The editorial on 25 June 1857 under the title of 'The centenary of Plessey' wrote: "The Hindu stands upon the same platform with the Englishmen, shares equal privileges with him, and challenges for himself as great a measure of the protection and immunities accorded by the state. He had no political enemies, and his grievances are all social. But concerning the Muslims it declared: They will never tolerate our gifts or forgive our supremacy. We may load them with blessings, but the reward will be cursed. It ended with a wishful expectation: The first Centenary of Plassey was ushered in by the revolt of the native army;

---

13. Letter from the govt. of India to the Govt. of Bengal, no-1219, 2 July 1860.

he second may be celebrated in Bengal by a respected Government and a Christian population.”<sup>14</sup>

The same paper on the 13 August 1857 in an editorial under the heading “Experience without wisdom” wrote vehemently against the appointment of Sir Syed Munshi Ameer Ali, to be special assistant to the Commissioner of Patna and Deputy Magistrate with all the powers of a covenanted assistant. It considered this appointment ‘decidedly impolitic’ and ‘unwise’ on the part of the government. It further threatened the government with their non-co-operation. “It places the Government once again in direct opposition to the wishes of the non-official Europeans in this country at the very time when they most require their help. Nor is it likely that the object in view by the appointment will be gained. The Mahommedans of India will scarcely regard it as a compliment to them and will only smile at the simplicity of the policy which dictated the choice. It referred to Ameer Ali as “a man who belongs to that race which are daily and constantly inflicting some injury upon us.”<sup>15</sup>

The non-official Europeans went so far as to send a petition to the Queen, praying for the recall of the Governor General. Their main grudge was against the leniency shown by the Governor General towards Muslims. The petition ran thus: “notwithstanding the numerous well-known instances of treachery on the part of Mahommedan officers of the east India Company during the present insurrection, the Governor General had continued to display his confidence in that class of men by lately sanctioning the appointment of one Ameer Ali, a Mohammedan, to be Deputy Commissioner of Patna, a place of

---

14. *Latifa Akanda, Social History Of Muslim Bengal, Dacca-1986,p-25*

15. *Latifa Akanda, Social History of Muslim Bengal, Dacca-1986, p-26*



great importance and trust, and also the appointment of other Mahommedans to other places of trust, to the great offence and discouragement of the Christian population of this presidency. On this issue of appointment many letters were exchanged among the higher officials. Samuells, the commissioner of Patna Division, in his letter to the Government of Bengal on 6 October 1857, explained fully the merit and services rendered by Ameer Ali, 'who' said Samuells, has become in fact the betenoir of the English press."<sup>16</sup> He observed that the whole of the Calcutta Press apparently without expectation had taken up the idea that this was a Muslim rebellion, and he said, "I need not point out how destitute of foundation this notion is The Governor General in his note on the above petition of the non-official Europeans wrote, No one can suppose that the evil of administration of the country can be carried on without the help of native agency and no just and reasonable men will prescribe the whole Mahommedan Community of India (many of whom have rendered signal service to the Government when their loyalty was put to the severest trial) for the treachery of some Mahommedan Officials in the North West Provinces."<sup>17</sup>

Again when the Government warned the British residents of Calcutta through the press against any interference during the Muslim festival of Muharram while mutiny was still going on, some of them took that to be an insult. On this the Governor General remarked that "there was ground for apprehending that such interference was ground for apprehending that such interference was intended that it should have been thought gradually insulting indicates the very state of excited feeling which it appeared prudent to guard against".<sup>18</sup> There

---

16. Letter from Bengal, No1167, 10<sup>th</sup> Nov, 1857

17. Home Dept. Letter No130 of the court of Directors of the East India Company.

18. *Ibid*

upon the non-official Europeans criticized the Government's policy in the following terms: "it must be remembered that this sympathy has been shown to men who already have been permitted to arm themselves and are constantly discovered in plotting against the existing government."<sup>19</sup>

It should be remembered that the non-official European community of Bengal mainly consisted of merchants, missionaries and planters. They had no grudge against the Hindu merchant class were linked up with those of Europeans. The long contact and commercial connection between them resulted in cordial and friendly relationship. They had no such connection with the Muslims. The missionaries cut a sorry figure among the Muslims of Bengal, so far as their success in preaching as well as teaching was concerned. Besides, their activities did not spread far in the eastern districts, populated predominantly by Muslims, during the period under review. The Muslims were apprehensive of the proselytizing activities of the missionaries, and were therefore from friendly. Lastly, the planters as a class were not liked by the people for their oppression. Sometimes they held Zemindaris in conjunction with Hindu Zemindars. They often managed their concerns through Hindu Gomastas. The Muslims in Bengal generally forming a vast cultivating class could not account come to a compromising relationship with the planters and Zemindar classes. The friend of India on 30 July 1857 remarked that "it was thought throughout India threat the classes most hated by our Asiatic subjects were the missionaries and the planters. It is clear that the non-official European community had no interest common with the Muslims of Bengal, which they had to some extent with the Hindus. They

---

19. *The Friend of India*, July 30, 1857

therefore generally maintained a hostile attitude towards the Muslim community as a whole.”<sup>20</sup>

The effects of the Mutiny lasted for a long time on both rulers and ruled. The Government became cautious and suspicious. While the English continued to regard the Indians, in particular the Muslims with grave suspicion, the Muslims on their part considered everything British as something to be shunned.<sup>21</sup> This position caught the attention of the great Muslim leader Syed Ahmed Khan, who henceforth began to exert himself towards reconciliation between the ruler and his degraded community.

The vast majority of Muslims in India were in no position to distress themselves over the religious issues at stake- they were sufficiently distressed over the problem of keeping alive. As cultivators they were as ever preoccupied with the perennial threat of drought, flood, scarcity and how to meet the demands of the tax-gatherer and the moneylender. Would they suffer from typhoid, cholera, malaria and dysentery this year or next? Would they even reach the age of thirty? As artisans they never knew when the competition of machine-made manufactures might destroy their livelihood. Nor were many of the Muslims with something to lose those able to educate their children, willing to hold themselves completely aloof from the British system of education out of fear for their religion<sup>22</sup>. Figures given for the numbers of pupils in government schools in 1871-2, that is before Mayo's special measures could take any effect, indicate that in the North-Western provinces Muslims made up 17.8 per cent and in Awadh 25.3 per cent of the school

---

20. *Latifa Akanda, Social History Of Muslim Bengal, Dacca-1986, p-28*

21. *H.K.Sherwani, The political thought of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, July, 1944, p.237*

22. *P. Hardy, The Muslim of British India, Cambridge, 1972. pp. 92-93.*

population, Although in these areas they composed 13.5 per cent and 9.9 per cent of the population respectively. In the Panjab, Muslims were 34.9 per cent of the school population, as against a population portion of 51.8. Thus in the Punjab, while 38 per cent and 30 per cent of pupils in the government village and higher vernacular schools respectively were Muslims, only 20 per cent and 5 per cent of those in higher English schools and colleges were Muslims. In the twenty years before 1878, of 1373 Bachelors of Arts and of 326 Masters of Arts who emerged from Indian's colleges and universities, only thirty and five respectively was Muslims<sup>23</sup>. Bengal at the return of the century had a large concentration of Muslim, the largest in India. This preponderance dates back to few centuries. The origin of Bengal Muslims became to a subject matter of controversy after 1871 when the first census was taken. Muslim in Bengal proper in 1871 constituted 48.8 per cent of population.<sup>24</sup> According to the 1891 census, Muslims and Hindus in Bengal proper were 19,582,349 and 18,068,655 out of a total population of 40,367,807 <sup>25</sup>. A steady rise in the numbers of Muslims in the eastern divisions of Bengal became particularly notable. The urban population of Muslims in 1891 was 3.5 per cent. In 1881, the number and percentage (vis-a-vis the total population) of Muslims in the eastern divisions of Rajshahi, Dacca and Chittagong were 4,885, (156%), 5,531,869(63.57%) and 2,425,610 (67.85%), respectively (Report on the census of Bengal 1881 vol.1, appendix A.A no.1). In 1891 their population rose to 5,025,330 in Rajshahi, 6,429,017 in Dacca and 2,909,782 in Chittagong.<sup>26</sup> A comparative study of the first three decades shows that the

---

23. *Hunter Education Commission Report, 1882, (Calcutta, 1883), p.291*

24. *Report on the census of Bengal 1872, pp.xxxii-iii.*

25. *Report on the census of Bengal 1891, vol.iii, p.147.*

26. *1891 Census Bengal, Vol iii, p 147*

rise was confined mainly to the eastern districts, more particularly to Mymensingh, Pabna, Noakhali and Tripura.<sup>27</sup>

While discussing the census of the preponderance of Muslims in Bengal the British officials and anthropologists were of one opinion, i.e. this was due to the local conversion of lower caste Hindus to Islam by Muslim saints as a result of the rigidity of the Hindu caste system. Thus, the majority of Muslims in Bengal were from the lower strata of Hindu society, and not from the aristocratic elements from Arabia, Persia and Afghanistan who had settled in Bengal.

This view of the Hindu origin of the majority of Muslims in Bengal was challenged by Khondkar Fuzli Rubbee in his book. 'The Origin of the Mussalmans of Bengal (1895)'. He pointed out that from 1204 A.D. to 1765 A.D (a period of 562 years) 76 Muslim Governors or Nazims ruled Bengal. With a few exceptions, they were of either Afghan, Mughal, Iranian or Arab origin. A large number of Muslims of all classes from these places came and settled in Bengal. Some came with the conquerors, others on account of disturbances in their own land and some in search of livelihood. The tendency to trace their origin to families in distant lands always remained the characteristic of Bengal Muslim aristocracy and the dominant factor in shaping Muslim attitude from late 19th century to early decade of that century. A number of recent studies have described this attitude as the main cause of the

---

27. Shila Sen, *Muslim politics in Bengal*, p.3.

backwardness of the Muslim community in terms of Modern English education and social and economic progress.<sup>28</sup>

The economic pattern that emerged as the result of the new conditions did not contribute to sense of solidarity between the Hindus and the Muslims. There was considerable conflict in the interest of the two communities. The large Muslim population of Bengal consisted mostly of peasants; these were exploited and oppressed by the new class of landlords, who were generally Hindus. The decline and the distress of the wealthy Muslim families everywhere drove them to the necessity of borrowing money from Hindu money-lenders at exorbitant rates; the remnant of the property of these families soon passed into the hands of the money-lenders. The Muslim peasantry of Punjab was chronically indebted to the same class of money-lenders, whose exactions left the peasants with little to sustain themselves and their families. The humbler traders and petty shopkeepers had been Hindus throughout Muslim rule; when the East India Company's trade was abolished, this class found new opportunities. Their economic power began to rise rapidly; the Muslims had only a meager share in this prosperity. Similarly, the Muslims were backward in education; and consequently they were not well represented in professions. The Hindus came to have a comparatively more prosperous middle class, which soon became active and vocal. It acquired a new feeling of strength; it was natural that sometimes this newly gained power should be directed against the Muslims who could not fail to notice these developments. The Muslims had now only a significant part in the life of the

---

28. Shila Sen, *Muslim politics in Bengal*, p.4

subcontinent; the important roles were played by British and Hindus; the Muslims hardly counted. This was a far cry indeed from the daydreams of the revival of the Muslim Empire; the problem now was to save the situation from further deterioration.<sup>29</sup>

Yet, the assumption persisted among leading Muslim even in Northern India that Muslims generally were not taking advantage of English education, the reason being that Muslim landlords and aristocrats considered it derogatory to their position to allow their children to associate with commoners at educational institutions. The Hindu land lords exhibited the same mentality, and preferred to deprive their children of modern education. But rich Hindus of the towns did not join the boycott of the aristocrats.<sup>30</sup> The preponderance of Muslims in Eastern Bengal due to local conversions is generally the most excepted view.<sup>31</sup> The other view is that Hinduism did not permit behind the western part of Bengal, Which had a self-sufficient economy.<sup>32</sup> These two opinions have not been challenged yet. The fact that the natives of Bengal were attacked by democratic liberalism in Islam, which assured them social equality denied to them in a cast ridden Hindu society, has been sought to be established by the analysis in the census reports of 1901, 1911 and 1931.<sup>33</sup> On the other hand, Lord Rippon established Muslim representation local government in Bengal through Bengal Local Self Government Act 1885.<sup>34</sup>

---

29. *Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi, the Muslim Community of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent: 610-1947; pp-268-269*

30. *Ram Gopal, Indian Muslim: a political History: 1858-1947, p.32.*

31. *S. Dasgupta, Obscure religious Cults: Calcutta 1962, pp. 58-60*

32. *N. K. Boss, Modern Bengal Calcutta 1958, pp. 1-8*

33. *Shila Sen, Muslim politics in Bengal, p.4.*

34. *Percival Spear, The Oxford History of Modern India: 1740-1974, Oxford 1965, p-245*

Syed Ahmed fully realized that the recovery of the hitherto fallen Muslim community depended on the good will and co-operation of the rulers. He took up the task of removing the suspicion and distrust of the ruling class towards his co-religionists. As early in 1858 he wrote in Urdu *Risala Asbab-i-Hind* (causes of the Revolt). It was later translated in English in 1873 by two English officials. According to him misapprehension of the intentions of the Government (with regard to religion and custom) on the part of the people agitated them unnecessarily. The ignorance on the part of the Government of the conditions of the people, of their modes of thought and of life, and of the grievances through which their hearts were becoming estranged; the lack of contact and friendly feeling between the rulers and the ruled and so on subscribed to the revolt. He tried to prove was not the work of the Muslims primarily; but of irresponsible members of the whole Indian Community. This he further propounded in a series of pamphlets called the 'Loyal Muhamedans of India' which was first published in 1860 in part.<sup>35</sup>

Syed Ahmad's views surely influenced many eminent Europeans. Some of them acknowledged their mistake regarding Muslims as the main agitators of the mutiny Sir George Campbell in 1893 wrote: "The most obvious, popular and pressing theory is that the Mahommedans have rebelled (i.e. in the mutiny). I have exhausted every source of evidence open to me, and I have not only come to the conclusion that the case against the Mahommedans has been greatly exaggerated, which I have long suspected, but am now, contrary to my first expectation, convinced that the accusation against the Mahommedans in General is absolutely unjust."<sup>36</sup>

---

35. Baljon, *The Reforms and Religious Ideas of Sir Sayid Ahmad Khan*, pp.14-16

36. Latifa Akanda, *Social History of Muslim Bengal*, Dacca-1986 p.29



Syed Ahmad also took up the great task of turning the face of the Muslim community towards the West; otherwise, he was convinced that they would not emerge from their present condition. In this respect his services to the community can only be compared with Raja Ram Mohon Roy. Primarily through his effort and exertions, the Muslims of India began to appropriate the merit of the British rule and western thoughts and ideas. He worked as mediator between his community and the Government and tried to bring about reconciliation between them. Undoubtedly his policy proved a boon to his community.

In Bengal the same conciliatory policy was followed by Ameer Ali Khan, Abdul Latif, Khawja Abdul Ghani and others. The Muslims of Bengal, as we have seen, least participated in the mutiny, but they suffered from the doubts and distrust of the ruling class equally with their co-religionists of other part of India. The Muslim leaders of Bengal were all loyal to the government.

It was through the efforts of the few Muslim leaders together with the sympathy of some unbiased Europeans, official and non-official, that they were able to secure the confidence and goodwill of the ruling class, after a considerable length of time had elapsed.<sup>37</sup>

The main cause of the other major disability of the Muslims, economic backwardness, lay in the fact of their being primarily a farming community. Historically it is true, Bengal was ruled by Muslim overlords but the bulk of the Muslim population were poor peasants, who were further hit by the Permanent

---

37. *Latifa Akanda, Social History of Muslim Bengal, Dacca-1986 p.30*

Settlement. While the peasants were pressed to extreme indebtedness, economic outlets in the form of service with the British Government were foreclosed for Muslims because Hindus seized these opportunities more quickly.<sup>38</sup>

In 1885, All India National Congress was established. But this political party could not satisfy the Muslims. In this period, they were feeling helpless and they wanted to be united. So they were sprayed to construct a new party.<sup>39</sup> The controversy over the partition of Bengal [1905] made Muslims politically conscious of the fact that they constituted the majority community in the province. They started aspiring that their majority status should be reflected in its administration. Reminding the Government that Muslims formed two-thirds of the population of Eastern Bengal and Assam, Nawab Salimullah of Dhaka pointed out that its policy should conform to this undeniable fact. The anti-partition movement, mostly spearheaded by Hindus, therefore, led to strained feelings between the two communities and for the first time the Muslims and Hindus in Bengal were divided on a political issue. The benefits accruing to them from the administration of the new province turned the Muslim educated elite into active supporters of the British rule. The annulment of partition (December 1911) brought back to them the disadvantages they had been suffering in united Bengal. Their leaders continued to seek majority rights for the community from the Government as well as from all India Muslim leaders. At the same time, the annulment made the younger generation by and large anti-British and from the 1912 onwards led to their greater participation in the

---

38. Shila Sen, *Muslim politics in Bengal*, p.247.

39. Hafeez Malik, *Moslem Nationalism in India and Pakistan*, Washington, D.C. 1963, pp.225-26

freedom struggle and closer co-operation with the congress till the first mass movement was launched in 1920.<sup>40</sup>

C. R. Das, who was the architect of this co-operation in the legislature, understood the real nature of the Muslim problem in Bengal. His Swarajya Party and the Bengal Pact successfully united the Hindu and Muslim legislators against the British and brought an end to Diarchy in the province. This and a recrudescence of terrorist activities spelt danger for the British, both official and non-official, and unnerved the Government which tried, with some success, to drive a wedge between the Hindu and Muslim members of the Swarajya Party.<sup>41</sup>

The constitutional developments, starting with the Simon Commission (1927) and culminating in the government of India Act 1935, however, created a genuine hope among Bengal Muslims of coming to power. Earlier, Sir Abdur Rahim's support to the Government during the constitutional crisis, when the Government had been pushed to the corner by Swarajist obstruction, did not help him to build up his position; the Governor did not make him as a minister as all the Hindu nominees for minister ship refused to serve with him. He perforce turned his attention to building up a Muslim Party which neither depended on Government patronage nor on Hindu support.<sup>42</sup>

---

40. *Bangladesher Itihas*, ed, Sirajul Islam, v-1, pp.336-363

41. Shila Sen, *Muslim politics in Bengal*, p.248

42. *Banglapidia*, V-7, Asiatic Society, 2003, p.172

By this time Muslims in Bengal had completely drawn away from the Congress. Their experience with the all-India Muslim leaders during different conference in 1928 also made them look inwards and concentrate on Bengal politics. Their economic grievances came to the front in the context of the Bengal Tenancy Amendment Act (1928) when the Hindu members voted for it into, while the Muslim members opposed that part of the Bill which contemplated extending some rights to the Zemindars. This added to the polarization in Bengal of politics on Hindu-Muslim lines. In 1929 the Muslim leaders formed the Nikhil Bango Praja Samity (the Tenants party) to fight for the economic rights of the peasantry. Thus there emerged different forces and political groups inside Muslim politics, for all of which the common factor was the motivation to capture power.<sup>43</sup>

---

43. *Abul Munsur Ahmed, Amar Dekha Rajnitir Panchas Bosor, 2010, pp. 31-50*

In this pursuit of power, the critical element was the ability to carry to electorate. This was more pronouncedly so with the enlarged franchise under (37 paises) as tax a voter. The enfranchisement of the Muslim politics because while 1935 Act offered prospects of power via polarized Muslim politics, the enfranchisement of the peasantry also brought out the inner contradictions of Muslim politics because while 1935 Act offered prospects of power via polarized Muslim politics, the peasant and the feudal interests ran counter to each other.<sup>44</sup>

It was at this juncture that Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah's rejuvenated Muslim League entered the political arena by getting representation in the legislature through the Muslim Chamber of commerce. No doubt Jinnah was at that time looked to by all the contending groups for support and help. But the significant development was that Jinnah's League found itself associated with the vested interests and aristocratic leadership in Bengal politics because Fazlul Huq's Krishak Praja Party refused to have any truck with it. This symbolized a clash of class interests among Bengal Muslims themselves. Religion till then had not become a sufficiently potent weapon to unite all Muslims under one banner.<sup>45</sup>

---

<sup>44</sup> Joya Chatterji, *Bengal Divided*, trans, Abu Jafar, *Bangla Bhag Holo*, Dhaka, 2003, pp.94-105

<sup>45</sup> Humaura Momen, *Muslim politics in Bengal*, Dhaka, 1972, pp.46-55

The 1937 election results reflected this fluidity of Muslim politics in Bengal in full measure as the League, the Krishak Praja Party and Independent Muslims emerged more or less equally strong. The parity of strength between the two Muslim parties, the League and the Krishak Praja Party, made it necessary for them to co-operate for the sake of Muslim interest. The ambivalence of the congress, which emerged as the single largest party, did in fact lead to at least a tactical understanding between the Krishak Praja Party and the League. The Krishak Praja Party could not come to terms with the Congress leadership and generally inflexible attitudes of the Bengal Congress leaders. In the event, the congress brought about the formation of a ministry by the League and Krishak Praja Party. Significant, the religious sentiments of the Muslim masses were satisfied because the leaders of the two warring camps had joined hands to form the Muslim ministry in the province. This had the effect of pre-empting the ideological undertones of the Krishak Praja Party, religion becoming more and more the driving force in Muslim politics during this important phase<sup>46</sup> of Bengal's History. Since the congress refused to accept office and the cooperating Hindus did not belong to any party nor had they any particular following, the complexion of the Ministry reminds Muslim in the eyes of the Muslim public".<sup>47</sup>

The attitude of the congress after the ministry was formed further strengthened this mood of religious favor among Muslims. Since the congress opposition's effort cause mainly directed at dislodging the ministry, the entire Hindu community and the Hindu press appeared to ordinary Muslims as being opposed to the Muslim ministry. This, in effect, let to a fast deterioration of

---

46. *Abul Munsur Ahmed, Amar Dekha Rajnitir Panchas Bosor, 2010, pp. 155-90*

47. *Joya Chatterji, Bengal Divided, trans, Abu Jafar, Bangla Bhag Holo, Dhaka, 2003, pp.94-124*

Hindu-Muslim relations in Bengal. Fazlul Huq was ultimately pushed to the extreme point of joining the League within six month of forming the ministry.<sup>48</sup>

The implication of this firm hold gained by the League for the subsequent development of Muslim politics in Bengal was important. It gave sanctity to the Muslim league as a spokesman of Muslims; in one part at least of the country's Muslim majority areas it became, though fortuitously, representative of the Muslim majority and also ruled in that area as such. The fact of the first of ministry called the imagination of ordinary Muslims and its success and failure, at least in superficial terms, came to be seen as and identified with progress and down fall of the community as a whole. Therefore, the congress opposition though not undemocratic, increased the bitterness in Muslim minds about Hindu attentions. Communal polarization, for which Jinnah worked at the time of election but which did not materialized, came into its own in the legislative arena. Religion now became the rallying point for the Muslim masses as well as their chosen representatives, ideology receding to the background in the process. Fazlul Huq's association with League, a party of the Knights and Nawabs and the several beneficial legislations by the ministry for the poorer sections increased the credibility of the League among Muslims. Lastly, its long association with power and with Fazlul Huq gave the league a base in Bengal, quickly providing Jinnah and the all India League also a base there.<sup>49</sup>

---

48. Shila Sen, *Ibid*, pp 249-50

49. Dr. Mohammad Enam-Ul- Huq, *Bharoter Musلمان o Sadhinater, Andolon (1707-1947)*, Bangla Accademy, pp.205-219

However, the popularity of League in Bengal, dependent as it was on its remaining in power, was in no way reflected at the base. During the period the league was in power (1937-41), it existed as the pocket organization of the MLAs in particular places. The anti-ministry activities of the congress in Bengal made the League pursue a markedly pro Muslim policy, which to large extend was justified to because Muslims were more afflicted by poverty. When an important section of the Krishak Praja Party broke away from the ministry and joined the opposition the Muslim League leaders openly played up communal feelings to strengthen their own base. The Lahore regulation (March, 1940) i.e. the Pakistan called did not have any special appeal for Bengali Muslims in the beginning. As it was, being in the ruling party they were already enjoying the fruits of power. Fazlul Huq was made to introduce the Lahore regulation presumably, because of his being the leader of the party in power and also because of the unhesitating support which he had extended to policies of the all India Muslim League during the early phase of his premiership. During this phase, it seemed to have missed the long term the significance of his backing up Jinnah's call for Pakistan.<sup>50</sup>

Inside Bengal, However, things were perceptibly becoming difficult for Fazlul Huq who was basically secular in his ideology as the League leaders in certain part of the Muslim majority districts in eastern Bengal initiated the political battle on communal liens, the Bengal Hindu Mahasabha got fresh lease of life. The activities of the League and the Mahasabha, which increased greatly during this period, lead to several communal riots. A dangerous

---

50. Humaira Momen, *Muslim politics in Bengal, Dhaka, 1972, pp. 46-55*



symptom of these politico-communal riots was the desecration of religious places of both communities. This trend worried Fazlul Huq as well as several other leaders of the two communities. Within the League itself Fazlul Huq's relations with other leaders like Najimuddin, Suhrawardy and Akram Khan were none too happy. The unquestioning commitment of this section to Jinnah's leadership was obnoxious to him. Therefore, even though he introduced the Lahore Regulation, in Bengal Fazlul Huq attempted to foster politics of Hindu Muslim unity the joint movement in July 1940 by Muslims and Hindus for the removal of the Holwell monument and observance of a Siraj-ud-daulah day received his blessings even at the risk of courting displeasure his European supporters and the governors in order to bring the Hindu leaders around a table discussion he was prepared to show accommodation on certain Muslim demands, such as the question of the secondary Bill and the Calcutta Municipal amendment Bill against which Hindus had objections. His paper Navayug was brought out with purpose of setting a healthy trend in politics and to oppose the open manifestation of communalism by the League leaders in Bengal. Finally, when Jinnah indulged in a show of authority and interfered even in matters which were the sole concern of the leaders of the Muslim majority provinces where Muslims were sharing the responsibility of administration and were prosecution, Fazlul Huq revealed against domination of League politics by the minority leadership represented in the person of Jinnah.<sup>51</sup>

---

51. Shila Sen, *Ibid*, pp.251-52

These efforts of Fazlul Huq could not, however, overcome the mounting difficulties presented by war, the quit India movement of the congress and the opposition to Fazlul Huq by government officials, including the governor, during his second ministry. Finally Fazlul Huq dismissal from premiership in March 1940 and installation of the League Ministry had the effect of shaking his political base. The League leaders during this period toured different parts of Bengal turned Muslim public opinion against Fazlul Huq, who, they alleged, had betrayed the Muslim interest, joint hands with the Hindu Mahasabha and in collusion with it had brought about the down fall of the first Muslim ministry in Bengal. There is no doubt that this effort of the League leaders filled the vacuum created by the League going out of power. It not only kept the League movement alive but also improved the emerge of its leaders in the eyes of ordinary Muslims. This explains why a popular leader like Fazlul Huq could be isolated from the Muslim masses of Bengal.<sup>52</sup>

In 1943, when the League was again installed in power in Bengal, the Pakistan movement was gathering momentum on the all-India plane. The same year, Jinnah also took a momentous decision. In order to separate control of the parliamentary wing from the party leadership he decided that any member who held power could not hold a position in the party as well. He perhaps did not want a repetition of the mistake he had committed in dealing with Fazlul Huq and also wanted to cut Suhrawardy to size. When Suhrawardy, accordingly, resigned from the party secretary ship, however, did not allow control of the party to slip out of his hands. Abul Hashim, a progressive radical Muslim Leaguer, become the secretary as Suhrawardy's

---

52. Joya Chatterji, *Bengal Divided*, trans, Abu Jafar, *Bangla Bhag Holo*, Dhaka, 2003, p.84

nominee. Hashim in 1943 was keenly interested in making the party broad-based and representative of Muslims of all shades of opinion and was never quite identified with the 'squabbles for power'. To him goes the credit for making the Pakistan movement in Bengal mass based and democratic contrary to Jinnah's preference for elitist politics. Hashim undertook extensive tours and helped formation of democratic league organizations in different cities and districts. He placed before the league workers the idea that the party was supreme, above the ministry, and that if they did not exercise vigilance, exploitation of the Muslim masses by the vested interests would continue even after the establishment of Pakistan. This way it becomes easier for the Muslim intelligentsia to interpret the Pakistan ideal in terms of a Muslim majority state in Bengal.<sup>53</sup>

The emergence of the leadership of Mr. Abul Hashim at the party level and that of Suhrawardy in parliamentary politics during this period posed a challenge to Khaza Nazimuddin's position, and indirectly to Jinnah's too, in Bengal. Since the new Bengal League Leadership grew from the people upward, it remained an unknown element for Jinnah until it could demonstrate its credibility during the general election to the central and provincial assemblies. And this is what precisely happened when Bengal Muslims gave clear verdict in favor of Pakistan by returning 113 Muslim League members (out of total 121 Muslims seats) in the provincial election of 1946 which was fought on the Pakistan issue by Muslims all over the India. In Bengal, it meant the victory of the progressive forces inside the League and popular approval of the leadership of Hashim and Suhrawardy, the latter becoming the Prime Minister in 1946. The phenomenon of the League striking roots among the

---

53. *Banglapedia*, p.40.

Muslim masses served the purpose of all India Muslim League in the short run but seeds of future discord lay in the mass base of the league in Bengal, since the all India leadership was basically elitist.<sup>54</sup>

With the end of World War-II the British decided to withdraw from India and order to find a solution to the Indian question they initiated the Simla Conference which was followed by a general election and the Cabinet Mission Plan. The congress and League were accepted as authentic representatives of Hindus and Muslims rendering other forces on the political scene secondary. Inside the League this eliminated the changes of other elements, besides Jinnah, from being effective. From the very beginning Jinnah had been anxious to give the League and all India image and project his own leadership which was also accepted by the British Government as it evident from the successive talks for Viceroy had with him from the time the League adapted the Lahore regulation. Even then in order to nip the provincial aspiration in the bud and to frustrate the possibility of the British coming to terms with individual provinces (for which in any case the congress was prepared), he called a legislator's convention at Delhi on 9 April, 1946 and made the legislators commit themselves to the idea of one Pakistan state embracing north western and eastern Muslim Zones.<sup>55</sup>

The Muslim leaders in Bengal, despite their newly nurtured mass base, failed to understand clearly the significance of accepting Jinnah's Leadership and an all-out commitment to him. Particularly on the question of Bengali Muslim interests they could not make themselves effective in the final mechanics of

---

54. *Bangladesher Itihas*, ed, Sirajul Islam, v-1, pp.408-10

55. *Harun-or-Rashid, Foreshadowing of Bangladesh*, pp.297-99

partition and agreed in Jinnah's dictatorial leadership like when he changed the Lahore regulation in a substantive way by removing 'S' from the word 'states' and he nominated Jogendranath Mandal, a scheduled cast leader, to the Interim Government ignoring the Bengal and Assam league leaders. The reasons why Nawab Syed Ali Choudhury, Abdur Rahim and Fazlul Huq had fought against the all India Muslim leadership were missed by Suhrawardy. As a result when the majority of Bengal Hindus demanded partition of the province and the British were in a mood to concede it, Jinnah did not come to the rescue of Bengal Muslims. Abul Hashim and Suhrawardy, however, tried to fight the issue on a provincial basis by uniting Hindus and Muslim in an independent sovereign Bengal, but the historical perspective congenial for that unity was now missing, communal passions having been aroused to gain short term advantages in the game of power. Apart from the dynamics of communal politics, which made the emergence of such a state impossible, the British also were lukewarm to the idea.<sup>56</sup>

On 9 June 1947, the day of the council of the all India Muslim League in New Delhi accepted as a compromise solution the British Government plan for partition of the Panjab and Bengal. A section of Dhaka University student sent a wire to Jinnah warning him that in case he accepted the plan of partition of Bengal, Bengal Muslim would regard him as a 'traitor' and continue their struggle for achieving 'true Pakistan'.

---

56. Shila Sen, *ibid*, pp.251-52

As a result, Bengali Muslim, who had for so long fought the minority domination of Bengal's political social and economic life and had joined the Pakistan movement in the hope of achieving freedom from minority control, found them in the same condition even after the achievement of Pakistan. They now smarted under the cultural subjugation, political domination and economic exploitation by the West Pakistan minority, and in the very first year of independence, they started the movement for the protection of their cultural identity assertion of their political rights as a majority and achieve of economic parity. This struggle was hard and long and costly. It eventually culminated in the demand for an independent Bangladesh, the emergence of which is contemporary history.

## **CHAPTER-III**

# **BIRTH, EARLY AND EDUCATION LIFE OF AZIZUL HUQUE**

### 3.1. Birth and early life of Mohammad Azizul

#### Huque:

Mohammad Azizul Huque was born on 27 November 1892 C.E. in a Muslim family of Santipur, in Nadia district of West Bengal. His father's name is Muniruddin Ahmed and he was only one son of his parent<sup>1</sup>. He lost his mother infancy.<sup>2</sup> His mother died in 1<sup>st</sup> January in 1893 C.E.<sup>3</sup> He brought up by his paternal aunt Rahimun Nessa who was sterilize, wife of Mahfizuddin Ahmed. It was an enlightened middle class family atmosphere in which fellow feeling, love of learning and cultural pursuit had prominence under the personal care and guardianship of his uncle Mozammel Haque (1860-1933) who was an eminent educator and writer, a stern disciplinarian and patriarchal figure.<sup>4</sup> For their care, Azizul Huque did not miss his mother. His early childhood was spending in a congenial family and community environment where the best of Hindu and Muslim culture co-existed because the region was reputed for the Bhaishnav religious cult and for communal harmony. He had well control in Sanskrit, Persian, Urdu and English, apart from his mother tongue Bangla.<sup>5</sup>

---

1. Bhuiya Iqbal, *Sir Azizul Huque, Bangla Academy, p.12*

2. Shahanara Alam and Husniara Huq, *Azizul Huque A Biographical Account of his Life and Work, Dhaka1994, p.23*

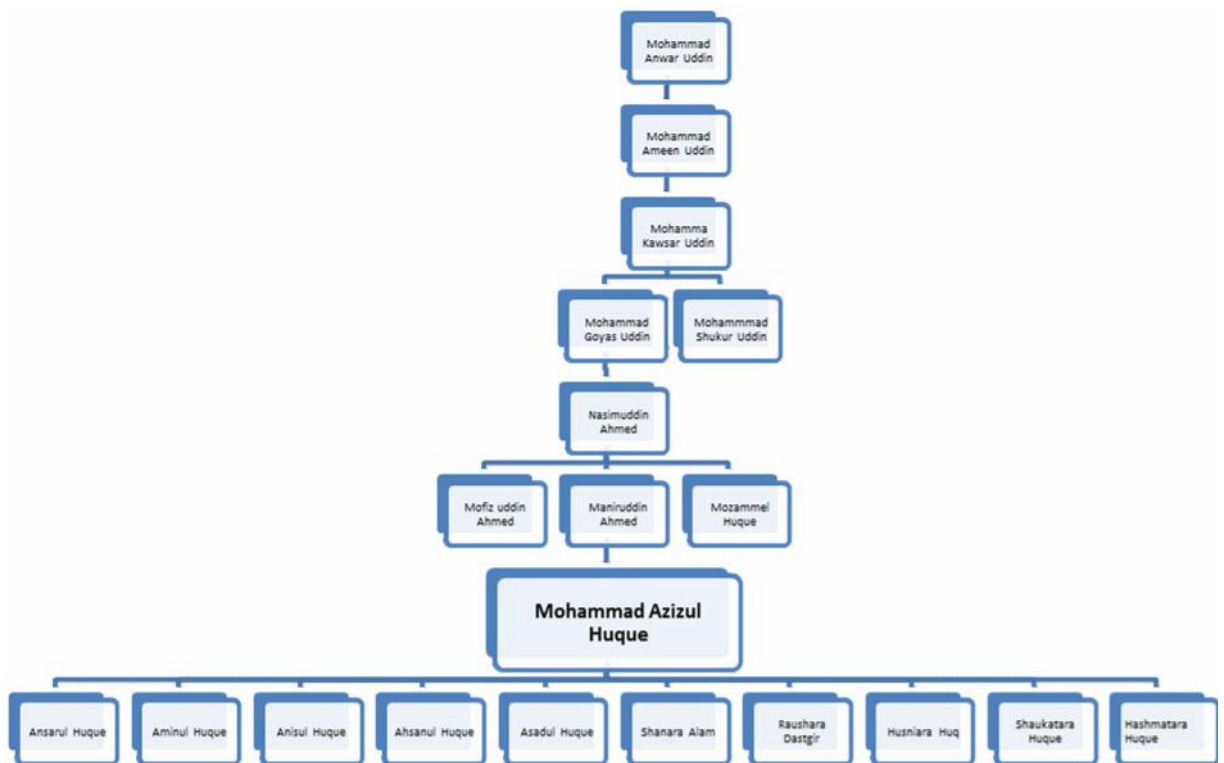
3. *Ibid, p.390*

4. *ibid, p.23*

5. *Banglapedia, V-I, p.347*



## GENEALOGY OF M. AZIZUL HUQUE (1892-1947):



### **3.2. Education Life of Mohammad Azizul Huque:**

Education of Mohammad Azizul Huque was started in his grandfather's house by the support of his uncle Mozammel Haque. At that time he was influenced by his uncle. He was a very meritorious student from his early days. He admitted nearby school for primary education. He got admission in Santipur Municipal H.E. School after completed primary education. He passed the Entrance Examination in 1907 C.E. Then he moved to Calcutta for further studies and got admission in Presidency Collage and he passed FA examination in 1909 from this collage and BA examination in 1911 C.E. respectively.<sup>6</sup> Then he admitted University Law College and obtained the BL degree with distinction in 1914 C.E. He had participated in the activities of the Muslim Institute and its program concerning the educational problems of the backward Muslim community and devoted much of his time and energy for the welfare of the Muslim farmers. When still a student, he was the Secretary of the Muslim Institute, Calcutta in the year 1911-1912, Joint Secretary of the Bengal Presidency Mahommedan Educational Association, Assistant Secretary of the Bengal Presidency Muslim League and Editor of the Journal of the Muslim Institute, Calcutta.<sup>7</sup>

He wrote a pamphlet on 'Mohammedan Education' and published in 1912 C.E. while he was a law student and honorary secretary of the Muslim Institute. Mr. Huque's sustained interest in the predicament of the Muslim students led to a paper which was read out at a meeting of

---

<sup>6</sup> Shahanara Alam and Husniara Huq, *Azizul Huque A Biographical Account of his Life and Work*, Dhaka 1994, p.23

<sup>7</sup> *Star of India*, Friday, June 15, 1934. *Bengal's new minister, Khan Bahadur Azizul Huque, Selected Takes Charge Today*

the Muslim Institute. Subsequently, a number of steps were taken towards solving some of those problems which were articulated in his pamphlet. In 1914, the Mahommedan Education Committee which was arranged to consider certain questions connected with 'Mahommedan Education' and submitted its report which was published in the Calcutta Gazette supplement in August 9, 1916. There was a reflection of his opinions in that report of Mahommedan Education Committee. Much remained to be done towards an honest endeavor to solve the problems connected with Mahommedan education in Bengal.<sup>8</sup> Based on the above information it is clear that the pamphlet showed his intelligence of his student life.

The Director's encouragement and support resulted in its publication in 1917 C.E. in the book form, History and Problems of Muslim Education in Bengal. He wrote the problems of education and find out some solutions with list of Mohammedan students. In this book he suggested that the Madrassah in all its branches should be incorporated within the University system with such modifications as might be needed for the purpose.<sup>9</sup>

---

<sup>8</sup> *Shahanara Alam and Husniara Huq, Azizul Huque A Biographical Account of his Life and Work, Dhaka 1994, p.25*

<sup>9</sup> *Bhuiya Iqbal, Sir Azizul Huque, Bangla Academy, p.51*

# **CHAPTER IV**

## **PROFESSIONAL LIFE**

## **4.0. PROFESSIONAL LIFE: AT A GLANCE:**

Mr. Azizul Huque had a very bright professional life. He had occupied very important and vital positions of Bengal and India. In his long professional career he served in various dignified positions. I would like to classify his professional life in following ways:

- 4.1. Lawyer in Krishnagar (1915-1925);
- 4.2. Government Pleader, Public Prosecutor, Vice–Chairman of Nadia District Board, and member of the Bengal Legislative Council (1926-1934);
- 4.3. Education Minister of Bengal (1934-1937);
- 4.4. Speaker of the Bengal Legislative Assembly (1937-1942);
- 4.5. Vice Chancellor of Calcutta University (1938-1942);
- 4.6. High Commissioner for India in London (1942-43);
- 4.7. Member of Viceroy’s Executive Council-Delhi (1943-1946);
- 4.8. Enrollment in the Calcutta High Court and Death (1946-1947);

In this chapter, I shall discuss in detail about his responsibilities, activities of above positions which will help me to evaluate his contribution.

## 4.1. Lawyer in Krishnagar (1915-1925):

Mr. Huque decided to practice law in Krishnagar in 1914 C.E. He had close contact with many notable Muslim politicians of the subcontinent, including Sher-e-Bangla A.K. Fazlul Huq, Sir Abdulla Suhrawardy, Sir Salimullah and Muhammad Ali Jinnah. Azizul Huque settled down to practice law in Krishnagar after completed B.A.B.L from Calcutta. Mr. Huque offered the post of a deputy magistrate. He began practicing as a lawyer in the district court of Krishnanagar from 1915.<sup>1</sup> He was actively connected with local government, social and educational institutions.<sup>2</sup> Sir John Herbert said, “His early days were spent in his home district of Nadia. He was Vice-Chairman of the Krishnagar Municipality, besides having served for some time as President of a village Union Board. I am convinced that a democratic state can only function properly if all concerned in administration have a real and practical knowledge of the problems of the country at first hand. Sir Azizul’s career shows that he has such experience and he has used that experience to fullest advantage.”<sup>3</sup>

He was married to Kaniz Khatun of Simlagarh, Hoogly district in 1915.<sup>4</sup> He became more involved in local politics and local government institutions. He acquired a reputation as a successful lawyer in this profession. He also involved with many educational institutions in Nadia districts. He was a member of Central Text Book Committee. He was a

---

1. *Encyclopidia .V-1, p.169*

2. *Shahanara Alam and Husniara Huq, Azizul Huque a Biographical Account of his Life and Work, 1994, p-166*

3. *Governor of Bengal, Chancellor, Calcutta University, Conferring D.Litt. (Honoris Causa) at special Convocation on Azizul Huque, March12, 1942*

4. *Bhuiya Iqbal, Sir Azizul Huque, Bangla Academy, 1994 p-14*

member of governing committee of Krishnagar College and Collegiate School. In his district he was the Secretary of Krishnagar technical school which was one of the best run institutions of its kind in Bengal and he had been in the forefront of all local activities in his district. As a member of Banking Enquiry committee, he made economic survey of Birhum.<sup>5</sup> Probably, it was at this time that he made a study of peasant uprisings in the East Bengal region, the part that now constitutes Bangladesh.<sup>6</sup>

In this period he wrote a book named 'History and Problems of Moslem Education in Bengal'. This book criticized government's education system and told about Calcutta Madrassah's managing committee's problems. The writer also criticized utilization of Mohsin Fund. This is a great book because it is first written about education problem in Bengal. World famous poet Rabindranath Tagore appreciated this book.<sup>7</sup>

As a secretary of Madenipur Zemindary Company Investigation Committee, he released the illegal activities, agony, and injustice of British employers through his report which was created to infuriate the non-Indian government employee but the poor mass people find him as a sympathetic worker. He was selected the president of Bettona union panchayat at this time. His life showed that how an ordinary man can take a highest place of honor and success by his personality, competency and talent.<sup>8</sup>

---

5. Bhuiya Iqbal, *Sir Azizul Huque*, Bangla Academy, 1994 p-21

6. Shahanara Alam and Husniara Huq, *Azizul Huque a Biographical Account of his Life and Work*, 1994, p-166

7. *Ibid*, p.31

8. Daily Azad, ed, *Mohammad Jahangir*, 23 March 1947

To stem out of his earlier concern for the oppressed, expanding and adsorbing related issues, it was at this stage in his career that Azizul Huque began to take a keen interest in the land, the agricultural scene, farm loans and money lenders the problem of rural indebtedness, the river and irrigation systems of Bengal and at the core of all this, the plight of the Bengal peasantry. As early as the 20's, he emphasized the importance of the rivers and waterways of Bengal. He convened the Nadia River Conference in 1926. Sir William Willcocks refers to his presence on his touring mission in his lectures on the ancient irrigation system of Bengal and its relevance to the current situation.<sup>9</sup>

His famous book 'The Man Behind the Plough (1939)' is a research work of high esteem and great quality. His concern for the Bengal farmer's miserable life goes far back to his years as a young lawyer when he championed their cause. He made a special study of the irrigation problem of Bengal. It is written about the problems and plight of the Peasants of Bengal. His concern for the poor, exploited peasants of Bengal led to the writing of the present book first published in 1939.<sup>10</sup>

---

9. Bhuiya Iqbal, *Sir Azizul Huque, Bangla Academy, 1994 p-53*

10. Shahanara Alam and Husniara Huq, *Azizul Huque a Biographical Account of his Life and Work, 1994, p-261*



## **4.2. Government Pleader, Public Prosecutor, Vice–Chairman of Nadia District Board, and member of the Bengal Legislative Council (1926-1934):**

He was also appointed Government Pleader and Public Prosecutor, elected Vice–Chairman of Nadia District Board and served for nine years, and member of the Bengal Legislative Council (1926-1934). He served on most of Public Committees of the Legislature and helped in the passage of tenancy and debt settlement legislations. He served in every important selection committee. He was closely associated with the passing of the Bengal Tenancy Act of 1928 and the Bengal Money Lender’s Act of 1933.<sup>11</sup> In 1927, he served Bengal Civil Services and Other Services Recoupment Committee. He also served Railway Establishment Committee, Transportation and Commercial 1929-1931, Provincial Advisory Committee, Indian Territorial Course 1929-1930, Indian Police Service Selection Committee 1929, Medical College Admission Committee 1929-1931.

M. Azizul Huque contended in Bengal Legislative Council election from Nadia in 1929. A. K Fazlul Huq commented on Azizul Huque in a leaflet that “Mr. Azizul Huque is a real social philanthropist; he has tried to ensure the welfare of poor people”<sup>12</sup>.

---

11. *Anndobazar Patrika*-15th July, 1934.

12. *Bhuiya Iqbal, Sir Azizul Huque, Bangla Academy, 1994 p-31*

In the Bengal Legislative Council, He had been a member since 1926; he had been a member of the Public Accounts Committee for the last eight years with only a short break. He had been an active member of the Select Committee of every important Bill. He introduced the Bengal Money Lenders Bill as a private Legislation and successfully carried it through the Council; he had been a member of various Standing Committees. Mr. Huque was considered as one who had specially studied the irrigation problems and had been the most prominent figure during the Irrigation debates in the Council during the last few years. Sir William Willcox referred to Mr. Huque in his book on 'Ancient Irrigation in Bengal' and wrote, "He has been a consistent champion of the Ryot's interest in the Bengal Council and during the Bengal Tenancy debates, and he led the opposition with vigor and courage".<sup>13</sup>

In 1926 he was awarded the title of "Khan Bahadur". In 1928, he became Fellow of Calcutta University and member of Dhaka University Court. He was also associated with Aligarh University. He was re-elected to the Bengal Legislative Council in 1929.<sup>14</sup> In this period, there were a serious conflict begin between Nehru and Jinnah. Nehru demanded in his report that separate electorate was abolished in Bengal and Panjab. But Jinnah took an opposite position to this report. He demanded seriously about separate electorate. By this moment, Azizul Huque did advocacy with Jinnah. He wrote an article on 'Three Seats' on Eid Supplement 1934; Morning News.

---

13. *Star of India Friday, June 15, 1934; Bengal's New Minister Khan Bahadur Azizul Huque Selected Takes Charge Today.*

14. *Shahanara Alam and Husniara Huq, Azizul Huque a Biographical Account of his Life and Work, 1994, p-199*

“A member of the faculty of Law and of Arts, a member of the Board of Studies in Economics and of Sanskrit Language in University of Calcutta, and examiner of Law in Calcutta and Aligarh University, Mr. Huque was also a member of the Central Text Book Committee and as such was elected Chairman of the History Syllabus Committee, of the Biblical and Islamic Names Transliteration Committee and was for some time also the Chairman of the History Board of the Text Book Committee. In his district he was the Secretary of the Krishnagar Technical School which is one of the best run institutions of its kind in Bengal. A member of the Governing Body of Krishnanagar College, of Collegiate School, the Secretary or President of several educational institutions in the district of Nadia and a member of many others, he has been in the forefront of all local activities in his district. He took an active interest in the Scout Movement and was recently elected a member of the Executive Committee of the Bengal Territorial Advisory Committee for some time. In 1933, he was unanimously elected the Chairman of the Krishnanagar Municipality, a Board of Commissioners with only four Muslims and he held the Vice-Chairmanship of the Nadia District Board for the last nine years.”<sup>15</sup>

He was the only representative from Bengal on the Lothian Committee where he did very valuable work. As a member of the Bengal Banking Enquiry Committee, he made economic surveys of the district of Birbhum. He was Vice-President of the Bengal Board of Industries, a

---

15. *Star of India*, Friday, June 15, 1934, *Bengal's New minister Khan Bahadur Azizul Huque Selected Takes Charge Today*

member of the Bengal Jute Enquiry Committee, the Bengal Board of Economic Enquiry and the Bengal Retrenchment Committee.

He was the Vice President of the Bengal for some time and Assam postal R.M.S association and the president of the Nadia postal and RMS union, secretary of the Nadia exhibition in 1926 and 1927, member of the East Bengal railway advisory committee for last five years, he was also a member of the IPS selection committee, the BCS selection committee and other selection committees for some time.<sup>16</sup> A reputed Lawyer, he was the public prosecutor of Nadia for some years, though his work in public life left him very little time to devote himself to his professional works.

---

16. *Star of India, Friday, June 15, 1934, Bengal's New minister Khan Bahadur Azizul Huque Selected Takes Charge Today.*

### **4.3. Education Minister of Bengal (1934-1937):**

His Excellency the governor of Bengal may assure that the selection of Khan Bahadur Azizul Huque as education minister had been very well received by all section of the people. So far as his qualities were concerned Mr. Huque stand second to none of the members of his community and those who have had the pleasure of working with him in the public field would bear text money to the fact that he was one of the most energetic well informed and young men of Bengal. The appointment of Mr. Azizul Huque as a member of government of Bengal was particularly gratifying to many for the reason that this was the first time when a young man unconnected with the so-called aristocracy of Bengal had been chosen. Mr. Huque comes from what was generally known as a lower middle class family in Bengal and he had made his mark solely by his own merit and exertion. The true principle of democracy had been honored in his appointment.<sup>17</sup>

Azizul Huque had a huge knowledge of education system of Bengal. He was very much interested to do something to develop Muslim education. For this reason Azizul Huque was appointed Education minister of Bengal in June 1934. So the family was shifted to Calcutta.<sup>18</sup>

As an Education Minister he tried to obliterate illiteracy in Bengal. It was he who first introduced a Bill on primary education to all free of cost. During his tenure Bengal got numerous schools. As Education Minister,

---

17. *Star of India*, Friday, June 15, 1934, Bengal's New minister Khan Bahadur Azizul Huque Selected Takes Charge Today.

18. *Shahanara Alam and Husniara Huq, Azizul Huque a Biographical Account of his Life and Work*, 1994, p-238

he introduced the practice of holding education weeks and exhibitions. He was active in changing the medium of instruction to Bengali at primary levels in government schools. As an education minister he tried to obliterate illiteracy in Bengal. Formation of a new scheme of primary education occupied him at this time and the correspondence with Poet Rabindranath Tagore regarding educational policy and methods shows his desire to sound public figures on this important issue. He condemned the habit of students using note-books and the practice of private tuition and urged dedication in teaching while working for improvement of the pay-scale of primary school teachers. He strongly believed that "A nation, which had a bad system of education, was bound to fare badly".<sup>19</sup> His Primary Education plan remained in force at first Education Week and Exhibition in February 1936 and even it was continued after his death. He was responsible to Standing Committees of Education and Irrigation. He helped to establish a college in Bogra in 1939 which still bears his name-Azizul Huque College shortened to A. H. College.<sup>20</sup> At this time Azizul Huque was also placed in charge of the Registration Department and Waqf Department.<sup>21</sup>

When he was selected Education Minister by the government, royal and educated society appreciated him. The Amritabazar Patrika wrote about that, "So, at long last the government of Bengal has as was forecast by our Darjeeling correspondent, appointed Khan Bahadur Azizul Huque Minister for Education in Bengal. We demanded a Hindu Minister this

---

19. The Calcutta review, May, 1939, Dacca Muslim students.

20. Shahanara Alam and Husniara Huq, Azizul Huque a Biographical Account of his Life and Work, 1994, p-238

21. Ibid, p-391.

time and we hoped our demand will be fulfilled. But his Excellency did not perhaps think it expedient to antagonize the Moslem party in the Bengal Council by appointing a Hindu as a Minister; be that as it may, we must say that the Governor has selected one of the ablest and most active Moslem members of the council to fill this responsible office. The Khan Bahadur has education and long experience. While we offer him our sincere congratulations we hope he will try to win the golden opinion of Hindus and Muslim alike by discharging the duties of his office honestly, impartially and conscientiously and above all free from communalism.”<sup>22</sup>

When Azizul Huque selected Minister of education, a congratulate ceremony was celebrated by Santipur Jublee Madrassah in 22th July 1934. For this ceremony, Kazi Nazrul Islam wrote a song which is included in appendix-III.

Sir John Herbert said that it is not therefore surprising that Sir Azizul Huque made a success of his career in the old Legislative Council and subsequently in the Legislative Assembly. In the former he was Minister of Education, in the latter he was speaker. In debate he showed profound knowledge of local conditions. During his tenure of the Ministry of Education several important schemes were undertaken for the advancement of education. He took a particular interest in the advancement of Muslim Education by granting Science Scholarships and by Overseas Scholarships from Mohsin Fund. He was largely

---

22. *Bhuiya Iqbal, Sir Azizul Huque, Bangla Academy, 1994. p.49*

instrumental in the change of the medium of Instruction from English to Bengali, and his Scheme of Primary Education is still in force.<sup>23</sup>

I would like to discuss about the contribution of M. Azizul Huque as an educator and an education minister. I have found his views and contribution in the following sub sectors of education:

4.3.1: Primary education

4.3.2: Secondary education

4.3.3: Higher education

4.3.4: Professional education (Vocational Education)

4.3.5: Madrassah education

4.3.6: Female education

---

24. Governor of Bengal, Chancellor, Calcutta University, Conferring D.Litt. (Honoris Causa) at special Convocation on Azizul Huque, March 12, 1942.



### 4.3.1. Primary Education:

Khan Bahadur M. Azizul Huque had been replaced in the position of Khaja Nazimuddin as Education Minister in June, 1934. Muslim Leaders got responsibility of Education Ministry after 1924 which was favorable to increase opportunity of Muslim education. An important education seminar was held in July 1934 at Dhaka. The seminar played main role to popularize primary education. Some proposals had been taken based on the report of District Education Inspector on education problems. Decision had been made to establish new schools where number of schools was insufficient.<sup>24</sup>

In 1935, free compulsory education was introduced for 6-10 years old boys at 9 No. ward of Calcutta Municipality. Implementation of free compulsory primary education act was started at Calcutta city through this initiative. Education tax was imposed on the citizen of Mymensingh district as alternative option of government. As a result, free compulsory primary education was started in 1937. A free primary education day was observed on 3<sup>rd</sup> January 1938 to accomplish this objective. M. Azizul Huque, education minister declared a regulation on overall problem and progress of education in Bengal.<sup>25</sup>

In this regulation, limitations of primary education were discussed. According to this regulation, economic problem was the main barrier to implement the education system of restructuring activities. It seems to

---

24. Dr. Abdullah Al Masum, *British Amale Bangla Muslim Shiksha: Samasya O Prasar, Bangla Academy, Dhaka, 2008, p.171*

25. *Ibid, Report on public Instruction in Bengal, 1937-38, Alipore, 1939, p.1*

that number of primary students increased but maximum of them were studying in junior classes. 90 % of the primary students dropped out before complete primary level. In maximum schools one teacher was teaching in three classes. Teachers were incapable and their remuneration was very poor. That is why quality of education was not good. Teachers were getting 6-8 taka monthly. Implementation of law of 1930 was not possible due to poor government subsidy for primary education and economic crisis. The education regulation proposed to four years curriculum instead of five years. Education minister opined that due to these changes less number of teacher will be needed, quality of education will be improved and a position motivation will be created among students so that they can get chance to admit secondary education one year before. Finally, burden will be reduced on government and citizen reducing education cost. Notification of Education Ministry mentioned to reform primary education program and curriculum as per need of rural farmers and their tradition so that primary education can be used in their practical life. Suitable teachers would be recruited who can adjust with rural environment and can provide appropriate education for student. A mass opinion had been called on education regulation.<sup>26</sup>

Education Minister M. Azizul Huque was a devoted educator. As per his initiatives and support from public education committee an 'Education Fair' had been organized and an 'Education Week' had been observed. The main objective of the Education Week was present the problems of education and its solution to the teachers. That was the first time in

---

26. *Ibid*, Report on public Instruction in Bengal, 1937-38, Alipore, 1939, p.37

Bengal to observe that type of program.<sup>27</sup> Azizul Huque was worried about the quality of education. He gave important statement on the problems and prospect of primary education in a published article 'Primary Education in Bengal' in 1936. He wrote in his article "the education problems are not as easy as we think. Geographical condition of different area created harder the problem. It is needless to say, some areas are detached due to Marshland, river, forest and lack of road. It is difficult to decide the appropriate place for the schools. This problem is not severe in urban area. But only urban population was 30 lacks; rest 4 cores 60 lack population living in 47000 villages." Education Minister also added about the problems of primary education that "only one or two teachers are recruited for a school of five classes. Average student of primary school was 32, among them student of elementary class is 21 and upper class is only 4. And average student of the highest class of higher primary School is 15. Average 69 percent student dropped out in class one. Rate of the dropped out student was 79% in class two, 91% in class three and 93% in class four. That means only 7% was lucky who completed primary education. He told scarcity of teachers is the main reason of this high dropout rate. He also mentioned, "What more we can expect providing 3.75 taka government subsidy?" He told that require 45000 primary schools as per present education system to introduce 'compulsory free primary education'. 13-14 cores taka is required for teacher's honorarium, students study, and infrastructure purposes. But our revenue income is 9 cores taka in 1933-34. So, it is not possible for government to bear this cost if we cannot collect money from other sources. That is why, Azizul Huque proposed to four years

---

27. *Ibid*, Report on public Instruction in Bengal, 1938-39, Alipore, 1940, p.3

primary education instead of five years considering economic and other limitations. Mr. Huque's opinion was student will be capable to read and write by a highly paid deserving teacher providing four years education. He drew a plan for four years free compulsory primary education for 80 boys in his article. He proposed self-regard system for girls. As per his plan in 80% boys; education would be provided in starting 2325314 boys. As per his plan three teachers will teach 135 boys in 2500 primary schools. 1.65 crores taka would be required annually. Including teachers and inspectors salary this cost would be approximate 2 crores taka annually. He requests to consider his proposal and expected a satisfactory solution of primary education as per the new state law (1935) from new government.<sup>28</sup>

It is clear from the statement of Sir Azizul Huque that economic problem was the main barrier of implementation of government education policy especially free compulsory primary education system. He told that teacher scarcity is the main cause of student drop out.

---

28. Sir Mohammad Azizul Huque, *Primary Education in Bengal, The Mussalman Eid Special*, 1936, pp.43-44

### 4.3.2. Secondary education:

Bengal Government was rethought about Muslim education in 1930 based on Simon's Commission recommendations on secondary education, statements and proposals of Muslim leaders and writers and various problems of Muslim education and less improvement of Muslim community. A report of Public Education directorate (1929-30) mentioned that education facilities are not beneficial for their satisfactory progress.<sup>29</sup> At that time Government has made a plan to form another education advisory committee. This committee will find out problems reviewing the Muslim education status and they will provide recommendations to the government. As per government plan, 15 members Muslim Education Advisory Committee had been formed chaired by Khan Bahadur Abdul Momen (M.L.C) on 3<sup>rd</sup> February 1931.<sup>30</sup>

Muslim Education Advisory Committee had submitted their report on 22<sup>nd</sup> November, 1934. The Momen Committee discussed in detail on secondary Muslim education of Bengal. The Committee found out real problem of secondary Muslim education of Bengal. The report revealed that 85% Muslim students are studying in primary level. They are reserved back for secondary and higher education. Poverty was identified as the main barrier of secondary Muslim education of Bengal. Some of the Muslims had no capacity to study in higher education due to poverty. Those who have small capacity they also dropped out before matriculation. They have no capacity to purchase book. In some cases

---

29. Dr. Abdullah Al Masum, *British Amale Bangla Muslim Shiksha: Samasya O Prasar*, Bangla Academy, Dhaka, 2008, p.247

30. *Ibid*, Report on the Moslem Education Advisory Committee, 1934, p.1

they are incapable to complete secondary education and studying long time. The reasons of Muslim's lack of interest to take education not due to negative attitude on English education; actual reasons were illiterate society, unfavorable environment of home, lack of religious education in school, unsure future career. Noncooperation movement is one of the reasons to less improvement of Muslim education in last 10 years.<sup>31</sup>

Momen committee mentioned that due to government intervention Arabic and Persi teachers were recruited but some of schools in West Bengal do not recruit that teachers till now. English teachers is teaching English and Sanskrit subject not head master. There is less scope to learn English Persi or English Arabic because that was the responsibility of Maulavi Teacher. So when Maulavi teacher was absent Muslim students were separated from these educations. Residential hostels for Muslim student were inadequate. Hostel for Muslim student were very few in rural area compare to urban area. It was difficult to bear cost of Hostel seat fare, fare of furniture, donation by the poor Muslim students. Private hostel condition was very bad.<sup>32</sup>

Muslim Education Advisory Committee observed that present education system created unhappiness among Guardians. Guardians were complaint that students are not learning anything due to inclusion of many subjects. They were believed that education means no religion due to absence of religion education. The Committee agreed with complains of guardians and opined that secondary education cannot

---

31. Dr. Abdullah Al Masum, *British Amale Bangla Muslim Shiksha: Samasya O Prasar*, Bangla Academy, Dhaka, 2008, p.247

32. *Ibid*, *Report on the Moslem Education Advisory Committee, 1934*, pp.53-56

make student self-dependent except make them eligible to get admission in university. Involvement of Muslim in school managing committee was not satisfactory. Muslim teachers are very few in private schools. As per policy of 1917 Muslim involvement of schools committee would be 6 out of 10 which was not followed. The committee enforced on religion and ethical education and told that Indian government did not implement recommendations of the committee of 1914. Religious education is very much important to Muslims but proper application of religious education is a problem. Schools of Britain are teaching religious and ethical education. These two subjects are interdependent and without religion ethical education is mechanical. It is true that without religion ethics cannot stay. Muslim religious education teaches to respect the authority and obey law which is essential for every nation. The committee told about free education that only 15% Muslim students are getting this privilege which is nothing as per ratio of Muslim population. On the other hand, there are a good number of Muslim students deprived from this privilege due to age binding policy.<sup>33</sup>

The Momen committee also added that Muslim communities were very reluctant to establish school. Maximum English medium schools were established in Hindu community. Muslims were establishing schools but they were not getting sufficient donation. A hard role of donation policy was responsible for this. Only three schools were managed by government which was Dhaka & Chittagong Muslim High School and Englo-Persi School of Calcutta University. Rest of the private schools

---

33. Dr. Abdullah Al Masum, *British Amale Bangla Muslim Shiksha: Samasya O Prasar, Bangla Academy, Dhaka, 2008, p.248*

was suffered in economic crisis.<sup>34</sup> Based on the above findings the Momen Committee had drawn the following recommendations to improve the Muslim secondary education:

1. Admission in government schools as per ratio of population;
2. Introduce Arabic-Persi subject in every school regardless the number of Muslim students;
3. 45% Muslim teacher would be recruited in secondary school which have got donation and it should be a pre-condition for donation;
4. Ensure at least 33% Muslim participation in the school management committee of government approved private schools;
5. Send request to university to ensure Muslim representation in school management committee and teacher recruitment of non-donated high schools;
6. Introduce religious study in education curriculum and it would be compulsory up to middle class;
7. Introduce stipend so that Muslim student can overcome economic problem;
8. Introduce stipend for Muslim residential student so that they can pay for hostel seat rent, fare of furniture and taxes.
9. Free education for all Muslim students and rate would be 20%.
10. More donation should be provided for Muslim populated schools;
11. Initiative would be taken to establish school in appropriate places;
12. Englo-Persi department of Calcutta university would be separated and established as a department of Inspectors or it should be fallen under the principal of Islamic College;

---

34. *Ibid*, Report on the Moslem Education Advisory Committee, 1934, pp.60-62



13. Karea Muslim Middle English Medium School (63/1, McLeod Street) and Woodburn Muslim Middle English Medium School would be separated from principle of Calcutta Hadassah and it would be under Inspector of Presidency department.
14. Age for Primary and Secondary stipend for free education would be applicable parallel;
15. Special initiative would be taken to improve Englo-Persi department of Calcutta University, Dhaka and Chittagong Muslim High School, two English medium Schools of Calcutta (Karea and Woodburn).
16. Islamic History would be introduced as optional subject in matriculation of university;<sup>35</sup>

It is very much clear to us that recommendations of Momen Committee were very much important to improve Muslim secondary education. Bengali Government took seriously the Muslim education problems and proposal as per recommendations of Momen committee and assigned a special officer to implement the recommendations. But all actions on recommendations were delayed and ineffective due to funding by government and administrative complexity.

A conference of prominent educationists had been held to reform and improve the education of Bengal at Calcutta house in 1933. A proposal had been raised at this conference to reduce number of government approved 400 high schools in Bengal province to improve education quality. In supporting of that proposal it was mentioned that number of

---

35. *Ibid*, Report on the Moslem Education Advisory Committee, 1934, pp. 62-64

high schools in other provinces is less than Bengal province. For example 218 schools were in united province, 263 in Bombay, 339 in Panjab-Sindh, 391 in Madrasah in 1935-36. There are 1249 recognized high schools in Bengal in 1934-35 among them 540 were government approved schools (including middle school).<sup>36</sup>

But these schools did not get average 130 taka per month as donation. On the other hand, qualities of hundreds of private high schools were very poor in Bengal which is barrier of real improvement of secondary education. But quality of education in other provinces is better than Bengal where as there are less number of schools comparison to Bengal provinces. For this reason educationalists were proposed to reduce the number of school to improve quality of education. But the government did not agree with the proposal because mass people may think that government is going to stop the progress of secondary education. There was no detail indication in the proposal about how much money can be subsidy to the schools from government.<sup>37</sup>

Education minister M. Azizul Huque declared a resolution on Secondary education where was reported some problems of secondary education. In this declaration it was mentioned that progress of the secondary schools was better but there was a common complain that they were preparing student to admit in university. But this education was not contributing for them those who do not capable to go university. Present curriculum of matriculation was not satisfactory to prepare student for

---

36. Dr. Abdullah Al Masum, *British Amale Bangla Muslim Shiksha: Samasya O Prasar, Bangla Academy, Dhaka, 2008, p.250*

37. *Ninth Quinquennial Review on the Progress of Education in Bengal, 1932-37, pp.50-51*

higher education. Schools were care less on physical and mental growth of student and they were mostly dependent on memorize the book. The resolution also pointed out that many schools were not capable to operate due to financial crisis and number of school in some area was more and number of student was very minimum which was main cause of poor financial capacity. Many schools had no control and they are unapproved. So they were free from government inspection. Number of teachers was very few, teachers were not competent, they had no training and their salary was very poor.<sup>38</sup>

Considering the problems, education minister declared that a native school will be established in every Thana and curriculum will be developed so that rural boys can be trained up on agriculture and development of village. These schools will have three medium classes; some of them will be attached with four classes of primary schools. Syllabus of Middle English would be redesigned for three years. Additional schools will be replaced in Middle Native School and Middle English School. Due to this initiative some resources can be mobilized for other schools to strengthen their capacity. A final exam will be held after completion primary and secondary education. Teacher's training would be expended for all teachers. History, Geography, and General Science would be included as compulsory subject in matriculation curriculum. As mother language, Bengali would be the medium of matriculation exam to reduce load on students. So that student can concentrate on English as foreign language. According to government

---

38. Dr. Abdullah Al Masum, *British Amale Bangla Muslim Shiksha: Samasya O Prasar*, Bangla Academy, Dhaka, 2008, p.251

declaration, a proposal had been taken to establish a secondary education board to proper coordination and control over the schools. Regarding government donation, it was mentioned that government would be more flexible to pay donation but that schools will get preference where is a good number of students, trained and competent teachers and extra curricula activities in operation. Students of these schools will get stipend. Various initiatives for development of Education along with free education program were declared under the government declaration.<sup>39</sup>

Education related decisions of Mr. Azizul Huque were created favorable environment to educate greater Muslim community and rural farmers of Bengal. Some decisions were related to the recommendation of Momen Committee.

---

39. *Ibid, Report on public Instruction in Bengal, 1935-36, p.12*

### **4.3.3. Higher Education:**

Momen committee had drawn some recommendations based on the identified problems to improve general higher education of the Muslims. The major recommendations were as follows:

#### **Recommendations on College:**

1. Percentage of free education would be 8 % in college among them 6 % would be reserved for Muslim students;
2. Muslim interest and representation would be ensured during recruitment of teacher for government college and authority to recruitment lecturer would be handed over to director of public education;
3. B.Com class would be introduced in Islamia College including opening Geography, Botany, Physics, Chemistry and Physiology subjects; and Science department would be opened in intermediate college;
4. Present one way stipend and free education policy would be changed and both facilities would be applicable for qualified poor student:
5. Seat rent of hostel would be reduced and free seat would be allocated for poor brilliant Muslim students;
6. Reserved Muslim seat would be extended;
7. Muslim representation would be secured in selection committee for teacher recruitment specially for Bengal education services;

**Recommendations on Calcutta University:**

1. Election of Senate members by registered graduate of Calcutta University, it should be done following Dhaka University System. As per this system Muslim graduate will select Muslim member and Hindu graduate will select Hindu member. There will be a separate selection board for Muslim graduates those who select the half of the senators;
2. Muslim senator would be selected as per ratio of population for Indian Senator for the Universities;
3. Some seats of Calcutta university senate would be reserved for Muslim;
4. A diffident number of position of officers and staffs would be reserved;
5. Sufficient Muslim representation would be secured in teachers selection board and others committees;
6. A separate faculty would be established in University for Islamic education;

**Recommendations on Dhaka University:**

1. 50% Muslim representation would be secured in all selection committees;
2. At least two representatives would be selected from intermediate Colleges;<sup>40</sup>

---

40. *Ibid*, Report on the Moslem Education Advisory Committee, 1934, pp. 64-71

The above recommendations of Momen Committee are very much important for the improvement of Muslim higher education in Bengal. This report was submitted to Bengal Government in 1934. The government accepted the recommendations seriously and recruited an officer to execute the recommendations.<sup>41</sup> On the other hand, the report was published by the government to inform the educated people about the findings and recommendations of the report. It was not easy to implement the recommendations of Momen Committee due to economic crisis of the government. The government had reduced the donation at private colleges due to economic crisis in the period of 1933-34. Salary of Teachers and Education Officers was reduced in 10%. But it was finally fixed in 5% after different movement.<sup>42</sup> In 1934, only 19 Non Government colleges had received total 12, 32,958 taka as government donation out of 35 colleges. But there was a precondition of free education for 15% Muslim students to get donation. The government took some initiatives for Muslim bright students beyond free education to improve their higher education. Some special stipends for students of Islamia College had been introduced by the public education director. Nawab of Rampur provided 2000 taka donation for Muslim students during his visit. Baker Chatrabas (hostel) was authorized under principal of Islamia College for the benefit of the students of that college. Muslim students of Sant Javier, Calcutta and other recognized colleges have got opportunity to accommodate at that hostel.<sup>43</sup> A new building for Muslim students in Krishnagar College was established, and

---

41. *Ninth Quinquennial Review on the Progress of Education in Bengal, 1932-37*. pp.112-113

42. *Ibid, Report on public Instruction in Bengal, 1933-34*, p.9

43. Dr. Abdullah Al Masum, *British Amale Bangla Muslim Shiksha: Samasya O Prasar*, Bangla Academy, Dhaka, 2008, p.334

a hostel named as “Anderson Muslim Hostel “was opened by M. Azizul Huque, education minister in July, 1936. Due to this initiative at least one Muslim hostel was attached within each school-college. Some Muslim students were accommodated in private mess due to less cost government was taken responsibility of the messes. The supervision activity of mess scheme was not satisfactory after 1930. The principal of Dhaka intermediate college had made a plan to discourage the scheme in 1936.<sup>44</sup>

Government took some positive decisions to recruit Muslim in education administration in favor of Muslim higher education. A. F Rahman, Professor of History department of Dhaka University was recruited as first Muslim Vice chancellor in 1935. Government had been continued recruitment of Muslim officers in Dhaka Secondary and Higher secondary education board. Moulavi Abdul Khaleque (Mr. Khan) was recruited as board secretary in August 1933 when Mr. Abdur Rahman khan was transferred. Khan Bahadur Maula Bokhso was recruited as Assistant Director (Muslim Education) of public education department when J.M Botmali had got promotion in 1934. Khan Bahadur M. Azizul Huque had been recruited in Education ministry as replacement of Khaja Najeem Uddin in 15 June of 1934. In 1936, name of Hoogly College was changed as ‘Hoogly Mohsin College’ in the observance of century year of the college. The previous students of the college donated 14000 taka for the improvement of students.<sup>45</sup>

---

44. *Ibid*, Report on public Instruction in Bengal, 1935-36, Alipore, 1937, p.15

45. Dr. Abdullah Al Masum, *British Amale Bangla Muslim Shiksha: Samasya O Prasar*, Bangla Academy, Dhaka, 2008, p.335



A government order on Bengal Education was circulated by M. Azizul Huque on 27 July, 1935. That decision was circulated by Secretary H. R. Willkins. The circular was on proposals of the problems and solutions of primary and secondary education of the province. Restructuring of colleges and government initiatives to solve the problems of Muslim education was included in the order.<sup>46</sup> A remarkable progress had been made in development of Muslim higher education during 9th five years plan (1932-37) based on the government initiatives. Statistics prove that in 1936-37 Muslim students in Arts College and Universities was 4405 (15.4%) where in 1931-32 this figure was 2883 (13.3%) and increasing rate was 41.8%. Government report mentioned this increase as 'remarkable increase' in higher education of Muslim students.<sup>47</sup> The number of Muslim student was increased but quality of education of college and university was unchanged and there was no intellectual improvement of students. The progress in higher education had been made in tradition way excepting modernization. K. Jakaria, principal of Hoogly Mohsin College requested to all concerned to give emphasis on appropriate training, reform of exam system and consideration of personal interest of student in tutorial classes.<sup>48</sup> In that five years period Muslim education had been progressing; on the other hand political unrest, terrorism, communal conflict was the main obstacle for substantial extension of Muslim education. A Hindu-Muslim communal

---

46. *Government of Bengal: Education Department: Education Resolution, No.2517 Edn. Calcutta, 27th July, 1935, p.64.*

47. *Ninth Quinquennial Review on the Progress of Education in Bengal, 1932-37, p.64*

48. *Dr. Abdullah Al Masum, British Amale Bangla Muslim Shiksha: Samasya O Prasar, Bangla Academy, Dhaka, 2008, p.335*

conflict was created in the Student Assembly (Sangshad) of Rajshahi College in 1937.<sup>49</sup>

Muslim students were observed strike from the event claimed that 'It is Hindu Program' in the anniversary of Calcutta University program on 24 January 1937. The Muslim students were reduced in the hostels of Dhaka at that time. e.g. the number of Muslim and Hindu student in Dhaka College hostel was 80 and 62 in 1930 respectively but in 1936 these figure reduced in 22 and 34 respectively. In the government report claimed that political unrest of towns is the main reason for that. Besides this, incapability of Muslim student to pay the accommodation fee was another reason. Communal Harmony at Dhaka College was excellent which was favorable for good environment for education. The government report praised that environment and stated: "The Muslim students were connected with Sarashawati Puja and the Hindus Students joined in the Melad Sharif arranged by the Muslim boarders. The records of this college might well serve as model to all other college in the province."<sup>50</sup>

Publicity had been continued from publicity department of the government to keep educational institutions free from political terrorism and communal conflict like as Dhaka College.<sup>51</sup>

---

49. *Ibid*, Report on public instruction in Bengal, 1937-38, Alipore, 1939, p. 16

50. *Ninth Quinquennial Review on the Progress of Education in Bengal, 1932-37*. pp. 65, 82

51. *Ibid*, Report on public Instruction in Bengal, 1934-35, Alipore, 1935, p. 1

#### 4.3.4. Professional Education (Vocational Education):

Education Minister M. Azizul Huque declared a regulation to reform the education of the province in 1935. Education of general farmer was considered seriously. According to the resolution, Agricultural science will be included as compulsory subject in primary education in the province and it was proposed to establish an agricultural firm in every school. Mr. Huque also said that rural minded, trained teacher on child oriented learning system and capable to teach in mother language will be recruited. Beside these he proposed to introduce technical and professional education, he also opined that there would be a scope for practical training on handicrafts. Besides this all schools will be coordinated, student will get opportunity to transfer in any school and health services will be available in every school. Mr. Azizul Huque commented that students of the province will be good citizen and moral character will be strong through this professional education.<sup>52</sup>

Therefore, the decision of Mr. Huque was very much important to improve professional education of rural famers. No need to say that maximum farmers of Bengal were in the Muslim community. So his general decision was favorable to improve the professional education of Muslim.<sup>53</sup>

---

52. *Government of Bengal: Education Department: Education Resolution, No.2517 Edn., Calcutta, 27th July, 1935, pp.1-15.*

53. *Dr. Abdullah Al Masum, British Amale Bangla Muslim Shiksha: Samasya O Prasar, Bangla Academy, Dhaka, 2008, p.402*

In the period of education minister M. Azizul Huque, Teacher training department was opened and quality improved for Arts and Science teaching system in Calcutta University in 1<sup>st</sup> July 1935. Khan Bahadur Abdur Rahman was recruited as Principal along with two Muslim lecturers in Dhaka Teacher Training College in 1936. Bashanto Kumar Agricultural Institute was established at Rajshahi in 1936. Jadovpur College of Engineering and Technology (Jadovpur University from 1956) was established by the initiative of National Council of Education at that time. 512 students were studied at that Engineering College up to 31<sup>st</sup> March of 1937. Among them 494 were Hindu, 8 were Muslim and 10 students from other undeveloped communities.<sup>54</sup>

---

54. *Ninth Quinquennial Review on the Progress of Education in Bengal, 1932-37*, pp.136-38,151,155

#### 4.3.5. Madrassah Education:

In 1934, Momen Committee submitted investigation report with recommendations to government to improve Muslim education in Bengal. In the descriptive report mentioned that Madrassah Education is interrelated with improvement of general education for Muslim. But problem of Madrassah education had been continuing since last one century. In the beginning of twenty century different committees and conferences were tried to include Madrassah education as per standard of general education. In this aspect Momen Committee mentioned referring contributions of Dhaka and Calcutta university commission and wrote due to initiatives of different committees Madrassah education was attached with Dhaka University in 1921. It was started introducing Madrassah scheme in 1915. This is rare history of Muslim modern education which successes had been brought by the new scheme course in one and half era. So as per committee, religion and modern education is included in the new scheme course should be continued for the benefit of Muslim communities. The Muslim Education Committee believed that though it is not possible to draw final comment by the evaluation within a short spell of time. Also added, this education is not free from demerits specially which is creating problem for junior Madrassah students. On the other hand, traditional Madrassah education is still popular in Muslim communities, the committee added. In this regards, committee suggested to transfer some old Madrassah as Theological College to create Religious Scholars.<sup>55</sup>

---

55. Dr. Abdullah Al Masum, *British Amale Bangla Muslim Shiksha: Samasya O Prasar, Bangla Academy, Dhaka, 2008, p.474*

The Committee proposed Calcutta Madrassah can be the model for this. Momen committee opined that more donation and overall support should be provided by the government to develop the Madrassahs. Based on the observations the Muslim education advisory committee submitted 22 proposals to the government to improve the Madrassah education. The major proposals were as follows:

1. Junior Madrassah Curriculum (new and old) would be easy and simple so that more students can pass and get admission in senior Madrassah.
2. Standard of English, mother language and Mathematics of Junior schools of new scheme and high Madrassah would be coordinated with general medium and high school's curriculum;
3. Urdu would be discarded from Junior Madrassah and those student's mother language is Urdu only they can read Urdu instead of Bengali;
4. Arabic education should be started from class IV in Junior Madrassah;
5. Religious subject would be taught through mother tongue;
6. Curriculum and exam policies of high Madrassah and high schools (except Arabic and Math) would be coordinated;
7. Two representatives from Islamic Intermediate College would be recruited in Dhaka University Academic Council;
8. Graduate on Islamic Education should get preference in Madrassah Inspector position under education department;
9. Establish permanently the attached intermediate classes of Chittagong University;
10. Introduce Intermediate class in Hoogly Madrassah for the benefit of Madarssah students of west Bengal; and decision of transfer

Hoogly Madarassah would be cancelled and new building would be established;

11. Quantity of donation for Islamic College and Madrassah would be increased;
12. Dhaka Board would be reformed adding more Muslim representatives from Madrassah and Intermediate College and the position of chairman would be alternative for Hindu and Muslim. Duration of Chairman and secretary position should be more than three years.
13. Similar examination system would be introduced for Junior Madrassah and Middle Schools;
14. Donation for Junior and Senior Madrassah would be at least 60 taka and 200 taka respectively;
15. Title exam taking for Fiqh and Usul in Calcutta Madrassah should continue and open title course on Adob & History and Mantiq & Hikmah subject as per Earle Conference.
16. Herbal Treatment Education should be opened in Calcutta Madrassah as per recommendation of Shamsul Huda Committee of 1921.<sup>56</sup>

Bengal government takes steps to implement the recommendations of Muslim education committee. At that time (1935) M. Azizul Huque took responsibility of Education minister and in his declaration make plan to coordinate Madrassah education with general education as per recommendation of Momen Committee. It was declared to ensure more coordination and support among new Madrassah scheme and general high schools and colleges:

---

56. *Ibid*, Report on the Moslem Education Advisory Committee, 1934, pp. 80-89

“Government also desires that the reformed Madrassahs and the ordinary secondary schools should be coordinated so that passage from one to the other and from either to the colleges or professional schools may be made easier and duplication of institutions as possible avoided. A scheme is under preparation”.<sup>57</sup>

As per government decision on curriculum of Madrassah under new education scheme had been corrected. As a result Madrassah education progressed to modern education. During discussion High Madrassah was considered as Islamic based high school. After correction of the Junior Madrassah curriculum, all subjects were similar quality of English medium school except Science and Drawing. Arabic and Religious Education subjects were included in the Junior Madrassah instead of above two subjects of English medium school.<sup>58</sup> But suggestion to reduce the pressure of language was not effective. In the Junior Madrassah, some reforms were made class wise in language education but there was still burden of Bengali, English, Arabic and Urdu language. Due to this reason Madrassah students were weak in English language during higher education.<sup>59</sup> Exam system of Junior and senior Madrassah of new scheme was corrected as per decision of government. As per this correction students of high Madrassah were allowed to appear in the all examinations in mother language except

---

57. *Government of Bengal: Education Department: Education Resolution, No.2517 Edn. Calcutta, 27th July, 1935, p.13.*

58. *Ibid, Report on public Instruction in Bengal, 1940-41, Alipore, 1943, p.26*

59. *Dr. Abdullah Al Masum, British Amale Bangla Muslim Shiksha: Samasya O Prasar, Bangla Academy, Dhaka, 2008, p.476*



English and Math.<sup>60</sup> Islamic Matriculation or Exam of High Madrassah and Islamic Intermediate exam was controlled by Dhaka Board and Exam of Junior Madrassah was controlled by Public Education department.<sup>61</sup> On the other hand, Government provided free education for that junior Madrassah student those who have got stipend. Additional two stipends were opened based on the result of those departments in 1934-35.<sup>62</sup> A learning training program had been introduced to improve the skill of New Scheme Madrassah teachers by the Education Inspector of Chittagong.<sup>63</sup>

New scheme had been introduced in Sylhet district of Assam in 1934-35. Principal of Sylhet Government Madrassah was selected as the representative of Dhaka Secondary and Higher secondary board. Due to this new scheme education in Sylhet, the new education system had been introduced beyond the Bengali. In 1935, a circular of Public Education director said that if unrecognized old Madrassah did not take recognition after 1938. Student of non-recognized Madrassah would not get opportunity to appear exam from any recognized Madrassah. For this reason, huge number of old Madrassah took recognition from the government.<sup>64</sup>

---

60. *Ibid, Report on public Instruction in Bengal, 1940-41, Alipore, 1943, p.78*

61. *Ibid, Report on public Instruction in Bengal, 1935-36, Alipore, 1937, p.28*

62. *Ibid, Report on public Instruction in Bengal, 1934-35, Alipore, 1936, p.27*

63. *Dr. Abdullah Al Masum, British Amale Bangla Muslim Shiksha: Samasya O Prasar, Bangla Academy, Dhaka, 2008, p.476*

64. *Ibid, Report of the Madrasah Education Committee, 1941, p.56*

### **4.3.6. Female Education:**

To solve the problems of female education, Women committee proposed to introduce free compulsory education with more donations from the government. The committee also had drawn the following recommendations to improve the female education:

1. Establish separate school for Muslim girls and at least one school should be government;
2. Donation would be provided from Grants in AID fund of government to establish new secondary schools, Junior Madrassah and Primary Schools.
3. Janana system would be abolished and that fund would be utilized for Muslim Girls Schools;
4. Arabic and Parsi education would be opened in Arts College and All government schools where Muslim Girls are studying;
5. At least one mistress should be from Muslim if capable teacher available this quantity can be more in government school.
6. Muslim teacher should be recruited in general girls schools;
7. Representation of Muslim Guardians in Managing committee of government supported schools would be ensured where Muslim girls are studying.
8. Government hostels are needed for Dhaka, Chittagong and Calcutta for Muslim girls' students. Besides this girls hostel should be established in other schools. In this case stipend should be provided for poor Muslim residential students.

9. Seat for Muslim girls' students in Government girls' schools would be reserved and at least 50% Muslim girls' students should get free education opportunity.
10. Government should bear the transportation cost of poor girls students otherwise respective students should get reduction in transport fare.
11. Every school should create a space for prayer for Muslim girls and religious education would be compulsory up to secondary school.
12. Sufficient stipend would be provided for Muslim girls students in every layer of education.
13. Primary education would be compulsory for girls and 50% higher donation should be provided for Girls Maktab like as Boy's Maktab.
14. A competent Muslim lady would be recruited in Bardhaman and presidency departments;
15. Establish rural teacher training school where rural Muslim mistress can get training;
16. One mother language training schools would be established in Chittagong and Calcutta respectively;
17. Introduce Muslim girls student's friendly curriculum in Junior Madrassah and flexible donation would be provided for those schools.<sup>65</sup>

It is clear from above recommendations of Momen Committees that those recommendations were significant to improve Muslim female

---

65. *Ibid*, Report on the Moslem Education Advisory Committee, 1934, pp. 114-115

education in Bengal. On the other hand, Simon Committee- auxiliary committee (Hartog Committee, 1929) recommended providing more government support comparison to male education.<sup>66</sup> Government had considered seriously the recommendation of those committees. Government had implemented some program like as Momen Committee's recommendations. For example, Shakhawat School had been transformed as high school and Janana education had abolished and fund had spent to improve female education. In this aspect, 12,600 taka had been donated from government to improve administrative work for female education in 1933-34.<sup>67</sup> A special Muslim officer had been recruited to implement other recommendations. In 1935, the declaration of Education Minister M. Azizul Huque mentioned to take special initiatives to overall improvement of Muslim female education in Bengal.<sup>68</sup> Shakawat Girls High Schools had been fully government in January 1936. Government had formed an advisory committee to get all time advisory support on policy making and required advices to improve female education in West Bengal.<sup>69</sup> On the other hand, Government had introduced some stipends to create female teachers to improve female education and increase interest of student in East Bengal. The stipends were distributed in following ways:

1. Female students who passed from Rajshahi, Barishal and Sutiakati Junior Madrassah and admitted in Mother Language Training School they will get 11 stipends at the rate of taka 5 for 2 years.

---

66. Dr. Abdullah Al Masum, *British Amale Bangla Muslim Shiksha: Samasya O Prasar, Bangla Academy, Dhaka, 2008, p.574*

67. *Ibid, Report on public Instruction in Bengal, 1934-35, Alipore, 1936, p.29*

68. *Government of Bengal: Education Department: Education Resolution, No.2517 Edn., Calcutta, 27th July, 1935, p.7*

69. *Ibid, Report on public Instruction in Bengal, 1935-36, Alipore, 1937, pp.21,23,28*

2. Female students those who passed from English medium schools of Dhaka and Chittagong and admitted in Mother Language Training School they will get 7 stipends at the rate of taka 5 for 2 years. 5 Muslim female students of high school will get stipend at the rate of 8 taka. It was conditional that those who are studying to join as teacher of secondary schools they will be eligible for the stipend.
3. Three stipends at the rate of 15 taka for two years were allocated for studying Muslim female students of Senior Madrassah or College those who passed in higher secondary students and will be recruited as teacher; Muslim Medical school students also will be eligible for the stipend. If there is no eligible student for the stipend it will be transferred in Calcutta University and Dhaka Board so that they can provide stipend to the Muslim students of their affiliated institute.
4. Two student of B.T class those who passed BA or B.Sc. and join as teacher of High schools will get stipend at the rate of 20 taka for 2 years. Eligible students who will admit in Medical College they will get that stipend.<sup>70</sup>

To see the distribution system of the above stipend, it is proofed that government was very much aware to fulfill the vacant positions of Muslim female teachers in government girl's schools.

---

70. Dr. Abdullah Al Masum, *British Amale Bangla Muslim Shiksha: Samasya O Prasar*, Bangla Academy, Dhaka, 2008, p.575

#### **4.4. Speaker of the Bengal Legislative Assembly (1937-1942):**

As a member of Muslim League, Mr. Azizul Huque was the translator during Bengal visit of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah in 1935 while a protest was held against communal award according to Indian Government's new law.<sup>71</sup>

Under the constitution general election which was held in January 1937, the obvious course left for the Congress after the breakdown of talk with Fazlul Huq was to go to the opposition. The new Assembly was going to elect a speaker of the House. The coalition supported by the European block put up Khan Bahadur Azizul Huque for Speakership. Two others in the contest were Kumar Sibsekhareswar Roy whom the Congress supported and Tamizuddin Khan who was supported by the Independent group of the Krishak Praja Party which had by this time broken away from Fazlul Huq. In the first ballot Aziza Tuque got 116, Sibsekhareswar got 83 and Tamizuddin got 42 votes. In the second voting when Tamizuddin's name was dropped, Azizul Huque got 158 votes and Sibsekhareswar got 82 votes.<sup>72</sup> So, Azizul Huque was elected first Muslim Speaker of the Bengal Legislative Assembly with provincial autonomy under Government of India Act of 1935. Congress was in the opposition, the Europeans were a formidable block and Muslim League formed the government with Krishak Praja Party. His ruling and decisions control over crucial sessions, maintenance of discipline and neutrality, preservation of order while careful of rights and

---

71. *Bhuiya Iqbal, Sir Azizul Huque, Bangla Academy, p.43*

72. *Shila Sen, Muslim politics in Bengal, pp.96-97*

privileges of individual members, steering stormy debates amidst clash of interests of conflicting groups, while attentive to the dignity of the house and his own role as Speaker, all these set high precedents for subsequent legislatures.<sup>73</sup>

Mr. Azizul Huque gave some important rulings as speaker of Bengal Legislative Assembly. On 20<sup>th</sup> September 1937 at Calcutta, he announced a ruling Mr. speaker as to how far an amendment is within the scope of the bill.

“On Tuesday last when the Bengal tenancy bill was under consideration, a question was raised as to whether certain amendments were within the scope of the Bill and I promised my decision to day. I have since then look in to the matter, as far as it was humanly possible to do so within the short time. The question as to whether an amendment is within the scope of the bill is not all together free from difficulty and the matter is rather intricate and complex. No handy reference is easily available and one has to look up for practice and precedence to the numerous volumes of reports of parliamentary and legislative proceedings both in India and in England. It should also be realized that we are still so early in the life of the newly constituted legislative assembly. And the experience that we shall gradually gather will be our best guidance for the future. I do not therefore proposed to do anything more than indicate the broad outline of the principles for our present purposes. Under Standing Rule 44 (i), an amendment must be

---

73. *Shahanara Alam and Husniara Huq, Azizul Huque A Biographical Account of his Life and Work, Dhaka 1994, p.243*

relevant to and within the scope of the question to which it is proposed. Now “relevancy” is of much wider connotation than “scope” and what is relevant may not be within the scope. Both these tests must be satisfied before an amendment is in order.

Broadly speaking all amendments is out of order if they are not relevant to the bill. A bill which is limited in aim, scope and object cannot by means of amendments create any more extensions of rights beyond the principles and the provisions of the bill. Neither is it open to insert new principle beyond those which a Bill seeks to affirm or enact. An amendment which cannot be properly proposed to a clause of Bill and not relevant to it, having to its subject matter and context, is irrelevant to the clause itself, though it may be possible to have this amendment as new clause, if within the scope of the Bill.

The scope of a Bill has to be determined with reference to its preamble and its aims and objects and with due regards to the citations and provisions in the Bill itself. It is in consideration of these three together, but not taking any one in isolation, that an amendment relating to the scope of a bill has to be scrutinized.

In this connection I shall draw the attention of the House to the difference in practice as to the nature of preamble in the House of Commons and India. Today in England the preamble does not enunciate the principal reasons for the enactment in public Bill generally, though there are exceptions, such as, Government of India Act of 1919 and the general form is “Be it enacted by-“ without any specification of the objects, whereas in India the preamble gives the



reasons for which the Bill is sought to be introduced and the form is “Whereas it is expedient that-such and such things should be done, it is hereby enacted, etc.” and this difference must be of some bearing on the question before us.

If a Bill has an “open” preamble, i.e., if it amends an Act without any reservation (e.g., whereas it is expedient to amend-Act), amendments to all the sections of the Act will be generally within the scope of the Bill. It would throw the whole law into the crucible, expose to amendment, not merely the particular provisions which the introducer of the Bill desires to alter, but all other provisions of the law which appear to be in any way open to criticism. On the other hand, if a Bill has a “closed preamble,” viz, the Bill seeks to amend only certain sections of an Act in any particular manner (e.g., whereas it is expedient to amend –Act, in the manner hereinafter appearing) amendments to other sections of the Act, due regard being paid to the preamble, the Statement of the Objects and Reasons, the citations of the Bill will be out of order. Amendments in furtherance of the objects of the Bill will should be within the scope, and all foreign matters will be out of order. The tests I would apply in deciding the amendments with reference to the scope of a Bill are:-Whether a secure a peg can be found in the Bill as originally introduce on which to hang the amendment; whether the case for the amendment, Viz., the argumentative Justification for its depend substantially on the provisions of the Bill as introduced and does cohere with the rest of the Bill. On the other hand the tests should not rigid and narrow as to deny the house the opportunity of giving a workman like design to the scheme of the Bill as introduced.

The present bill can be divided in three parts, 1) The repealing provisions, 2) The modifying provisions and 3) New inserting provisions. There are certain other provisions merely of consequential character and it is not necessary to enumerate them.

It is common ground as brought out on floor of this house that this Bill does not aim at giving any more right to the under Raiyats as such, beyond giving occupancy under Raiyats the same right of transfer as occupancy Raiyats. Any incidence of the under Raiyat, any incorporation of new rights for under Raiyat as such and no for under Raiyats with occupancy rights would thus be obviously out of order. Again any if in an Act, different subject are classified under different chapters and a section dealing with one class of sought to be amended by the Bill, amendments extending the scope of the section and affecting the clauses other than those mentioned in that chapter should be out of order. For example in the Bengal tenancy Act different chapter are devoted to different classes of Raiyats, namely occupancy Raiyats (Chapter V), Non Occupancy Raiyats (Chapter VI), and Under Raiyats (Chapter VII). The Bill seeks to amends certain sections in Chapter V. Any amendment which would affect any other class of Raiyats, such as under Raiyats, not included under chapter V, would be outside the scope of the Bill.

Again due regard must be paid to the Statement of Objects and Reasons. For instance, if it said that the purpose of the Bill to allow structures to be built solely for the religious purpose any amendment which would allow structures to be built for any purpose not solely religious would held to be out of order.

He brings us to the question as to how a section which is touched by the Bill is open to amendment. Every such question has to be decided on its own merits. If the Bill seeks to change the proviso of a section, to give a new chapter to the section, the whole section may be open to amendment, as a change in substance in proviso may change the whole design of the section. But if it is merely to improve the drafting or to make the intention more clear, amendments of drafting nature which may further improve the language of the section may be admitted but amendments which change the substance are out of order. To give a concrete instance, it is proposed to substitute the word 'Raiyat' by the word 'land lord' in section 48 (E), obviously to make the real sense and import of the word clear, this is a pure drafting matter and any other change of substance will be out of place.

The general principle is that amendment must be relevant to the question upon which they are moved. It follows from the nature of an amendment that its contents ought to have some bearing upon the subject introduced by principal motion; Further, every amendment must be drawn up so as to leave the question, if altered in accordance therewith, in an intelligible form. The requirement of relevancy exists to and insistence upon is amendment being related to the particular clause in connection with which it is moved. All amendments must also be relevant to the scope of the question. This is, however, subject to this that anything which is of a consequential nature or anything which is necessary to make a clause a workman like job, comes within the scope of the question and is relevant to it, but such relevancy must

mean that it bears some relationship to the question which is specifically would before the House.

I should only add that amendments are never intended to be a substitute for a new legislation and they cannot be so, for it will otherwise deprive the members of the right to give their thought, consideration and time to their provisions, which they would be entitled to do if they were in the form of a Bill. The members get much more time to propose changes in a Bill. They can consider upon the substantive provisions of a Bill as to whether public opinion is to be consulted or not, whether it required reference to a Select Committee. A Bill may receive altered character and design after circulation in the Select Committee it may receive a new shape and form within the scope of its principles. Members are also normally entitled to longer notice for a Bill than for amendments. But amendments give much less scope to the members in their tasks of critical analysis.

The fundamental principle, almost interwoven everywhere with the basic framework of any constitutions is that the law making power of the legislature has always to be exercised with due caution and scrutiny and legislation always involves a lengthy process produce. For a legislature is the highest expression of the will of the sovereign; it can overthrow even the fundamental principles and in every country continually infringes on rights of the citizen as embodied in the existing laws of the land. Once a Bill is therefore in a particular form before the legislature, it is a salutary principle that there is no intention to make any alteration in the laws beyond what is explicitly declares, either in express term or by clear implication. In other words, a must for the

time stand by its immediate scope and object and all other matters outside these limits must remain undisturbed until fresh proposals are brought up in the form of a new Bill. A Bill has therefore to be kept within limits of its scope of its objects and reasons and must not start the other existing laws beyond what its scope requires. Any departure from this principle may throw the entire body of laws into sudden jeopardy and there will hardly be any line of demarcation between the legislation expression in a parliamentary democracy and the arbitrary will of a tyrannical sovereign.

It is not necessary for me at this stage to say anything more than indicating the general principles which I wish to follow in connection with this Bill in admitting the amendments. The specific item will be dealt with at the proper places and I shall be glad to hear if the members concerned have anything to say with respect to their motion at the appropriate time and place.”<sup>74</sup>

Sir John Herbert, Governor of Bengal, Chancellor of Calcutta University said, “As the first Speaker of the Bengal Legislative Assembly he has been responsible for guiding the destinies of a body which, in spite of these times of stress and strain, has developed in political sense. The task of Mr. Speaker is one of the most difficult that can fall to any man, since he must maintain unremitting watch on the proceedings and be prepared to give impartial judgment on a wide variety of problems. It is hard, indeed well-nigh impossible, to please every day. But I think I can

---

74. *Shahanara Alam and Husniara Huq, Azizul Huque A Biographical Account of his Life and Work, Dhaka 1994, p.254*

say without risk of refutation that, as Speaker, Sir Azizul Huque has lived up to the best traditions of the office. Throughout his term he has shown himself ready to devote the whole of his ability to the good of the Assembly, and he is looked to by all for justice and impartiality".<sup>75</sup>

He jumped in to prominence by his ability as speaker; his in-depth knowledge on large number of subjects came before the house, his zeal and energy not only for his own community but for the province as a whole. In debate he has always been important measure did not show his name on its select committee. He had substantial contribution to pass Bengal Tenancy Bill (1938). He was closely associated with passing of the Bengal Tenancy Act of 1928 and the Bengal Money Lender's Act of 1933. But we give all credit of passing the above bills to A. K. Fazlul Huq as chief minister of Bengal and leader of Krishok Proja Party.

---

75. Governor of Bengal, Chancellor, Calcutta University, Conferring D.Litt. (Honoris Causa) at special Convocation on Azizul Huque, March 12, 1942

## **4.5. Vice Chancellor of Calcutta University**

### **(1938-1942):**

In 1938, he became the Vice Chancellor of Calcutta University. By this time, he introduced the department of Islamic History and Culture. He had been trying to remove a long-felt want by establishing the department of Islamic History and Culture to complement the great national work initiated by Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee. The initial teaching work had to be done by him until a suitable teacher was not available in this department. Not only that, he was only one person in Bengal who had been appointed Vice Chancellor for second term in 1940. During his three and half year's tenure, he had filled the post of Vice-Chancellor of the greatest university in India in a brilliant manner. His work had been strenuous, his hours of work had been long, but he had managed successfully to guide the destiny of university of Calcutta. During his period as a Vice Chancellor, many important decisions had been pointed out which had great consequence on future of education in Bengal.

He also represented in the Estate Faculty of Unani Medicine and also a member of Bengal Film Sensor Board. During this period, he was also member of 'Working Committee of Provincial Boys Scout Association'. He was also involved in 'Bratachari Movement of Gurusaday Dutta'.<sup>76</sup>

---

76. *Shahanara Alam and Husniara Huq, Azizul Huque A Biographical Account of his Life and Work, Dhaka 1994, p.392*

As a member of the 'Kamal Yar Jung Education Committee' he worked for the promotion of the education of the Indian Muslims. This meant he did strenuous work, both mentally and physically. As he involved fact finding missions all over India and eventually completed the report.<sup>77</sup>

He delivered some speeches at convocations of other university of India. He also addressed the 'Third Session of the Indian History Congress of Calcutta' as the Chairman of 'the Reception Committee' on December 15<sup>th</sup>, 1939.<sup>78</sup>

Mr. Huque pointed out some problems of report of 'Kamal Yar Jung Education Committee during 'presidential addresses at Jubbulpore, April 16 in 1944. He pointed out that we had to plan out and organize the work of the committee and to undertake an all India tour to collect materials and data amidst greatest difficulties. We worked hard for about two years. It was only after we had begun the task and got to know some of the facts that "we could realize the magnitude and the depth of the problem. In spite of our best efforts to get replies to our questionnaire and in spite of all what we could do during our tours through personal contacts and personal visits, we were not able to get sufficient data and materials from those competent to speak on the problems of Muslim education in India. We had not the time to make a methodical investigation of the problems in all the provinces and it was not humanly possible to do so unless the committee could continue its work for much longer time than two years. To make a survey of Muslim

---

77. *Shahanara Alam and Husniara Huq, Azizul Huque A Biographical Account of his Life and Work, Dhaka 1994, p.243*

78. *Ibid, p.243*



education in India including Indian states to make it as systematic and as comprehensive as we ourselves wished is a task which must necessarily take many years. India is vast continent; problems differ from province to province; volumes of reports proceedings and documents have to be studied before one can have a fair idea of the multiple varieties of educational problems pertaining to our community. The especially questionnaire would show the extent of the complexity of our problem. But during our investigations of two years we were able to know much of the realities of the problem. In presenting our report we therefore, recommended that the works begun by us should be continued by the conference and abandoned until completed. With our experience of the survey of Muslim education for two years I have no doubt that the work will still take us a few years more before we can get a complete picture of the condition of Muslim education or can formulate our considered views on all the problems of Muslim education in India.”<sup>79</sup>

The honorable Khan Bahadur Azizul Huque at outset stated that he was expressing his views here not as the Vice Chancellor of Calcutta University but as one who was deeply interested in education. During Vice Chancellor’s Speech, delivered in Saturday February 03, 1940, he mentioned about present education system to aware teacher’s community. The speech in this section will give us a clear picture about his views on education system at that period.

---

79. *Ibid*, pp.277-78

**THE SPEECH: 'PRESENT EDUCATION SYSTEM IN LAMENTABLE STATE: GROWTH OF PRIVATE TUTION A NUISANCE'**

The present educational system in Schools of the province, the Khan Bahadur regretted intensely deplorable and he had not seen anything by which any improvement could be expected in the state of affairs in the near future. The Sadler Commission ostensibly created for reforms and control of education was now almost a dead record. The result had been that the province had failed to make any headway in the domain of education. Schemes had often times been made but most of those had failed to see the light of the day.

For that lamentable situation the Vice Chancellor did not think that the government entirely responsible. The public opinion in this country as yet realized to what extent education place its part in the national destiny of the people. A nation which had a bad education was bound to fare badly.

The people in this country did not pay more 4-5 rupees a month for a boy as school charges. But certain missionary schools in this country charged as much as 10-15 rupees a month per boy. If anybody suggested starting schools on that basis of fees he was sure to be hounded out of the public. The speaker was conscious that there were many people who would not afford that amount but even those who could easily do would loath to do so.

**PRIVATE TUITION A CANCER:**

The inevitable result had been the growth of private tuition which was nothing short of a cancer of the educational system in this country. Unless the condition of school teachers was improved they could not improve the control, they could not improve the technique, and they could not improve the administration. Khan Baharul Azizul Huque would like to lay stress on the fundamental problem that the educational system could by no means improve unless they paid their teachers well. Not to speak of schools who had to remind satisfied with the salary of Rupee 70-80 a month till the end of their career, even the salary of rupee 1000 was regarded in this country to much for a university teacher.

There were many who reminded the teachers of the idealism which inspired the members of the profession in days of old. But the Khan Bahadur would beseech those idealists to remember that to-day the outlook of the society had entirely changed. To-day a man was just by standard which was more mundane.

**TO THE TEACHERS**

He would address few words to the teachers. Let them take the fact in to account that after all in life people did not get everything they wished. But it is their duty to do their level best so far as their work was concerned. Even with that defect in the system of education to which he had just referred the teacher might do his best to set up a standard which ultimately might late to some reform in this sphere.

As in the school room the teacher had got certain duties, they, outside the class had certain duties too. The Vice Chancellor would not touch the former aspect of the question. But as regards the latter he thought an every teacher could play an active part in molding the character of the students.

Regulations and Routines have done much mischief to the country. The Vice Chancellor would like that teachers who had individual genius should come forward and fructify the blossoms in to flower which the former had under their control.<sup>80</sup>

---

80. *Advance*, Saturday February 03, 1940. Shahanara Alam and Husniara Huq, *Azizul Huque A Biographical Account of his Life and Work*, Dhaka 1994, pp.274-97

## 4.6. High Commissioner for India in London

### (1942-1943):

M. Azizul Huque was appointed as High Commissioner for India in London in 1942. Mounting nationalist demand for a free India was met in sections of the British press by doubts raised as to multifarious India's ability to guide her own destiny: India is not one, they said, she is heterogeneous. While in London as high Commissioner, Azizul Huque had to face this criticism and he did it in his typical forthright manner by frontal attack. He said, "India is united in diversity. There can be no withstanding the unanimous desire of 400 million people for liberty from foreign domination. India is capable of guiding her own destiny, he asserted."<sup>81</sup>

This was a very critical stage in the Allies fortune during Second World War with the Germans almost daily pounding London and the imminent prospect of enemy invasion. Azizul Huque assured the British Government of India's participation in war effort.

M. Azizul Huque visited Manchester, Liverpool and other industrial cities where young Indians were engaged in industrial and technical training. He met with Indian trainees and saw their works and commented, "I wish all work men were as keen as they are."<sup>82</sup> When the Indians returned home after the six month course, they will take their part in Industrial Management in India.

---

81. *Shahanara Alam and Husniara Huq, Azizul Huque A Biographical Account of his Life and Work, Dhaka 1994, p.262*

82. *Ibid, p.355*

At home, a severe cyclone battered Madenipore district. Through BBC Azizul Huque appealed once for donation and the equivalent of 412,000 rupees poured in as relief fund. Even school children responded by contributing their tiffin money.

Mr. Huque said, "Today India holds the most important key position said the High Commissioner for India Sir Azizul Huque, in a speech at Chester on Saturday night. He outlined India's contribution of an average of 40,000 seamen to the British mercantile services, the enlistment of 60,000 men voluntarily to the army every month, and the development of Industry in the last 18 months on a scale which could not be believed by anyone unless he went to India. India had been so organized that today she was able to provide a very large amount of war munitions. The forces in Egypt at the present time were supplied to a large extent from India. Therefore, India was a great asset to the commonwealth and he did not want anything to come between them when problems of reconstruction were being examined. He said, "We have to be equal partners. That is the meaning behind the Government's announcement that India shall be a common partner. I have no doubt when the time comes to adjust our affairs in the reconstruction work of the future; both will understand their proper position. I was happy, therefore, to come to England even though the Japanese are at our doors, because I felt that I could be of some help in creating a bond of union. Great Britain is fighting in the desert and in

distant corners of the world and I believe victory is certain to come because there is still Justice in the world”.<sup>83</sup>

As a High Commissioner Sir Mohammad Azizul Huque, said that he looked upon his work in England essentially as a representative of India. “Utterly conscious of this” he added “I shall try my best to discharge my duties as laid down in the Government of India Act in the interest of India and our people.” Sir Azizul Huque paid glowing tribute to civil defense organizations throughout India. He said that nothing is perfect in this world but what has been done, does credit to our people. He asserted that every Indian was determined to resist Japanese invaders irrespective of political differences. He assured us that every Indian was making himself sure that his home would not fall into Japanese hands. All our countrymen were determined to be masters of their own homes. He did not want to comment on things about which he had very little time to study.<sup>84</sup>

---

83. *Plea for equal Partnership, Sir Azizul Huque on India's War Effort, London, July 4, 1942, Reuter.*

84. *Informal Talk with India Pressmen from London Office, Thursday, April 30, 1942*

## **4.7. Member of Viceroy's Executive Council- Delhi (1943-1946):**

After his return to India, Azizul Huque was called upon to be a member of Viceroy's Executive Council in which capacity he served with Lord Linithgow and his successor, Lord Wavell. In 1943, the Bengal Famine ravaged the province. Food was a knotty portfolio because of the war and famine. Azizul Huque made an exhaustive of the food situation while in Delhi. In this period he was in charge of Commerce and Industries Civil Supplies and Food, Leather Textiles in Delhi in 1943.<sup>85</sup> It is a fortunate circumstance that in these times of stress, when the distressing food-situation threatens to overcome this whole subcontinent, Indian had at the head of the Commerce Department of the Government of India such an able and far-seeing person who, with extensive organizational experience to his credit, can be looked up to and depended upon for pooling and re-adjusting the food resources of the different Indian provinces in order to ease the situation. What with post-war planning and partly due to the ever growing multiplicity of current problems created by the war situation, the Commerce Department has speedily grown up into formidable proportions and naturally acquired an importance which it never before possessed. It is therefore in the fitness of things that a person of the eminence of Sir Mohammed Azizul Huque should preside over such a department.

---

85. *Shahanara Alam and Husniara Huq, Azizul Huque A Biographical Account of his Life and Work, Dhaka 1994, p.272*



The famine in India of 1943 is recognized abroad, it was the worst in her history. There was a direct relation to Indian famine and Mr. Azizul Huque as he had portfolio of food. A report of Reuter is proof of his relationship with Indian famine that is why I would like to include the part of that report here which was came from Reuter correspondent of Calcutta, August 22, 1943. As per Reuter message, "Here is the plaintive cry of an Indian member of the Viceroy's Council, Sir Azizul Huque, who recently had to hand over his food portfolio to Sir J. Strivasta, a big landlord and millionaire from the United Provinces. Reporting the Central Legislative Assembly, the Observer, correspondent cabled (August 21) from Kalimpong:-The Indian problem is rapidly assuming a concentrated form expressible in the four letters FOOD. Debates in the Central legislature are considered to have revealed a breakdown of authority and initiative. He goes on to say that Sir Azizul Huque explained to the Assembly how governments of provinces successfully sabotage arrangements for their surpluses to the starving provinces in Eastern India. These provinces, as the same correspondent points out are in the main administered by British Governors, all of whom are supposed to be actively promoting the war effort in harmony with the Central Government".<sup>86</sup>

During the last decade there has been an appreciable stir over the question of Muslim Education in India. Frank realization of the comparative backwardness of the community in this respect has been forthcoming and some improvement has ensued. The progressive development of the Aligarh and Osmania universities stands out but,

---

86. Source V. K. Krishna Menon, *Labour Monthly*, October 1943, pp. 316-318; Transcribed: by Ted Crawford.

generally, the defect appears to be isolated effort. Though an all India body, exists it lacks strong links in the provinces and states to maintain watch and ward over the community's educational interests and put forward their legitimate grievances. This and other vital matters were dealt with by Sir Azizul Huque, Commerce and Industries Member, Government of India, when he presided over the last annual session of the All India Muslim Education Conference at Jubbulpore. Delivered in April, the speech breathes realism and can dour that merited wider publicity than it obtained at the time and we reproduce it in full elsewhere in this issue. It was a magnificent contribution to the solution of Muslim educational woes and would repay close scrutiny.<sup>87</sup>

An eight points program of education reform was put forward by the commerce members at Jubbulpore. He advocated re planning of the constitution and activities of the all India Muslim educational conference; organization of provincial and state branches; special boards in every province and state to ensure proper selection of text book suited to Muslim culture and thoughts; an Islamic research organization furnishing facilities including scholarship for research; Inter provincial and international contact between Muslim teachers and students; Evolution of uniform pattern for Muslim schools; establishment of a body to coordinate activities of oriental institutions and lastly, facilities for lecture for eminent scholars on the history and culture of Islam.<sup>88</sup>

---

87. *Through the Editor's Eye; The Whip: July 3, 1944; Muslim Education Problems*

88. *Ibid.*

Azizul Huque met the UNRRA mission in Simla. The ‘Simla Conference’ was held in 1945. The political atmosphere was charged with tension and uncertainty. The summer retreat was breathing politics. Subsequently, in further attempts to find a political solution, the cabinet Mission arrived in Delhi.

The last few years of British Raj were fraught with very special problems and Azizul Huque fulfilled his obligations through this critical phase of transfer of owner, never sparing himself, working long hours with little or no relaxation, all the while sustaining a punishing load of work.<sup>89</sup>

His political ideas Cripps Mission in March, 1942, India’s participation in the war effort, coming to power of the Labour Government in Britain, the Bengal famine in 1943, the growing divergence between the two major political parties-Congress and Muslim League-over the issue of independence, all these factors made in difficult for anyone to work with a positive goal and planned future.

He could not do much except carry on with his day to day duties and responsibility. India was in political turmoil. Congress’s “Quit India,” fall of Rangoon in March 1942, threat of Japanese invasion of India, arrival of the Cripps Mission in March, 1942, India’s participation in the war effort, coming to power of the Labour Government in Britain, the Bengal famine in 1943, the growing divergence between the two major political parties-congress and Muslim League-over the issue of independence,

---

89. *Shahanara Alam and Husniara Huq, Azizul Huque A Biographical Account of his Life and Work, Dhaka 1994, p.272*

all these factors made it difficult for anyone to work with a positive goal and planned future.<sup>90</sup>

He was a member of the Calcutta Disturbance Enquiry Commission and elected to the Constituent Assembly under the Cabinet Mission long-term plan but renounced titles and did not participate in response to the Muslim League protest call against the British Government's action in 1946. Direct Action Day, which developed into pitched battles as Muslim and Hindu mobs rioted across Calcutta in 1946, the year before independence. Direct Action Day (16 August 1946), also known as the Great Calcutta Killings, was a day of widespread riot and manslaughter in the city of Calcutta (now known as Kolkata) in the Bengal province of British India. The Muslim League and the Indian National Congress were the two largest political parties in the Constituent Assembly of India in the 1940s. The 1946 Cabinet Mission to India for planning of the transfer of power from the British Raj to the Indian leadership proposed an initial plan of composition of the new Dominion of India and its government. However, soon an alternative plan to divide the British Raj into a Hindu-majority India and a Muslim-majority Pakistan was proposed by the Muslim League. The Congress rejected the alternative proposal outright. The Muslim League planned a general strike on 16 August, terming it as Direct Action Day to protest this rejection, and to assert its demand for a separate Muslim homeland. In those days the situation in Bengal was particularly complex. In the province, Muslims represented the majority of the population (56%, as against 42% of Hindus) and were mostly concentrated in the Eastern part. As a result of this demographic

---

90. *Ibid*, p.273

structure and specific developments, this Province was the only one in which a Muslim League government was in power under the provincial autonomy scheme introduced in 1935 in coalition with the Europeans, and against the hurdle of strong opposition from the Congress, the Communist Party of India and also from a Hindu nationalist party, the Hindu Mahasabha. The latter was supported by many members of the rich Marwari trading community, composed of immigrants from Rajasthan, who largely dominated the economy of central Calcutta (although European capital was still important). For this, inhabitants of Calcutta comprising 64% Hindu and 33% Muslim were by then divided into two highly antagonistic entities. Against this backdrop, the protest triggered massive riots in Calcutta. In Calcutta, within 72 hours, more than 4,000 people lost their lives and 100,000 residents in the city of Calcutta were left homeless. Violence in Calcutta sparked off further religious riots in the surrounding regions of Noakhali, Bihar, United Province (modern Uttar Pradesh), Punjab, and the North Western Frontier Province. These events sowed the seeds for the eventual Partition of India.<sup>91</sup> In perspective of Hindu-Muslim conflict he supported for Pakistan State in 1947.

In fact; involvement of M. Azizul Huque in this Investigation Committee is a proof of his reliability to the all communities of India.<sup>92</sup>

---

91. Joya Chatterji, *Bengal Divided*, trans, Abu Jafar, *Bangla Bhag Holo*, Dhaka, 2003, pp282-94  
92. Bhuiya Iqbal, *Sir Azizul Huque*, *Bangla Academy*, p.45

I have learned from different documents that the speakers of his mourning programme in Irbil hall said in their speeches, “he selected Assistant advisor of Calcutta Riot Commission recently, and his proficiency was good in this position.”<sup>93</sup>

---

93. *Ibid*, p.46

## 4.8. Enrolment in Calcutta High Court and Death (1946-1947):

He was returned at Calcutta in 1946 when caretaker government had formed at Delhi. He enrolled in the Calcutta High Court. Shahanara Alam and Husniara Huq wrote, "He was elected to the Constituent Assembly and was awarded several titles including Knighthood which he, like many other Muslim leaders of India, renounced in protest against the British Government's policy towards the Muslim League".<sup>94</sup> At that time, Lord Wavell resigned over disagreement with the British Labor Government regarding policy for Indian freedom. He was succeeded by Lord Mountbatten under whose aegis the partition of the country and emergence of two independent states-India and Pakistan-came into being in August, 1947.

Mr. Huque lived for nine months after his return to Calcutta. He died on 22<sup>nd</sup> March, 1947 the day Mountbatten arrived in Delhi.<sup>95</sup>

He was very sincere to his job and responsibilities in every position. as a Lawyer, Government Pleader, Public Prosecutor, Vice-Chairman of Nadia District Board, Member of the Bengal Legislative Council, Education Minister of Bengal, Speaker of the Bengal Legislative Assembly, Vice Chancellor of Calcutta University, High Commissioner for India in London and Member of Viceroy's Executive Council-Delhi.

---

94. *Shahanara Alam and Husniara Huq, Azizul Huque a Biographical Account of his Life and Work, 1994, p-391*

95. *Bhuiya Iqbal, Sir Azizul Huque, Bangla Academy, pp.39*

He played vital role in home and abroad as Speaker, High Commissioner and Minister. Analyzing his career, I have found him as a very good professional.



## **CHAPTER-V**

# **A BRIEF DISCUSSION ON PUBLICATIONS OF SIR MOHAMMAD AZIZUL HUQUE**

## 5.0. List of his Books, Booklets and Articles:

Sir Mohammad Azizul Huque has some important publications of books, booklets, pamphlets and articles. Before going to detail discussion, I want to list down the publications of Sir Mohammad Azizul Huque. His books, booklets, pamphlets and articles are listed down here:

- 5.1. History and Problems of Moslem Education in Bengal (1917);
- 5.2. The Man Behind the Plough (1939);
- 5.3. The Sword of the Crescent Moon (1984);
- 5.4. Education and Retrenchment (1924);
- 5.5. A Plea for Separate Electorate in Bengal (1931);
- 5.6. Publications in Journals and News Papers.

Above mentioned books, booklets and articles explain a clear idea about his political thoughts, social works and his contribution. I have found him as a brilliant writer on social, economic and political problems. His publications are very much analytical. He tried to illustrate realistic solutions of identified problems in his publication. His publications are important documents of history which have historical significance. Prof. Bhuiya Iqbal discussed about the publications of Sir M. Azizul Huque in his book 'Sir Azizul Huque'.<sup>1</sup> I would like to discuss about his most important publications one by one in this section.

---

1. Bhuiya Iqbal, Sir Azizul Huque, Bangla Academy, pp. 84-96

## 5.1. History and Problems of Moslem Education in Bengal (1917)

The book 'History and Problems of Moslem Education in Bengal' illustrates on real problems of Muslim education in Bengal. The book draws a real picture of Muslim education of British Bengal which was published by posthumous publications in 1917. The book expresses writer's view to political and social environment of that period. The book is divided in two parts. First part is 'History of Moslem Education in Bengal' and second part is 'Problems of Moslem Education in Bengal'. First part mainly discussed on Calcutta Madrassah, utilities of Mohsin Fund, comparison between Hindu and Muslim students and their progress in every layer of education. In the second part he discussed the problems of Muslim Education and the possible way to address the problems to sustainable progress in this sector.

Different academicians of British Bengal and Bangladesh discussed about the book. Mr. Kabir Chowdhury, Director, Bangla Academy wrote in the preamble of a translated book 'Bangladesha Muslim Shekhar Ittihas Abong Shamoshsha' published in August 20, 1969 that "the book is the first summery of Muslim education system and its problem related all theories and information up to second decade of twentieth century".<sup>2</sup>

---

2. Mr. Kabir Chowdhury, Director, Bangla Academy wrote in the preamble of the translated book "Bangladesha Muslim Shekhar Ittihas and Shamoshsha" p.2-3;

The book 'History and Problems of Moslem Education in Bengal' received high appreciation from Sir Michael Sadler, President of the Calcutta University Commission and Mr. J. W. Gregory, Member of the Commission, as a book of great interest and assistance in the study of Muslim education in Bengal and it was quoted and referred to in the report of the Calcutta University Commission.<sup>3</sup>

Mr. Huque wanted to aware the Muslim nation about curse of ignorance by discussing the problems of Muslim education in Bengal. He conveyed a message to the Muslim of Bengal to educate them and to change their fortune through the book. I have got many historical evidences in the book. Information and historical value given in the book make it a primary source of Muslim education in Bengal. According to Anandobazar Pottrika in 1934, this is the first<sup>4</sup> and one of the most valuable books of Muslim education in Bengal.

---

3. *Star of India*, Friday, June 15, 1934. *Bengal's New minister Khan Bahadur Azizul Huque Selected Takes Charge Today*.

4. *Shahanara Alam and Husniara Huq, Azizul Huque a Biographical Account of his Life and Work*, 1994, p-320

## 5.2. The Man Behind the Plough (1939):

'The Man Behind the Plough' was the most important published book of Mr. Azizul Huque. Years of continuous attention and hard work crystallized in 1939 in the publication of 'The Man Behind Plough' his socio-economic study of the peasants of Bengal. The Book was published by posthumous publications. 'The Man Behind the Plough' is a wide-ranging, in-depth and moving study of the endemic problems and tragic sufferings of the peasants of the undivided Bengal. In order to go into the roots of these problems, the author Sir M. Azizul Huque examines the land system introduced by the Permanent Settlement (1793) contrasts it with what prevailed during the Mughal Era and throws light on how the Zemindars lobby distorted the original intention of the regulations of 1793 with disastrous consequences. The author has made use of extensive facts, archival material and statistics to establish his interpretations and conclusions. It is a research work of very high quality, and may be regarded as what is now called an interdisciplinary work. The author put in ten years of labour of love, albeit very hard labour, to produce the book, which aims to look into the problems of agriculture from the point of view of the peasant.

I would like to include some quotations from his books and some important statements of other the books. Mr. Azizul Huque wrote in the preface of his book, "my career in the legal profession first brought me into direct contact with rural life and made me see the adversities and woes of the Bengal Raiyat."<sup>5</sup>

---

5. M. Azizul Huque, *The Man Behind The Plough*, p.viii

Mr. Huque was very sincere to collect and write information for the book. During his glorious multi-dimensional career he had opportunity to get information from government documents and data base. That is why his information sources are very rich and reliable. He collected information from different departments, places and eminent persons taking long time (around 10 years).

He wrote, "It was exactly 20 years ago, when, in conjunction with the Hon'ble Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, the present Chief Minister, I had to represent the cause of the oppressed raiyats in a corner of my district that I first saw what landlordism stood for in Bengal and what it meant for the Bengal raiyat; but it was a little over 15 years ago, when I was called upon to as the President of a Union Board, that I first began to see the inner realities of village life. I saw much more after 1926 when I was elected the Vice-Chairman of the District Board of Nadia. The work in the District Board and the successive elections for the legislature that I had to contest made me go to almost every village in my district. From 1927 I had occasions fortunately to serve on various committees—the Bengal Banking Enquiry Committee, the Jute Enquiry Committee, the Bengal Board of Economic Enquiry, the Retrenchment Committee, the Indian Franchise Committee and many others—which gave me valuable data and facts, more than what usually comes to public light. As a member of these committees, as a member of Bengal Legislative Council and later as a Minister of the Government of Bengal, I had occasions to study facts from many points of view and had numerous opportunities to go to Bengal villages and to compare them with the conditions prevailing in the villages of other provinces. Throughout the last ten years, I have been collecting statistics and materials for this

book and I may fairly claim to have written it after a careful and critical study of the problems.”<sup>6</sup>

Mr. Huque mentioned the reasons to write the book. He hoped that this book may help all those engaged in devising measures for the economic reconstruction of rural Bengal, for the workers who love ‘The Man Behind the Plough’ and love him with all their heart. According to his observation, the Bengal peasant is a model for human society; in poverty he is one of the finest specimens of humanity, with patience, fortitude and every other supreme quality of manhood. He told about the traits of Bengal peasant that he (peasant) is self-restrained, composed and resigned in his adversity; he is hospitable, generous and kind in his prosperity. He bears the burden and the heat of the day with a uniform patience; he begins his unceasing toil in his field from early dawn, patiently and without complaint, and yet he cannot make both ends meet; he stands today with a face deeply marked with lines of semi-starvation in an attenuated frame. He told about the reason to write and reader of his book, “In all humility, I place this book before all who are devoted to the cause of the Raiyat of Bengal, all who wish him well and all who wish to know the tragic realities of the man behind the plough.”<sup>7</sup>

Mr. Osman Gani, translator of ‘Man Behind the Plough’ mentioned in his book ‘Banglar Krishak’ (published by Bangla Academy) “Man Behind the Plough written by Sir Mohammad Azizul Huque is a high value research book. I am confused that nobody feel farmer’s problem of

---

6. M. Azizul Huque, *The Man Behind The Plough*, p.ix

7. *Ibid* p x.

Bengal deeply like as Mr. Azizul Huque.” M. Moffakkarul Islam, editor of ‘Banglar Krishak’ mentioned in his book, *The Man Behind the Plough* has reflected concept on farmer’s problems of Krishak Praja Party.<sup>8</sup>

M. Moffakkarul Islam is one of the writers who criticized strongly ‘The Man Behind the Plough’. In an editorial of his book ‘Banglar Krishak’ he mentioned, the book was written in the perspective of political and economic conditions of 1930<sup>th</sup> decade and the writer Sir Azizul Huque was supporter of Krishak Praja Party. But during discussion on the conditions of Bengal farmers, he did not mention the objectives and mandate of Krishak Praja Party, even he did not write the name of his party (or others party’s name). But Krishak Praja Party’s position on farmer’s problems was reflected in two important ways in the book. Firstly, the writer described in details about farmer’s extreme poor status but he had silent on greater perspective of the problems ‘what did colonial government and what did not’ which was the main reason of under developed Agriculture and Industry. Secondly, the writer mainly focused on the problems of land owner famers. There is no controversy on the intensity of the problem which was pointed out by the writer; but this is true that the condition of Landless farmer and daily labor were more severe. It was mentioned earlier that in the decade of 1930<sup>th</sup> they were huge in number. But there is very little discussion on the landless farmer.”<sup>9</sup>

---

8. Mr. Osman Gani, “*Banglar Krishak*” (published by Bangla Academy) p.1

9. M. Moffakkarul Islam, editor of “*Banglar Krishak*” the book “*Man Behind the Plough*”p.13



Mr. Moffakkarul Islam also mentioned, “The objective of the writer was to highlight the problems of land owner farmer/raiyot farmers. For this reason he discussed about difference of weather in different area of undivided Bengal, natural disaster, cultivable land, yield of different agricultural products, deficit of food, income-expenditure of farmers, loan problems, activities of money lender, Seminary Acts, statistics of Cattle, population problem, land system, relation between Seminar and Mass population, Tenancy Act of different area of undivided Bengal. That means the book discussed all relevant issues which are affecting economic condition of land owner farmers. He had dependent on the reports of different government departments, proceedings of parliament and official documents of British Government for required information”<sup>10</sup>.

Mr. Moffakkarul commented that he was less careful to proof validity of information and do not follow the principles of a research but he was very serious to collect information and sincere to increase intrinsic value of the book. This is very much true regarding discussion on the income-expenditure of farmers and activities of Money Lender and Zemindars. In fact, what the writer included in the book on the income-expenditure of farmers; there is very little scope for any present researcher to add more.

---

10. *ibid*, p.14

However, this classic study of problems of the peasants of Bengal has not only a historical value, but also present relevance. It is true that during the last seventy years since its first publication, the oppressive powers of the Zemindars have been legally abolished; and many measures beneficial to the cultivators have been enacted. But the plight of the framers has not changed substantially. The author had the vision to suggest that a policy of improvement and diversification of agriculture supplemented by gradual industrialization in relieving the pressure on the soil can lead to the solution of the problems faced by the tiles of the soil. The present day researchers, policymakers, statesmen and those who are actively engaged in the amelioration of the lives of the men behind the ploughs may immensely benefit from this book. This book is an eloquent testimony to his genuine and sincere concern for human rights and democratic principles.

The condition of the Bengal farmers is clear from his write up that farmer's expenditure was higher than income due to small size of farm/land and poor yield per acre. Due to these reasons farmers were mostly dependent on the money lenders. Farmer's economic condition was more severe due to impose unnecessary taxes in increased rate by the landlords. There is confusion on reliability of information given on agricultural production and farmer's family budget. Question may rise on severity of farmer's poverty; but there is no controversy about his statement on economic condition of farmers. The information on taxation of landlord, loan problem and activities of money lenders is more reliable. It is notable that given statement on the economic condition of land owner farmer is applicable for maximum part of this

group not for all. It was mentioned earlier that a rich class farmers group were created due to some reasons which were land system, rate of tax, legal aspect of land transfer, tenancy act etc. These were included in the book and that was very much relevant. But the discussion is so long that it is difficult for a reader to remember the main objective.<sup>11</sup>

Mr. Mofakkarul criticized on the book and wrote “Firstly, the writer does not mention clearly that landlord tradition would be abolished where Krishak Praja Party committed to abolish the tradition. Secondly, He realized clearly that it is not only solution of farmer’s main problem; but as per Krishak Praja Party, land lord tradition was the main problem of farmer. His second statement was proved in practical experience; the land lord tradition was abolished from Bengal in 1950 but farmers are still in indebtedness, we see difference between income and expenditure of farmer and loan problem is very severe. The writer’s opinion was different when most of the people opined that abolition of land lord tradition would solve the Dal-Bhat problem. He did not opined strongly to abolish land lord tradition which was self-contradictory and create a scope of misunderstand. Secondly, revolutionary change of the tradition would not be possible in the role of British government. But it was the unavoidable first step to solve the problem of Agriculture and Farmers of Bengal. The land lord did not invest money to increase the productivity of land though they imposed taxes in increased rate due to their mind set up. On the other hand, government fixed rate of taxes

---

11. M. Mofakkarul Islam, editor of “Banglar Krishak” the book “Man Behind the Plough” p. 14

only one time for long term for land lords. Therefore, under the landlord tradition, continuing land lords right to increase taxes, there was no possibility to take initiative to solve the problems of agriculture and farmer by the government.”<sup>12</sup>

After critical review on the book ‘The Man Behind the Plough’ it is found that this is the most authentic and only one book on farmers and agriculture of Bengal at that time but it is not free from error. Although he discussed about the process getting poor condition of the farmer (how a farmer lost his land due to system), he does not discuss about economic condition of land less farmers and day labors. So far I know from history, the condition of Landless farmer and daily labor were more severe and they lived inhuman condition because they had no scope of earning daily to bear family expenses. At that time agricultural and other work was mostly seasonal, so they had no earning source to live. I think their conditions should be discussed in the book because the number of land less farmers and day labors were huge and that number had been increased day by day at that time. The book is the detail discretion of socio economic conditions and livelihood of farmers which is rare in any book. He discussed many micro level issues (e.g. family expense, income and expenditure deficit, Population problem, maternal and child health condition, bad condition of cattle, food habit, comparison of food intake and deficit etc.) which are most useful. Mr. Huque also discussed about the agricultural loan system, permanent settlement and other major issues which are caring a great value.

---

12. M. Mofakkarul Islam, editor of “Banglar Krishak” the book “Man Behind the Plough” p.15

Mr. Moffakkarul Islam criticized him for dependency on some specific information sources and raised confusion about reliability of information. But I strongly oppose him (Moffakkarul Islam) because M. Azizul Huque collected information from Bengal Banking Inquiry Committee, Jute Inquiry Committee, Bengal Board of Economic Inquiry Committee, Retrenchment Committee, Indian Franchise Committee, and Indian Tariff Board, statistics of government departments, government reports, parliament proceedings, and interview with key persons and there were no any more information sources to depend at that time. Regarding authenticity of information, I would say, he had great scope to collect real information as a member of many high level committees on Bengal and he collected information from valid sources taking long time (around ten years) for this book. Mr. Huque claimed in the preface of the book that he verified all information very carefully when he was member of Bengal Legislative Council and Education Minister.<sup>13</sup> My comment is here that his information which were given in the book are authentic and reliable.

I would differ slightly with Mr. Moffakkarul Islam on his criticism about the view of Mr. Huque on Land lord system abolishment. As per his statement, 'the writer did not mention clearly that landlord tradition would be abolished'. He realized clearly that it is not only solution of farmer's main problem; but as per views of Krishak Praja Party land lord tradition was the main problem of farmer' Mr. Moffakkarul Islam expected that Mr. Huque would stand in favour of Krishak Praja Party (as he was party member) and could express clear demand to abolish

---

13. M. Azizul Huque, *The Man behind the Plough*, p.ix

the tradition. But as a writer he can express his own views independently from neutral position not as a member of party. I have found many reasons in favor of his view. He believed that only land lord tradition was not main problem of farmer and abolition of the tradition was not only solution. Mr. Huque mentioned in the book that landlord tradition is curse in land system. He also added, if landlord cannot adapt himself with the change of time; it will bring very harmful result for the society. He mentioned about other realistic responsible factors for the problem and possible solutions to solve the problems. In that case, I do not see any problem to take this stand by Mr. Huque.

Mr. Kabir Chowdhury, Director, Bangla Academy wrote in the preamble of the translated book 'Bangladeshar Muslim Shekkhar Ittihas and Shomoshsha' that "Sir Md. Azizul Huque presented Bengal Money Lenders Act in Assembly. This is the first successful step to control money lender and fix the maximum rate of interest in Bengal. The act was promulgated ignoring strong protest of the capitalists. Farmer's community had got some relief from endless aridness of the money lenders. His famous book 'The Man Behind the Plough' is the proof of his soft and great heart on the famer's community of Bengal.<sup>14</sup>

According to above discussion the book is very much informative, analytical, authentic, reliable which is one of the evidential valuable documents on farmers of British Bengal and it can be considered as primary sources of information.

---

15. Mr. Kabir *Chaowdhury*, Director, Bangla Academy wrote in the preamble of the translated book "Bangladesha Muslim Shekkhar Ittihas and Shomoshsha" in August 20 1969, pp 3-4)

## **5.3: THE SWORD OF THE CRESCENT MOON**

**(1984):**

‘The Sword of the Crescent Moon’ is a book which was written on the life of the Prophet Hazrat Mohammad (sm) by Sir M. Azizul Huque. The ‘Crescent Moon’ is used as a symbol of Islam and the ‘Sword’ is used as a symbol of Rasul Hazrat Mohammad (sm). This book was published after his death in 1984. The book is divided in to the following chapters:

- I. Regional Geography;
- II. Ancient History;
- III. Age of Decadence;
- IV. World before the Advent of Islam;
- V. From Darkness to light;
- VI. Birth and Parentage;
- VII. Al-Amin;
- VIII. Ar-Rasul;
- IX. Preaching- Persecution – Herat;
- X. Struggle for Life and Faith;
- XI. Pilgrim of Faith;
- XII. O Kaiser O Kesra
- XIII. The Light Shines Again;
- XIV. The Conqueror Back to his Poverty;
- XV. Flag of the Crescent Moon over the Arab Land;
- XVI. Mohammad (Sm)’s Marriages;
- XVII. The Jews;
- XVIII. Wars and Expeditions;
- XIX. The Man
- XX. His Companions;

- XXI. Revelations and Messages;
- XXII. The Sayings of Mohammad (Sm) and
- XXIII. The passing Away of the Prophet.

Abdul Gaffar, Ex-Director of Publication, Islamic Foundation Bangladesh, wrote on his publisher's note that the book 'The Sword of The Crescent Moon', coming as it does, from the pen of a great scholar of his fame is no ordinary book, it does not require much intelligence to realize that it is a unique book on that greatest Man on earth whom Al-Quran described as the Uswatun Hasana – Model Par Excellence. The author not only depicted the Man and the Prophet as he was but also the historical and social background of his appearance and analyzed at length his unique contribution to human civilization. After Syed Ameer Ali's work, Sir Azizul Huque's present book is perhaps the second most important English work on the Holy Prophet (Sm) by a Bangle Muslim author.<sup>15</sup>

So far I know Mr. Huque is the first Bangladeshi writer who wrote on the Holy Prophet (Sm) in English. I have found it as a more concise book comparison to 'History of Sara Sen' written by Syed Ameer Ali. This is a very good book for the Muslims and the researchers.

---

15. Sir Azizul Huque, *The Sword of The Crescent Moon*, 1984, pp.iii-iv



#### **5.4. EDUCATION AND RETRENCHMENT (1924):**

'Education and Retrenchment' is a booklet which was published in 1924. Main content of the booklet is different initiatives of government and different committee's recommendations on education. He discussed the initiatives, decisions, and recommendations and shared his self-opinion on education. In this booklet he argued against the recommendations of the committee to transfer education from the Centre to local bodies.<sup>16</sup> The Report of the Bengal Retrenchment Committee published in 1923,<sup>17</sup> recommended the abandonment of education as the function of the state and suggested de-provincialization of education by transferring the responsibility to the local authorities, on the plea of economy in this booklet, Mr. Azizul Huque made a forceful case opposing the suggestion of the committee as the financial condition of the local authorities was deplorable. He was anxious about acceptance of the recommendations; it would adversely affect the general progress of education in the province and particularly of Muslim education. When the Mukherjee Retrenchment Committee in 1923 recommended almost the abandonment of as a state function, Mr. Huque published criticism in a pamphlet named 'Education and Retrenchment'. A was a fellow of Calcutta University for six years and a member of the Court of Dhaka University. He was a member of Calcutta University Reorganization Committee whose report is now the basis of the present University work and organization<sup>18</sup>.

16. *Shahanara Alam and Husniara Huq, Azizul Huque a Biographical Account of his Life and Work, 1994, p-166.*

17. *Bhuiya Iqbal, Sir Azizul Huque, Bangla Academy, p.83;*

18. *Star of India, Friday, June 16, 1934. Bengal's New minister Khan Bahadur Azizul Huque Selected Takes Charge Today.*

I want to include all the topics of his booklet '**Education and Retrenchment**' one by one in this section to better understanding on his views:

The report of the Bengal Retrenchment Committee is a remarkable document from many points of view. Through the attention of the public has been pointedly drawn in the report to many gross defects and too much culpable waste in the present administration of the presidency, there are also set backs and disasters in the public life of Bengal, if the recommendations are accepted even in part. Alike in its outlook as in the conception of governmental duties the report has run counter to the course of history of the last century and half of British in India. The future of education, specially, will be very seriously affected and it is time that the public should raise its voice in protest against the decisions of the Committee. The situation is very grave and the future is fraught with dangerous possibilities.

### **FIRST DUTIES OF GOVERNMENT**

In para 374, the report says:-“It is axiomatic that the first duties of Government are to give security, to enforce law and order, to collect the public revenues, and to provide an efficient Judiciary and Magistracy. What remains after the provision of these essential services should be devoted to development of the resources of the country and to what may be described as the nation building activities?”

In other words, the Government should gradually restrict its operations to the primary duties of maintenance of law and order and the needs of “unassertive 40 millions of people” in education, public health, medical relief, sanitation, agriculture etc. must wait till the so-called primary

demands are fully satisfied. The frightful consequence of this extremely crude and antiquated view relation to the functions of government cannot be discussed in a short brochure like this. Only what affects us in the field of education will be the subject matter of the following pages.

### **JOHN STUART MILL'S VIEWS:**

One need only open any elementary treatise on political science to get the complete refutation of the canons of the Committee. Jhon Stuart Mill, an individualist and an earnest believer in the doctrine of Laissez Faire, writing three quarters of a century ago could not exclude education from the scope of Governmental activities. "There are things" said Mill in 1848 (Principles of Pol. Economy, Book V, Chapter XI) of the worth of which the demand of the market is by no means a test. This is peculiarly true of those things which are chiefly useful as tending to raise the character of human beings. The uncultivated cannot be competent Judges of Cultivation. Those who most need to be made wiser and better usually desire it least and if they desired it, would be incapable of finding the way to it by their own lights. It will continually happen on the voluntary system that the end not being desired, the means will not be provided at all education therefore, is one those things which it is admissible in principle that a Govt. should provide for the people.

"In the matter of education, the intervention of Government is justifiable, because the case is not one in which the interest and judgment of the consumers are a sufficient security for the goodness of the community only one thing must be strenuously insisted on that Government must claim no monopoly for its education either in the lower or in the higher

branches; must exert neither authority nor influence to induce the people to resort to its teachers in preference to others through Government teachers will probably be superior to the average of private institutions. Subject to this limitation, a government may and ought to establish schools and colleges of its own.” One would feel the truth of Mill’s dictum even to-day on reading the report of the Retrenchment Committee:-“The uncultivated cannot be competent judges of cultivation.”

Professor Marshall, the greatest living economist says, “A good education confers great indirect benefits even on the ordinary workman; it is an important means towards the production of material wealth. No change would conduce so much to a rapid increase of wealth as an improvement in our schools and specially those of middle grades. “The influence exerted on national property by education of all kinds general, technical and artistic is now attracting increased attention and England is setting herself to profit by the experiences of other countries in this matter.”

### **CONSTITUTION OF RETRENCHMENT COMMITTEE**

The constitution of the Retrenchment Committee was such as no better result could have been expected. The members are successful men in their own lines, but none of them had any pretensions to be either a financier or an educationist. Most of them are business men who have spent the best part of their life in looking upon Pound, shilling and pence as the main objective in life. But finance is not mere arithmetic; it is great policy and without sound finance no sound government is possible, a dictum hardly realized by the members as manifested in the report. They have hardly been actuated by any other motive except cuts.

### **BASTABLE**

To quote a leading authority in public finance: -

“The recognition of education as one of the tasks of the State was the result of the decline of the influence of the Church. Even the theorists of the 18 century hesitated to exclude the duty of assisting education from the sphere of state operations. Since the time of the Physiocrats and Adam Smith, the tendency has been towards the extension of public effort in all the departments of education”.

“No modern state is likely to suffer financial embarrassment through its outlay in promoting education and culture. Measured against the cost of war and preparation for war, this form of expenditure is modest and inconspicuous to the total demand; and taken with its probable advantages, it is the least questionable of the many secondary heads of charge.”

**DR. SADLER & THE UNIVERSITY COMMISSION**

Exerts education have always held that cost education should be of no moment in any scheme of public welfare. Dr. Sadler, there renowned educationist, the president Calcutta University Commission, says: - "Education vitality is the best thing that a nation can buy." The Calcutta University Commission which examined the whole problem of Indian education so recently at a heavy cost to the taxpayer is quite emphatic on the point. The university Commission of 1902 declared that unless by Government aid or otherwise, the financial position of the Universities can be materially strengthened, the prospect of a through change must be indefinite postponed. Sixteen years after the Calcutta University Commission endorsed the same view.

**THE POLICY OF THE BRITISH IN INDIA**

The acceptance of education as the duty of the state was all along the policy of the British and India. Whether it is in the Minute of Lord Minto or Macaulay or in the Dispatch of 1854 or in the numerous Commissions and Committees, or in the declared policy of the state, the same end was looked for the breaking down of literacy in India. Education was all along regarded as a necessary function of the state, as one demanding the strongest claim to the attention of Government. In this famous Minute on education, Lord Minto said in 1811 that the ignorance of the people is subversive to good Government and conducive to crime. 'It is one our most sacred duties to be the means, as far as in us lies of conferring upon the natives of India those vast moral and material blessings which flow from diffusion of useful knowledge, said the Dispatch of 1854. Lord Lawrence put it in 1868:- "Among all sources of difficulty in our administration and of possible

danger to the stability of our government, there are few as serious as the ignorance of the people. Sir Harcourt Butler in a vein of almost poetic inspiration said from his place in the Imperial Council as the education member of the Government of India. "Sir the Greek hero caught in the mist prayed for light to see his enemies. Ignorance is our enemy and our prayer is for light to expose and shatter that insidious foe."

### **EDUCATION AS MERCANTILE CONCERN**

But in the year 1923, when problems of reconstruction are engaging the attention of all thinkers and workers in Europe and America, when the doctrine of Laissez Faire has been finally abandoned as any practical state policy, when public welfare and not individual is the objective of all states when nationalization in land, industry, education is the creed of a powerful party in England, a group of business men with a lawyer to brief their cause and an official possibly to get inspiration for the new working order has propounded certain antiquated and crude views and recommended the abandonment of Education as the function of the State and has undone the history of the last 160 years. Viewing the problem of education from the mercantile stand point education given in seven Government Arts Colleges is said to be "a commodity costing over 13 laces being sold for a little over 3 laces." Government Colleges are, therefore, bad business. The Government Schools no longer teaches, but "caters" for so many boys costing so much per head, while aided schools could manage with so much less. So Government Schools must go there is no place for any other consideration in this view of things. Many teachers are good teachers by nature and

common sense. A trained teacher is not always a good teacher.” Therefore all training Colleges must also go.

### **DEVOLUTION TO LOCAL BODIES**

All these have been attempted to be done behind the plea of larger devolution to local bodies and self-governing bodies. Generalization are often the most unsuspected means of avoiding issues and the history of India is replete with instances when in the name of doing good much mischief has been done behind such fine and even finer phrases. It is doubtful if the busy members of the Retrenchment Committee paused to examine the present relationship of Provincial Government to the local bodies. Hemmed in on all sides by Circulars and Resolutions, controlled in every way by the department of local Self Government in every way by the department of local self-government, limited in the scope of work by antiquated enactments, the status of the local bodies can be imagined only by those who have a little knowledge of their inner working. One would fail to find in the report even a sentence of sympathy for the shackles under which the local bodies are suffering today.

### **LOCAL FINANCE**

But the most pessimistic feature in these local institutions is the state of their finance- a chronic state of financial poverty. They must have powers to levy local taxation which they require for their own purposes, in such manner as they may consider necessary. Above all, the line between local and provincial finance should be first definitely determined.



### **PROVINCIAL FERRIES**

To quote a concrete instance, Tolls and ferries are always regarded as a proper head for local finance. But in this presidency, the most paying ferries are Provincial ferries and in spite of protest continue to be so up till this day. The Maharaja Bahadur of Nadia once characterized this appropriation as robbery on the part of provincial finance. Will anybody say by what canons these ferries are appropriated to provincial finance?

### **CHOUKIDARI TAX - A LOCAL CHARGE**

But has the Committee judged the present situation in the light of its own principles? There are certain heavy items of expenditure which according to the canons of the committee are the first duties of Government and for which general revenues are primarily liable- which are now being met from local taxation. The village police, commonly known as Chukidars and Daffadars, are now entirely local charge. Quite free as the Committee has been in the expression of its views, when it could go behind the history of the last century and half for the sake of framing a better policy in provincial finance, this should not have escaped its notice. The general public has hardly any idea of the extent of this local taxation for the maintenance of the village police. Putting on a modest scale of 2 F (1, 2) laces per district, the figures run up to 62 F (1, 2) laces of rupees for the presidency. Unless this is released, it is a question of doubtful fairness whether there is any justification for government raiding upon its pledged and promised assistance for the maintenance and development of institutions and projects which directly benefit the people, with a view to arrest the growth of provincial expenditure.

**POLICE AS A LOCAL CHARGE**

Either this or the policy of police administration should have been modeled on the plan of the British system. The entire police excepting the metropolitan look up in England to the local bodies for its finance and as such is controlled by these local bodies. That would have been a most welcome feature in the public life of this country and would have been warmly welcomed by all shades of politicians. Subject to full power of audit, the local bodies should have unfettered discretion in the management of their affairs.

**ANOMILIES OF LOCAL FINANCE**

But as the situation is today, the local bodies in Bengal are practically without any real power. They merely perform certain statutory duties and exercise such powers as are permitted within the limits of enactments and regulations. They must maintain a health staff in accordance with departmental requirements even if they have no finance for the purpose. They are now to arrange for transport facilities, keep up communications for the movement of live-stock, food-stuff and other products; but the principle of meeting local needs by an impost on internal trade, commerce and traffic-thought accepted in the metropolis for the Calcutta improvement trust-is now beyond the range of local finance. Other industries may have grown up within the local area, but the local bodies are merely to look on to the prosperity of these concerns, without any power to replenish its financial resources. To quote Mr. Lang' report on the working of the District and Local Boards in the presidency Division for the year 1921-22, 'I have been impressed by the damage done to roads as the result of the boom in the brick trade, Brick Kilns were started in large numbers in the Murshidabad, Nadia

and 24 Parganahs districts and the effect of the heavy cart traffic has been to ruin the roads which there is little money to restore.” But the local bodies cannot ask for a pie from the proprietor of industries which damage the roads or otherwise require the attention of local bodies. Heavy Motor Lorries can at present ruin the roads of Municipalities and District Boards and can earn large margin of profits without paying a pie to those local bodies.

Such, in brief, are some of the anomalies of the present situation and reforms are urgently needed. For the last 160 years, the policy has been in favor of concentration and centralization in the metropolis and the country has been adjusted in accordance with the dictates of this policy. The local bodies would certainly welcome any change in the policy that would lead to the development of their activities. But the devolution must be fair and equitable. The policy that appropriates every source of taxable income to provincial revenue, leaving only greater margin of works for local bodies with no broadening of their financial basis is neither honest nor fair even in state-craft.

### **PRESSING LOCAL PROBLEM**

With the pressing problems of water-supply medical relief and Primary education looming before them, with malaria and other preventable diseases taking their annual toll of lives, creating havoc in the Presidency year after year, the situation is serious enough for these local bodies. The provisions of the recent Agricultural and Sanitary Drainage act will give them ample scope of work for years to come. With the phenomenal rise of wages and prices, the local self-governing bodies having no corresponding increase in their finance, are now doing

half the work of the pre-war times with no hope of immediate financial relief. With their financial powers codified in the financial basis, these local bodies have been seriously asked not only to take charge of all educational institution, primary secondary, and collegiate, at a moment's notice without allowing them any opportunity to re-adjust their machineries in the light of the new situation so suddenly sprung upon them, but also to be ultimately responsible for district hospitals and other institutions.

The result will be that the financial condition will not permit the local bodies to spend any part of their income for those transferred purposes. Starved already as these educational institutions are, they will have to be further starved and will possibly die of inanity.

#### **MR. HORNELL IN HIS QUINQUENNIAL REVIEW**

In the 5<sup>th</sup> Quinquennial review of the progress of education in Bengal, Mr. Hornell remarks:-“The funds which the district board devote to education are wholly inadequate. The income from pounds and ferries on which a district board has to depend largely to meet its educational charges has in many causes decreased. In those cases in which this income has remained stationary or increased, it has been largely utilized to defray medical expenses, which is also a charge on the pounds and ferries revenue. There is not therefore- apparently there cannot be-any elasticity in the district boards arrangements for financing education. Briefly the present position is that the great majority of boards cannot on their present resources open or encourage the opening of any more primary schools, while in some districts there is danger that even the measureable grants which are now being paid

may have to be reduced.” The inadequacy of the funds available as compared with the demand for primary education is even more marked in municipal than it is in district board areas, with the result that both the imperial and local government have agreed that the educational activities of municipal bodies should be confined in the main primary schools and that municipal funds should be utilized for secondary education until full provision has been made for primary schools.”

The deprovincialization of educational institutions by transfer to local bodies has been tried in the United Provinces and the Panjab. It was a signal failure and created havoc in the schools. This should have been in sufficient warning in Bengal. The system had to be abandoned and the Nainital Conference of 1907 recommended the provincialization back of the transferred schools and resumption of responsibility for the board schools by the government. The royal commission on decentralization of 1908-9 recommended as follows:

“We are of opinion that rural boards might have charge of middle vernacular as well as of primary education; provided that their duties in respect of the latter are fully discharged. We consider however that high school and all institutions in which teaching is given in English should in all cases be a direct government charge. We consider that the obligatory functions of municipalities should be confined to primary instruction. Secondary education should be in the hands of Government; but if a municipality is after the due discharge of its normal duties, able and willing to devote money to middle vernacular schools it might be permitted to do so.”

**THE PRACTICE OF OTHER COUNTRIES:**

On the authority of Major Jack's calculation in his "economic life of a Bengal district" the retrenchment committee has concluded that there is ample scope for local taxation on Bengal districts as, compared with the revenue derived per head of population by government, the percentage of total revenue derived by local authority is only twelve-while it is forty seven percent of seventy nine cores rupees, 30.09 cores being imposed in course of 1921 and 1922. Taking the population on India as 248 million in 1922, the additional taxation in the last two years is Rs. 1-3-4 per head. As calculated by Prof. C.N. Vakil of the department of economics university of Bombay, the incidence of taxation of per head of population in 1920 was Rs. 5-0-11 with an additional imposed of Rs. 1-3-4 per head, the incidence in 1922 in Rs. 6-4-3. The calculation of honorable Mr. Purushottamdas Thakurdas comes also to the same figure. The pre-war estimate of Prof. Vakil and honorable Mr. Purushottamdas Thakurdas as regards incidence of taxation almost tally with the estimate of Major Jack who put it at Rs. 2-8-6 for Faridpur, Purushottamdas Thakurdas estimating it as Rs. 2-11-3 in 1911 and Rs. 2-14-5 in 1913 for the whole of India. If the local taxation is therefore taken at Major Jack's figure and even if we take it that since then there has not been any increment, the present revenue derived per head of population by Government is roughly Rs. 6-4-0 while that derived by local authority is about four annas per head. The percentage is 3.8 as compared with pre-war percentage viz. 12. This is what the committee means by saying that "the effect of subsequent legislation in Bengal has been to increase the revenue obtained by government and therefore to lower the proportion of the total revue derived by the local authorities.

**“HIGHER THE IMPERIAL TAXATION, THE GREATER THE SCOPE OF LOCAL FINANCIAL EXPENSE”:**

In 1913, the percentage of total revenue derived by local authority was only 12. By 1922, when the country has been saddled with an additional taxation of 79 cores of rupees, the percentage is still reduced to 3 to 8. If the committee is correct then compared with pre-war figures, there is further scope for expansion of local finance today. So as the imperial taxation increases, the percentage of total revenue derived by local authority falls and the greater, therefore, becomes the scope of local financial expansion a perfectly ridiculous argument!

**INCIDENCE OF INCOME:**

But in comparing percentage of incidence with other countries the committee did not consider income per head in those countries, forgetting the elementary principles of economics that the margin of expenditure for purposes of peace, good government and security narrows down with the decreased of income. But even as the figure stands, another conclusion was quite open to the members of the committee. Not that incidence of local taxation is low, but the incidence of government taxation is abnormally high in this country. For by lowering the incidence of government taxation the percentage of total revenue derived by local authorities goes up and can be made proximate to the percentage in other countries.

**MORE FINANACIAL OUTLAY:**

Indian Public opinion has so long clamored for more financial outlay in education. On all hands, says the Calcutta university commission, during our travels over Bengal, we have heard the demand that

government should give more for education. But instead of more the committee has recommended a cut of 35 lacs at a stroke-the deepest and unkindest cut of all not even excluding the cut in police.

### **IS THE TALK OF THE DEVOLUTION A NEW THING!**

This talk of devolution of educational responsibilities to local bodies and local efforts is not a new thing in the history of Indian education. The proposal has been mooted over and over again and was particularly abandoned. But nobody treated this problem in such a casual and perfunctory manner as the members of the Bengal retrenchment committee.

### **FRAGMENTARY GOOD INTENTIONS WITH PARTIAL PROPOSALS:**

The fact is that the report is a confusion of fragmentary good intentions and partial proposal. It contents general ideas of utmost sanity with the proposals of utter impracticability. The committee had complete disregards of the most obvious fact that new methods of reconstruction and new classes of men cannot suddenly be created. World problems cannot be discussed today brushing aside the history of yesterday. "The social world cannot be rebuilt a new with new units of reconstruction. The world may be charged in deed as much as one likes provided it is kept on going all the same, but the smallest change cannot be effected that involves a week's stoppage. We cannot cut tomorrow from yesterday." We may reconstruct but we cannot throttle any system to death.



**EASY TO BE WISE AFTER THE EVENT:**

There may have been haste or waste and even incidental abuses in the past. All these may be granted. Yet those English men and Indians who spent their lives for the working of the present system gave India of their best. It is easy to be wish after the event but as one rehearses the story, one feels that things could scarcely be otherwise.” It is not fair to conclude that the system has been wholly bad. Good men have been produced under it. Public life has become invigorated. The tone of education has been improved. Is it statesmanship to kill the system all at once?

**DISPATCH OF 1854:**

The dispatch of 1854 which may be said to be the bed rock upon which the whole superstructure of the present educational system in India stands, recommended the combination of the direct agency of government with the aid which might derived from the liberality of wealthy native of India and in sentence which may even how be written in letters of gold, guided the future policy Indian education: “It is far from our wish to check the spread of education in the slightest degree by the abandonment of a single school to probable decay. Any expense which may be incurred for this object will be amply repaid by the improvement of the country, for the reason that the spread of the education and the general diffusion of knowledge is inseparably followed by most orderly habits, by increasing industry, by a taste for the comforts of life, by exertion to acquire them and by the growing prosperity of the people.”

**EDUCATION COMISSION OF 1882:**

In 1882, a commission was appointed to enquire in to the position of education in the country and the question of withdrawal of the state from the direct provision and management of education especially of higher education was discussed by this commission in all its bearings.

To quote the report, “perhaps none of the many subject we have discussed is encompassed with greater difficulty or has elicited more shades of opinion alike among the witnesses and within the commission itself then this problem.” viz, the withdrawal of the state from the direct provision and management of education. Great number of opposing consideration was weighed by commission and balanced against each other. Saving to public fund, consideration of economy, possibility of improvement in the result of private effort, need of variety in the type of education encouragement to religious instruction were all considerate against the danger of a false impression made on the public in hasty and premature withdrawal, the difficulty of maintaining colleges of higher types by local effort, influence of government institution in keeping up the standard of education and the state of popular feeling. The commission could be arrive at the satisfactory solution but suggested that “whatever steps be taken, be taken in such a way as to clear beyond the possibility of doubt that they are taken for the benefit and extension and not for the injury of higher education.” Doubting if men of high academic standing would be drawn to institutions under private management, the commission also remarked:- “The policy of withdrawal can be carried out on an extensive scale only at a cost of surrendering not one school but many to probable decay.”

**RECOMMENDATION OF THE COMMISSION:**

On all these considerations, the commission recommended that as a step towards this transfer, liberal rates be offered for term of years to any local body willing to undertake any such institution under adequate guarantees of permanence and efficiency, and the transfer be effected if it could be done “without lowering the standard or diminishing the supply or without endangering the permanence of the institution.” The commission remarked that “the attitude of the department of education should be not that of withdrawing from a charge found to be burdensome and of transferring the burden to other shoulders, but of conferring a boon on those worthy of confidence and of inviting voluntary associations in the work and responsibilities of national education.”

**LORD CURZON IN 1904:**

About 20 years after, Lord Curzon took up the task of overhauling the entire machinery of education and undertook certain urgently needed reforms, and policy of Indian education was embodied in a resolution issued by the governor general in council in 1904.

“While accepting the policy recommended by the education commission in 1883, the government of India recognized the extreme importance of the principle that in each branch of education, government should maintain a limited number of institutions both as model for private enterprise to follow and in order to uphold a high standard of education.”

### **THE FRESH OUTLOOK IN INDIAN EDUCATION:**

About this time efforts were made to bring in fresh outlook in the field of Indian education. Education to deserve its name must be something more than the acquisition of positive knowledge, something higher than the passing the examination. The quality, the outlook, the surroundings, the methods, the physique are all factors to be counted in any scheme of sound education. Ill paid teachers with a gloomy outlook can never work for the expansion of mind among students. Attention was, therefore, divided from the problem of withdrawal to greater efficiency and to better quality and type of education. Scholarship, hostel, laboratories, Gymnasium, play grounds, structural improvement, researchers, better training of teachers and improvements of pay and prospects for teachers, there by rising the one of those employed in the task of education engaged the greater attention of government.

### **MR. MONTAGU IN 1912:**

“We propose in secondary education.” Mr. Montagu said in introducing the Indian budget of 1912, in the parliament “to extend our model schools were required and set an example of standard.”

### **INDIAN EDUCATION POLICE, 1913:**

The programmes were laid down in the Resolution of 1913 as follows:-

a) Improving the few existing government schools by:

- Employing only graduates or trained teachers.
- Introducing a graded service for English teachers.
- Providing proper hostel accommodation.
- Developing an historical and geological sense.
- Introducing manual training and improving science-teaching.

- b) Increase grants-in-aid.
- c) To multiply and improve training colleges.
- d) To found Government schools where needed
- e) Expansion of University education.
- f) Establishment of other teaching and residential universities.

In the Quinquennial review of Indian Education from 1912 to 1917, it was again laid down:—"It is the policy of Government to leave the expansion of secondary education mainly to private agency but to maintain a Government High Schools in each district.

#### **THE WAR:**

The policy outlined above was steadily pushed on with adequate financial grants from the Imperial Government till the war came, when all available funds were diverted to the successful termination of the war. After the war, the country finds that the money needed for education is being spent for the reform machinery and is also being partly diverted to the army, the police and the jail.

#### **CHEAPNESS THE ONLY GROUND OF TRANSFER:**

The members of the Retrenchment Committee now want a departure from this policy by transferring all Government institutions to local agencies. The underlying reason for this proposed change is the cheapness of private management. No other consideration has any place in the standpoint of the calculators.

**MR. HORNELL:**

Only six years back, Mr. Hornell still the Director of Public Instruction, described the situation in a tone of pessimism. "The Condition of the schools is undoubtedly prejudicing the developing of the Presidency and is by no means a negligible feature in the existing state of general disturbance. It is customary to trace the genesis of much sedition and crime to the backstreets and lanes of Calcutta and Dacca where the organizers of anarchist conspiracies seek their agents from among university students. This view is correct so far as it goes, but it is in the high schools with their under-paid and disconnected teachers, their crowded, dark and ill-ventilated class-rooms-their soul-destroying process of unceasing cram that the seeds of discontent and fanaticism are sown."

"Secondary education is being run at a figure at which the genuine article or anything approaching it cannot be delivered"

**THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY:**

The Department of Education has virtually no effective control over un-aided private institutions. The standard of qualifications required by the University as a condition of recognition of a high school is that two members of the staff should hold the B.A degree and two should have passed the Intermediate examinations and that one should be an English-knowing Pandit. The regulations say nothing with regard to the number beyond the additional requirement that the qualifications, character and experience of the headmaster and the rest of the teachers should be satisfactory. Regarding pay the University demands no more in a recognized school than that the Headmaster should

receive Rs.50/- the second Rs.40/- and the other Rs. 25/-. Most of the private schools therefore try to keep as near as possible, to the margin of requirements, though they are so low that even the worst has to exceed the limit. The junior classes of these schools are invariably left to the care of matriculates and plucked matriculates. "It is an open secret that the salaries which are entered against the teacher's names and for which they sign receipts are not always paid." But even the paper salaries are lamentably low and good men are hardly attracted. Such was the condition of secondary education, unfortunately still prevailing in most of the private institutions in Bengal.

**PRIVATELY MANAGED INSTITUTIONS:**

The condition in privately managed schools is described in a nut-shell, in the following study of the situation in Bengal, as noted in the Sixth Quinquennial Review on Indian Education:-"Buildings are generally bad; appliances are wanting almost everywhere; Teachers are poorly paid and consequently in many cases incompetent. Continuity of work is out of the question. There is frequent change of teachers to the prejudice of discipline and progress.

**CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY COMMISSION:**

The place of private enterprise in Indian Education was examined by Calcutta University Commission:-"private initiative in the past has rendered great service to religion, to culture and to trade and is likely to prove of great value in the future. But it has never yet sufficed to meet all public needs. It can originate a movement of educational ideas. It can protect the convictions of a minority, but it cannot supply a whole people with a system of schools. If private schools have produced some

of the best things in Education, they have also been responsible for some of the worst. Some private enterprise is illustrious in educational history; much of it is dull, inert and mechanical; some of it is a by-word and a scandal, privately managed high schools in Bengal are straitened in income and partly for this reason are also straitened in their ideas of educational excellence.”

Yet brushing aside all these considerations, it is the cheapness- which was invariably considered hitherto as a curse in the evolution of the educational system that has been the main consideration. In recommending the deprovincialization of educational institutions in Bengal, possibly the members of Calcutta University Commission were gifted with prescience in anticipating the coming evil days when they pleaded for greater expenditure for the betterment of the condition of education in Bengal.

#### **THE SALVATION OF BENGAL:**

“The salvation of Bengal depends upon the payment of adequate salaries to teachers, the scale of pay even in Government schools, and still more in aided and private schools, is wholly inadequate. If Bengal is to have a better system of education, Bengal must pay for it. The Government will have to pay a larger portion of a substantially larger expenditure if the evils are to be mended, and the reforms are to be carried through. It would be the falsest of false economy not to do everything possible to find the means of carrying out development at the earliest possible moment. A new educational outlook is sorely needed in the schools and colleges of Bengal and we express the hope that a considerable and increasing part of help may be furnished by



contributions from the well-wishers of Government. But in giving a lead to this generosity, the action of Government is indispensable. For this reason we have been the less reluctant to advise new expenditure from public funds upon a scale unprecedented in the financial history of Bengal.”

Such were the wishes of Calcutta University Commission, for the reason that this expenditure would be ‘remunerative expenditure in its effect upon the deeper sources of moral strength, and also upon the economic welfare of the country and upon its civic and industrial initiative. Otherwise there will be waste of ability and squandering of the most valuable asset which is the brain power and moral vigor’ of the son of Bengal.

#### **HIS MAJESTY THE KING EMPEROR:**

The message of His Most Gracious Imperial Majesty the King Emperor in replying to Calcutta University on the 6<sup>th</sup> of January, 1912, said:-

“It is my wish that there may be spread over the land a network of schools and colleges from which will go forth loyal and manly and useful citizens, able to hold their own in industries and agriculture and all the vocations in life. And it is my wish, too, that the homes of my Indian subjects may be brightened and their labour sweetened by the spread of knowledge with all that follows in its train, the higher level of thought, of comfort and of health. It is through education that my wish should be fulfilled and the cause of education will ever be very close to my heart’.

How far the wishes of His Majesty are likely to be fulfilled in the new scheme of affairs is a matter that may be left for others to decide.

**MAHOMMEDAN EDUCATION:**

The recommendations of the Committee if accepted will be disastrous to the cause of Mahomedan education in the presidency. When the British came to this country, the Mussalmans had their traditional system of education and training. For centuries this was the dominating culture of the world which was evolved during the great days of Islam and followed and accepted from Spain to China. The British accepted the system in India and by establishment of the different Madrassahs; the Government got its accomplished scholars, able officers and competent administrators for about a country.

**KILLING THE TRADITIONAL SYSTEM:**

But other ideals were stirring abroad. Amidst controversies and opposition, Macaulay's minute followed in its wake by Act XXIX of 1837-abolishing Persian as the language of judicial and revenue proceedings-sealed the future of this traditional system. The Mussalmans did not tamely submit to the new and foreign system of education and training. But special encouragements and facilities were offered by Governments and a steady policy of bringing the Mussalmans to the new system has since been followed and with success. Feelings of hostility to the new system have now been killed, the apathy and indifference have been broken – the traditional system when every mosque was a school in miniature has practically been dead in the country today. In its place, another system, respectful of each other's convictions, ready to preserve communal traditions within the frame-work of the newer ideals was being slowly evolved under the fostering care of British educationists, in willing co-operation with the workers in the cause of Moslem Education.

**THE NEW EVOLUTION:**

The reason for this new system which was recognized in the Islamic Faculty of Arts in Dacca University has been ably explained in the report of Calcutta University Commission: - "Mussalmans have their traditions and ideals- traditions and ideals which are the common property of Islam, but which cannot be wholly identical with those of any other community today the Hindu, like the Mussalman, looks out on the world which lies outside India and feels the impulse of a more than national life. But his ideals spring from the soil of India. To him India is the abiding background of his thoughts hopes. The Indian Mussalman, like the Hindu, is an Indian patriot and feels towards India as towards his motherland. But rooted in his heart are other ideals also, the ideals of Islam, traditions which carry his imagination back to a past which holds not only Indian history but much besides."

**THE PROBLEM:**

But though the Mussalmans took to English education, the lost steps have not yet been gained back. For decades, this has been the Indian problem, to the Government as well as to the people of this country. Till the Mussalmans as a community are able to aspire, feel and work, standing alongside the Hindu community, there is no hope or future for this country. Efforts at unity will be merely in name and the country will not be free from the evil effects of passions and prejudices of both the communities. In the words of Mr. Hornell, until the Mussalmans are "educated sufficiently to be able to take an interest in the affairs of public life it is difficult to conceive of Bengal, as a part of self-governing dominion within the British Empire." The only possible way in which the Mussalmans" can be made to realize their privileges and

responsibilities, as subjects of the Empire, is by giving them every facility for English education.”

Only in 1916 the Government of Bengal in its resolution dated the 3<sup>rd</sup> of August, 1916 pledged itself to offer facilities to Mussalmans in all educational institutions maintained wholly or partly out of public funds, and various arrangements were made as a result of the policy. Calcutta University Commission agreed with all these measures and further recommended the establishment of a College for Mussalmans in Calcutta.

#### **PLEDGES AND PROMISES:**

But all these are now to go away with the abolition of Government Schools and Colleges, including the Calcutta Madrassah and the Moslem High Schools. The pledges and promises in the past will be so much scraps of paper as there is no “advantage in viewing education from a purely sectarian angle.” The assistant Director of Public Instruction with 5 assistant Inspectors for Mahommedan Education is to be a sacrifice to the axe as no “special agency is required any longer to safeguard the interests of a particular community.” Only about ten years ago, Lord Hardinge hurried to Dacca to calm the ruffled feelings of the Mussalmans who had loyalty as their sole consolation in the unsettling Dispatch of Lord Hardinge consequent upon the annulment of the Partition and announced the appointment special educational officer for Mussalmans and the establishment of a University at Dacca, “so much impressed “as the government of India was “with the necessity of education in a province” mostly populated by the Mussalmans ‘which made so good progress in education during the past years’. Within ten

years, the large promise, like many others, is to be brushed-aside in a smooth excuse. Such are the recommendations of the Committee which had no Mahommedan member in it and if any argument is needed to prove the need of specially safeguarding the interests of the Mahommedan Community as in the past, it is the report itself which had not hesitated to massacre the future of Muslim education in Bengal, mainly because there was no Mahommedan member to impress the Mussalman view point to the members of the Committee. It would now be a fitting monument to the Committee's work if the building of the Calcutta Madrassah is let out mercantile houses and the plot purchased in Wellesley Street, Calcutta, at a coat of Rs. 123000/- for the purpose of a Mahommedan College be sold out to the highest bidder to replenish the exhausted exchequer.

#### **A CONTRAST-ANGLO INDIAN AND EUROPEAN EDUCATION:**

And what is a contrast to the tender considerations of the Committee regarding European and Anglo-Indian education compared with the education of the Mussalmans. Speaking of the hill schools, "to provide a good education at cheap rates", "for European children of the class for which these schools cater is a sound principle" and "there is a good case for the education in the hills," as on grounds of health they could not live in the plain all the year round. Their fees are not to be increased as then it would be necessary to give their parents increased emoluments." Though there is not 'an equally good case for the education in the hills of Anglo-Indian children, 'the schools being more expensive' and though feeling that 'it is difficult to justify the larger expenditure on account of Anglo-Indian children,' 'we have no solution to offer,' says the Committee, and meanwhile 'the Kurseong schools

exist and we think they should be continued as they are' at a cost of over 2 lacs of rupees of the tax-payers' money.

### **EDUCATIONISTS WILL PASS AWAY:**

The recommendations of the Committee will cause another disaster in Bengal. Government schools and Colleges have hitherto been supplying the country with a body of educationists, both Indians and Europeans, factor of very great importance in the public life of this presidency. It would not be statesmanship to stop this supply. The Government School Teacher's Association, with branches all over the Presidency, has already organized itself and was just beginning to take its due place in the evolution of education in this country, under the guidance of educationists like Mr. R. N. Gilchrist, Sir A. Chowhury, Roy Kumudinikanta Banerjee Bahadur, and its activities have steeped already beyond bare personal needs. In country where politics is the most absorbing interest in public life, it is eminently necessary that other voices should also be heard from time to time.

Not that there are too many Government Schools and Colleges; only 41 Government Schools and 7 Arts Colleges to supply the needs of over 45 millions of people. As yet there is none of the type of English public schools in Bengal like Eton or Harrow or Rugby. Education has been costly to the provincial revenues no doubt, but it has not been as costly as other departments of administration. Even what they are, in spite of the fact that with the advent of the war, most of the improvement proposals had to be abandoned, it is a calumny to say that the Government institutions have ceased to be models. In spite of all adverse circumstances, they still attract a large number of pupils even from some of the best managed private institutions, which larger

numbers have to be refused admission for want of accommodation. Even now, the pay and prospects in the teaching profession are not what they should be: for a graduate in administrative services begins his career much higher than in educational services. The latest reorganization has not touched fringe of the problem. A drawing-master who was drawing 150/- and could aspire to go up to 250/- had, after the reorganization, his maximum fixed at 110/-. The senior classical teachers in Government High Schools with a prospect of going up to 250/- must now close with 160/-; while the Assistant Head Masters now find themselves reduced to a status inferior to lecturers, demonstrators and Sub-Deputy Collectors, men which they were not in the past. And 200/- is the highest that only few English teachers can henceforth expect, at the close of their career, in Government Schools.

Such is the situation in Bengal. The pity of it is that we would still pay our administrators in thousands, but would gladly continue to keep the teachers, the creator of administrators ill paid and discouraged in outlook.

Yet, there is ample scope for retrenchment in the educational expenses; the expenditure on certain heads had been reckless in the past; but the remedy lies not in the heroic methods proposed by the Committee by killing the whole system. If time and circumstances permit, it will be dealt with in a separate pamphlet.

About 73 years ago, the Honble Mr. Bethune came to Krishnagar to distribute the prizes. Speaking of the report that the Council of Education then contemplated the abolition of the Krishnagar College, he

said-“It is a silly report. It might have been said with equal truth that we meant to abolish Krishnagar itself. Might one put it today in the same vein- ‘you want to abolish Government educational institutions; better abolish Bengal it self.’

### **THE TRIUMPH:**

Verily a crisis has come in the history of education in Bengal. Evil days are fast coming, possibly faster than one can dream of. In the province of 45millions, where after a century and half of honest, incessant efforts, the masses are still steeped in illiteracy and ignorance, when the percentage in higher education as compared with other civilized countries, is still unconceivable low, the Retrenchment Committee has proposed the virtual abolition of all Government Schools and Colleges, assessing education as a mercantile commodity. If the proposals are accepted and the Government abdicates its functions in education, if the spirit animating the Board of Secondary Education which is coming almost in the wake of the recommendations of the Retrenchment Committee, be to hold a grip over the output of Matriculates, if the University is needlessly narrowed and restricted in the free development of its activities, the triumph will be complete, but at a sacrifice which posterity alone will judge!

Though the booklet focused on current issues but it has historical value. He picked up important historical topics on education in the booklet. He also shared his own view and opinions on the issue which had valuable impact on the education of British Bengal as well as on present education system. I think, considering its importance it can be a primary source of contemporary history of education.



## 5.5. A PLEA FOR SEPARATE ELECTORATES IN BENGAL (1931):

The booklet '**A Plea for Separate Electorates in Bengal**' was published posthumously in 1931.<sup>19</sup> It was written on current political problems of Bengal. I would like to brief on the perspective of the plea to understand the importance of this. The plea was presented in 1909. Mr. Nehru recommended abolishing the separate electorate for Muslim by Nehru Report in 1928. Mr. Jinnah strongly demanded for separate electorates and strongly opposed on the recommendations of Mr. Nehru. A conflict between Congress and Muslim League had been raised on the issue at that time. In this situation a civil disobedience movement had been started in the leadership of Gandhi in 1930. At that time Mr. Azizul Huque placed the request for separate electorates in Bengal through this booklet in 1931.

Professor Husniara Huq and Ms. Shahanara Alam, daughters of M. Azizul Huque mentioned "A plea for Separate Electorates in Bengal" appeared in 1931. This booklet was published against the backdrop of the recommendation of the "Nehru Committee" followed by the constituting of "The Indian Franchise Commission" in 1931 and the declaration of the communal Award in August 1932. In this booklet, he made a forceful plea against single electorate in Bengal and in favor of separate electorate, giving an outline of the Moslem view is not misunderstood."<sup>20</sup>

---

19. *Shahanara Alam and Husniara Huq, Azizul Huque a Biographical Account of his Life and Work, 1994, p-399*

20. *Ibid, pp-199-200*

I have included this booklet in my thesis because it has significant value and we can get idea about his view on political issues. I am going to include all the relevant topics of the booklet precisely in this section. The following relevant topics are included in the booklet:

#### **DIVERGENCE OF VIEWS ABOUT ELECTORATES:**

It is unfortunate that no agreed settlement has yet been arrived at about the electorate, even though political thinkers of all communities are fully conscious that a quicker realization of India's goal very largely depends on a satisfactory solution of the communal problem in its relation to civic thoughts. It is now resolved into two distinct, but diametrically opposite, view-points. One holds that the representation of classes or communities as such is incompatible in any responsible Government and insists therefore that there should be only one common general electorate in the country; while the other holds that effective representation of all the different groupings of the people is the first essential in a Government responsible to the Legislature, and demands that there should be sufficient safe-guards against any possibility of the interests of any community being jeopardized by those in authority and power and as such, claims that the different communities in India should send their representatives to the Legislatures, each from a special electorate of its own, at least until such time as the minority or the weaker community may have greater sense of security in the polity of the country. The divergence of these two opposite views is the primary problem for the builders of the future Indian constitution to tackle.

**PAST ATTEMPTS:**

In attempting to solve this problem, the Hindus and the Mussalmans have, generally speaking, suggested different remedies, and for the past two decades the two communities have been keeping up this difference. From time to time, on the eve of constitutional changes, some patched-up truce was arranged or some "workable" formulas were arrived at to keep up a united front on constitutional issues. Such for example, were the Lucknow Pact of December 1926, Mr. C. R. Das's Pact of 1923, the Delhi proposals of 1927 and the Unity resolution of the Madras Congress in 1927. The problem has to be faced once again and its immediate solution is an imperative constitutional necessity today.

**SPECIAL COMPLICATION IN BENGAL:**

The problem is further complicated in the province of Bengal by the fact that it is the weaker community that is numerically stronger. That is to say, one community demands greater representation by virtue of its superior strength of organization, while the other points out that a democracy is not the rule of the minority, or of the upper few, and that government by the people is, after all, the ultimate will of the majority.

**RECOMMENDATION OF THE NEHRU COMMITTEE:**

The Nehru Committee recommended a free electorate for the Presidency of Bengal and in doing so; it commended a careful study of certain statistical facts. On the basis of these figure, the Committee came to the conclusion that in a free electorate, the Moslems in Bengal could 'certainly have nothing to fear,' that 'there is no foundation in fact for the fear entertained by the Moslems' and that they could be assured of over 60% seats in the Legislature in an open general election.

**ASSUMPTION OF THE NEHRU COMMITTEE:**

We need not here enter into a controversy over the probable correctness or otherwise, of the recommendation on the assumption made by the Nehru Committee, viz, that there would be adult franchise or at any rate some franchise which would ensure that the number of electors of the various communities bears the same ratio each to other as the population figures of these communities. Suffice it to say that it is really a very large assumption and in practical politics, it is doubtful how far it is justifiable to come to conclusions affecting the future constitution of a country on an assumption of such large magnitude. Whether adult franchise is yet feasibility for a vast Presidency like Bengal, where universal and compulsory primary education seems still to be far off and whether or not the electorate would break down if this stage, are questions on which it is very difficult to come to any safe conclusion. But if the question of adult franchise is left aside as beyond the range of practical or likely politics, it is not possible to devise any franchise or any property qualification common to both communities that can ensure the number of electors of the various communities bearing the same proportion as the population figures of those communities. The Moslem electorates are bound to be smaller as the Muslims are the poorer community and in Bengal, the political strength of the Moslems is decidedly weaker than their numbers indicate.

**THE EXISTING FRANCHISE PERCENTAGE:**

The present franchise for the general constituencies in the Bengal Legislature is quite low. Anyone annually paying municipal taxes or fees, not less than Rs.18 or Road and Public Works cuss of not less

than Rs.1 or Choukideri Tax or Union rate of not less than Rs.2/-, is eligible to be a voter, both for the Mohammad and the non-Mohammad constituencies. Under this franchise there are 5, 91,000 Hindu voters amidst a Hindu population of 2, 02, 03,000 in the Presidency of Bengal. Roughly speaking 3% of the total Hindu populations are thus voters. The Mussalman voters number 5,22,000 in a total Moslem population of 2,52,11,000 in Bengal. The percentage of Moslem voters to Moslem population is, therefore, only 2%. Even if the franchise be further extended, the Mussalmans will thus be at a proportionate disadvantage in voting strength, due to varying economic conditions and other complicated local circumstances.

#### **THE NEHRU COMMITTEE'S INFERENCE:**

It seems that the Nehru Committee was also nervous on this point, for it remarks in one place that actual population is not safe guide in the absence of exact figures showing the voting strength of the two communities. "Yet the committee did not go beyond this point, but proceeded to draw upon pure inference, remarking: But we think it can safely be inferred that the Moslems in Bengal need no protection from all the Non-Moslems put together". And this was in spite of the fact that the Committee practically admitted that the voting strength of the Moslems, who are economically weaker than the Hindus, is much less than the other community.

#### **INCORRECT STUDY OF DISTRICT BOARD ELECTIONS:**

The Nehru Committee drew its further conclusions from the District Board elections of 1927 at Mymensingh, Chittagong and Jessore. But these examples are not safe guides for the drafting of any constitution

for the future. The elections in all these three districts took place in a year of bitter communal dissension in Bengal. Just previous to this, in November 1926, a general election was held throughout Bengal, fought on the issue. Is Bengal going to follow a policy obstruction in the constitution of this Presidency? While practically the entire Hindu community at the above election recorded its verdict in favor of such a policy, the Moslems as a community stood against this anyone in the Moslem community with even a tinged such view was weeded out. Some of the Congress Mussalmans had then to swear against the Congress. A certain section of the Hindu candidates fought the election on such bitterly communal issues as "Hinduism is in danger," "Desecration of Hindu temples and Hindu Women. "The Pact is the same thing as cow killing," and other dangerous election slogans. Such communal cries, coupled with the divergence of the political outlook as reflected in the election issues, had their inevitable repercussions among the Mussalmans, and it was not surprising that in the District Board elections immediately following the general election, the Moslems were able to gain a sweeping victory in the three districts referred to in the Nehru Report.

**SPECIAL FEATURE IN JESSORE:**

But in Jessore there was one special feature, not present anywhere else in the Province, viz, the combination of the Namasudras and other depressed classes with Moslems. The Moslem-Depressed classes combination counted 15, 06,000 in number as against only 2,13,000 class Hindus or a proportion of 88:12. This further explains the victory at the Jossore polls in 1931.

### **PAST REPRESENTATION OF MOSLEMS IN JESSORE:**

But the Nehru Committee was blind to the fact that for years past the Mussalmans of Jessore had hopelessly inadequate representation in the District Board. If the Mussalmans have to-day come to look upon the separate electorate as a sheet anchor of their political security, it is because the lessons of the past have become too bitter for them. With a Moslem population of 62%, the Moslems of Jessore had only 8% representation in 1911-13. Its rise in the following years is shown thus:-

In 1913-17, it was 12%

In 1918-21, it was 19.4%

In 1922-24, it was 18%

In 1925-27, it was 30%

It was only in 1927-28, that every Mussalman voted for a Mussalman with manifest success.

### **A CONTRAST OF THREE OTHER DISTRICTS:**

It is not, however, political wisdom to select isolated districts on which to express a generalization for all time to come and the Nehru Committee admitted that population itself is not a sure index of election results. And the odds unfortunately are almost always against the Mussalmans. As against the three districts of Nehru Report, the following districts may be taken to show the inadequacy of Mussalman representation in District Boards in spite of the best efforts of the Mussulmen, and in spite of a large percentage of Moslem Population.

**Table 1. Moslem representation by elected representative in District Board in 1927-28:**

District	Moslem population	Moslem representation by elected representative in District Board in 1927-28
Nadia	60.2%	25%
Dacca	65.4%	27%
Tipperah	74.1%	31.6%

**DISTRICT BOARDS ELECTION NO INDEX OF PARLIAMENTARY STRENGTH:**

But quite apart from the above statistical criticism, no safe conclusion as to the strength of respective parties in parliamentary politics can be deduced from the data of district board election. The large political issues have not yet figured in election to local bodies for it is common knowledge that any affairs of local interest have been prominent in the past. The press, moreover, has practically played no part in influence such elections nor have political organizations with their powerful leaders and money been of much consequence. If these features come in to play, the result may be wholly different from what we have seen up to now. It may be further noted that even in England and other countries in Europe, the results of municipal" elections are never an index of party strength in parliament, for election in local bodies in England are run more on a platform of economic than on political lines, whilst even where political influences count in such elections, the successful candidates drop their politics soon after the election and devote their time to municipal duties. The issues in municipal election generally cut cross the different party lines. To quote Prof. Lowell, one might almost say that in spite of democratic electorate the counties in England are



governed by common consent or rather by a small number of people who take an active interest in local problems.

### **INFLUENCE OF WEALTH IN BENGAL ELECTIONS:**

But there is another great danger to the return of Muslims members in any general electorate. The power of wealth is great in the modern world. This has been also the experience of the Nehru Committee. It is a notorious fact that a number of the Hindu candidate spend enormous amount of money in the council elections. One candidate in the election of 1923 spent no less than Rs.50000 to Rs.60000 whilst next election made another candidate out of pocket by some varying in the reports from Rs.60000 to Rs.1,00000. This is substantially true of many districts in Bengal. After all, even communalism is only an inactive virtue against money. The congress party, as a shrewd observer of events has been openly supporting candidates with the power of the purse behind them and it is an open secret that at a by-election the strongest favorite of the Swarajya Party, an ardent worker in khaddar movement, one who had surrendered a government title at the desire of the party, and who had twenty years of active public life behind him was abandoned in favor of a land lord with no past political carrier, apparently for no other reason than that the later candidate was comparatively stronger in command of money. Amongst the Hindu popular constituencies (excluding Land holder's constituencies and Special Constituencies) no less than 26 out of 41 seats were captured by Land holders in 1926, at least 15 of whom were from the renowned Zemindar houses in Bengal. The Land owning classes spend 1000 of rupees to gain elections and have succeeded by the Sheer power of money.

**WEALTH AND MUSLIM ELECTORATES:**

The elections among the Muslims, however, are now run comparatively much cheaper with a sum of Rs. 2000 to Rs. 3000. It will be beyond the means of any Muslim candidate to contest an election in any scheme of joint electorate if one chooses to run Muslim candidates on their terms. The more obvious among them may be tempted to barter their views in exchange for a sure victory at the polls with no financial embarrassment on their own behalf. Ever since the beginning of the Montague-Chelmsford reforms, such candidates have been put up in large numbers against candidates representing the views of the Muslim community and have been supplied with ample funds. Strongly backed by powerful organization, the non-Muslim press has usually proclaimed them as the only patriots in the Muslim community. As the only man with a national outlook and has put them in borrowed and artificial light before the country. That such men have not been very successful in the past has been entirely due to the existence of the separate electorate, although this has already made election expenses go up enormously high. Any scheme of joint electorate, if introduced at this stage will immediately swell the number of such candidates and the very expense of an election will have the effect of driving out those who have hitherto struggled or are now struggling in the real interests of the Muslim community even if perchance, there be a few Muslim candidates who may be able to run elections by incurring large expenses, the general divergence of the outlook of the non-Muslim voters will inevitably be the most deciding factor in future elections.

**INADEQUACY OF MOSLEM REPRESENTATION IN BENGAL MUNICIPALITIES:**

The essential fact is that the existing electorates do not command the confidence of the Mussalman community. Cases are not rare where result of elections in general constituencies have been painful in needed. For example, in a recent election in a university constituency, a Muslim gentle man with British educational qualifications and esteemed by all sections of the people was defeated by a non-Muslim who had very little claim to the suffrage of any university constituency. Again the election results in Bengal municipalities, even during 1927 and 1928 when the Muslims everywhere put up their best in gaining municipal elections and where the commissioners are at present returned through a general electorate show such, inadequacy of Muslim representation, that those who hope that representation of each community will automatically adjust itself in the future, might study the following figures, which point out how Muslim representation in urban areas has been extremely inadequate in the past.

**Table 2. Muslim Representation in Municipalities:**

District	Total Elected Commissioner	Total Elected Muslim	Total population roughly	Total Muslim population roughly
Madinapur	12	0	29000	6000
Khulna	10	1	16000	6000
Sherpur (Mymensigh)	8	2	18000	10000
Jessore	12	2	10000	3300
Nawabganj	8	3	13000	7000
Narayanganj	8	2	30000	14000
Howrah	20	1	195000	43000
Muktagacha	6	1	7000	3000
Santipur	10	1	25000	8000
Jalpaiguri	12	0	14500	4400
Baduria	8	0	14000	7000
Dhulaian	7	1	8400	5000
Rajbari	8	1	7000	3000
Bhadreswar	8	0	22000	6000
Jamalpur	10	4	23000	15000
Jangipur	12	2	10739	5054
Sherampur	11	0	33197	4619
Jiaganj	10	0	11231	1336
Kotrang	6	1	6846	561
Chandrakona	8	0	6470	250
Kalna	10	0	8424	643
Kamarhati	9	1	23018	6398
Kishorganaj	10	3	19518	11293
Barrackapur	6	0	10722	4611
Birnagar	8	0	2305	561
North Dumdum	6	1	8224	2363
Panihati	7	0	10161	1506
Tollygunge	10	3	21637	6437
Rajshahi	14	5	24598	10269

Kotechandpur	6	2	7545	3671
Rajpur	12	0	11412	785
Khardah	6	0	5486	789
Rangpur	12	1	19076	5937
Kandi	7	0	11787	1998
Bishnupur	8	0	19398	793
South Dumdum	6	1	14030	4539
Bogra	10	5	12322	5510
Ranaghat	12	0	9652	1207
Meherpur	6	1	5398	1881
Uttarpara	8	0	8657	358
Shatkhira	6	1	10300	4590
Kanchrapara	8	0	10332	1995
Khara	10	0	6580	94
Kumarkhali	10	3	3763	1008
Faridpur	12	1	14503	5691
Baraset	12	2	8211	3492
Baranagar	9	0	32084	6968
Bankura	10	0	25412	1161
Burdwan	15	4	34616	8402
Basirhat	10	3	19267	7037
Kushtia	10	4	7849	2324
Maheshpur	6	0	3611	1512
Dainhat	8	0	4843	610
Raniganj	8	2	14536	2266
Perojpur	10	3	13041	4665
Darjeeling	18	1	22258	988
Debhatta	8	1	5570	1360
Netrokona	8	1	8687	3500
Tangail	9	3	14305	5448
Nator	12	5	8040	3597
Chittagong	14	9	36030	18490
Sirajganj	13	7	25518	14996
Krishnanagar	14	4	22309	6023
Dinajpur	14	3	18025	5522

English Bazar	12	4	14057	5845
Old Maldah	8	3	3145	861
Tamluk	8	0	8348	1125
Dajitpur	6	2	11568	5536
Mymensingh	12	1	25287	8217
Sherpur (Bogra)	8	0	3984	715
Ghatail	10	0	10770	300
Khirpai	6	0	3756	125
Ramjibanpur	6	0	6700	277
Cox's Bazar	10	3	4632	1633
Nalcheta	6	2	1858	822
Bhola	8	1	4525	1189
Champdani	8	0	24652	6162
Chakdah	8	2	5216	879
Naihati	12	1	23286	4309
Halishahar	8	0	7318	1162
Grand Total	757	121	1,30,0000	3,65,000

- Total population in the above urban areas: 1,30,0000
- Total Muslim population in the above urban areas: 3,65,000
- Total numbers of elected commissioners in above urban area: 757
- Total numbers of elected Muslim commissioners in above urban area: 121
- Percentage of Muslim population in the above areas: 29% or roughly 30%
- Muslim representation in the above areas through present system of general electorate 60%

(Note: the above figures are of 80 municipalities out of total of 115 municipalities in Bengal in 35 other municipalities elections were not held in cause of the years 1927 & 1928. The percentage of Muslim population and Muslim representation will not substantially differ even if these municipalities are added to the list). Such is the extent of Muslim representation through a general electorate in municipalities. It should be noted that these are urban areas where the level of education among both communities is distinctly higher than in rural areas. But with a total population of 30% the Muslim has had only 16% representation).

## INADEQUACY OF MUSLIM REPRESENTATION IN BENGAL DISTRICT BOARD:

The representation of the Muslim in the District Boards of Bengal representing rural areas has also been very inadequate in the past. The accompanying table will carry its own tale and the unfair nature of Muslim representation will be further recognizable from the fact that this figure also includes the number of Muslim nominated by government to these bodies to adjust the inequities of election where Muslims often fare badly.

**Table 3. Percentage of Muslim representation in Bengal district Boards 1912 to 1928:**

District	1912-13	1913-14	1918-19	1919-20	1920-21	1921-22	1922-23	1923-24	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	1927-28	% of Population	
													Hindu	Muslim
Bordwan	5.26	5.26	11.11	11.11	11.11	11.11	11.11	11.11	11.11	11.11	16.66	16.66	78.0	18.5
Birbhum	25	25	18.7	18.7	18.75	18.7	18.7	18.7	16.66	16.6	16.66	20.8	68.1	25.1
Bankura	23.5	29.4	17.6	17.6	18.75	8.3	8.3	8.3	8.3	8.3	4.2	4.2	86.3	4.6
Midnapur	4	4	8.0	8.0	12.5	12.5	8.3	6.06	6.06	6.06	6.06	6.06	88.2	6.8
Hooghly	14.8	14.8	14.8	14.8	15.3	15.3	15.3	15.3	13.3	13.3	13.3	16.6	81.9	16.0
Howrah	7.7	7.69	7.69	7.69	5.55	5.55	5.55	5.55	5.55	16.66	16.66	16.66	79.3	20.3
24 Pargs	12	12	25	25.0	20.8	20.8	23.3	23.3	23.3	23.3	23.3	23.3	64.2	34.6
Nadia	19.04	19.4	20	24.0	20.8	20	20	23.33	20	20	23	23.3	39.1	60.9
Nurshidabad	19.04	14.2	33.3	33.33	33.3	33.3	44.44	44.44	44.44	40.74	40.47	40.74	45.1	53.6
Jessore	8	12	20.8	20.81	16.6	16.6	16.6	20.83	30.0	26.66	33.33	30.00	38.2	61.7
Khulna	23.5	23.5	23.5	17.6	18.7	18.7	18.7	25	25.0	25.00	25.00	25.00	50.0	49.8
Dacca	28	27.6	31	31.0	32	30.3	27.2	27.2	27.2	24.2	24.2	18.2	34.2	65.4
Mymensigh	52	52	52	52.0	50	50.0	15.8	63.6	66.6	66.6	66.6	75.7	24.3	74.9
Faridpur	32	32	52	44.0	45.8	41.5	41.6	46.6	46.6	41.3	53.3	56.6	36.3	63.5
Bakarganj	32	44	50	41.6	45.8	50.0	50.0	50	53.3	50.0	46.6	63.3	22.7	70.6
Chittagong	21.05	21.3	36.84	36.84	36.84	50.0	50.0	50	66.66	66.66	66.66	22.6	22.6	72.8
Tipperah	42.2	36.8	44.11	42.11	44.44	50	53.33	53.33	56.66	56.66	56.66	53.3	25.8	74.1
Noakhali	64.2	46.2	61.5	57.90	57.90	66.66	70.83	66.66	62.5	58.33	58.33	54.16	22.3	77.6
Rajshahi	52.1	60.9	59	56.5	65.6	59.0	54.0	66.6	66.6	66.6	70.3	66.6	21.3	76.6
Dinajpur	40.9	40.9	31.8	31.8	31.8	37.0	33.3	37.0	44.4	51.9	51.9	51.85	44.1	49.1
Jalpaiguri	11.76	11.8	11.76	11.20	11.7	12.5	14.3	14.3	14.3	14.4	19.05	19.05	55.9	24.8
Rangpur	38.1	52.4	42.85	42.85	45.09	45	41.44	41.74	48.15	48.15	48.15	48.15	31.5	66.1
Bogra	50	50	43.75	43.75	43.7	43.7	50.0	44.44	44.44	44.44	66.66	66.66	16.6	82.5
Pabna	40.52	37.5	43.75	43.73	46.65	46.6	41.6	41.6	41.6	54.2	54.2	54.2	24.1	75.8
Maldha	38.4	38.4	46.1	53.8	46.6	40	23.3	33.3	40	40	33.3	46.6	40.6	51.6
Derjeeling	-	-	-	-	-	-	10.0	10.0	10	10	10.0	10.0	-	-
Provincial (Av.)	28.2	28.3	29.15	32.08	31.65	34.4	34.4	32.1	35.5	35.5	36.89	38.0	43	54

**HAVE COMMUNAL ELECTORATE FAILED?:**

But the question “have communal electorate failed” has now to be answered. A dispassionate study of historical events will prove that at least so far as the Muslim community is concerned; it is not true that this has failed. At the time when the separate electorate was introduced in this country the Muslims found themselves gradually shut out from public life in the province. They had not even 20% representation in the local self-governing bodies; Calcutta University had practically no Muslim element in the senate; the legislative council had no Muslim voice. But with the introduction of the separate electorate the Muslim began to receive a greater share in the civic and political life of the presidency and this gave a very great impetus to Muslim education. It has how ever been constantly preached that the principle of the separate electorate has generated a narrow communal outlook in politics. This is also emphatically not true. The Muslims have never utilized the machineries of separate electorate to serve any anti Hindu or anti national objects. The legislatures bear testimony to the fact that the Muslim members have not yet done anything to justify any outright condemnation of separate electorates. The members returned by the separate electorates have always worked with other members, even though they included men of radical left wing views. The Muslims failed to realize how these men can be called less nationalist simply because they are returned through separate electorate constituencies.

**THE OUTLOOK OF THE MUSLIM LEAGUE:**

It has also to be noted that the all India Muslim League has ever since its birth kept itself in line with the advanced and something even the radical ideals of the country. When the congress made the ideal of self-



government on colonial lines as its goal, the Muslim league also kept self-government suitable to India as the political goal of this country. The Muslim league passed regulations which were even characterized as the voice of the congress. It was the Muslim league which failing to get any tangible result even for two years after the Wedderburn-Aga Khan conference at Elahabad, passed regulation in its session at Lucknow that the future development and progress of the people of India depend on the harmonious working and cooperation of the various communities and recorded its suggestion for a meeting of the leaders of all communities periodically for joint and concerted action. It was the secretary of the league and Sir Mohammad Shafi who in 1913 issued a circular letter suggesting the holding of a convention at Lucknow which finally produced the Lucknow pact.

#### **MISUNDERSTANDING OF THE MUSLIM ATTITUDE:**

But from the very first the Hindu community has very unfortunately misunderstood the Muslim point of view and has generally adapted a most hostile attitude to the special representation of the Muslim by separate electorates. The congress year after year recorded its protest against separate electorates. But unbiased student of history will readily find that beyond emphasizing the necessity of adequate Muslim representation in the public services and the local self-governing bodies with a view to being partners in the civic and political life of this country, the Muslim did nothing to justify hostility from any community in India. In short, the Muslims have been wronged again and again. In the days of the partition agitation the Muslim were associated with the civil designs of government to divide the people of Bengal, whilst in the triumph of partition agitation the Muslim were declared to be associated in the

intention of government to divided and rule this country. Then when Muslim states were crumbling to pieces one after another the Muslim was jeered at for their extra territorial patriotism. IN vain, the Muslim run to Allahabad on new year's day of 1911, under the leadership of his highness the Aga khan to confer with the responsible leaders of the different communities to discover a modus operand by which the constant friction might be prevented and joint action in matters of general interest be made possible, only to find in the following year a most painful discussion over the regulation on the council regulations moved in the imperial council accompanied by a denunciation of the Muslim and their political aspirations in the speeches of the president of the Indian national congress.

Yet the Muslim have been continuously starting that the division by creeds and classes in the electorate does not mean the creation of political camps organized against each other as the council electorate cannot be any real hindrance to the development of self-governing principle nor can the nature of the electorate reasonably stands in the way of inter communal amity and friendship. IN fact, over and over again has the principle of a separate electorate has been recognized in the polity of this country. The Lucknow pact gave it definite recognition in the legislature of the country. Seven years later it was again accepted by the Swarajya party and by the Bengal provincial congress committee as a necessary principle in the politics of the country, when led by Mr. C.R Das there was a pact not by the moderates but by the most radical Bengal politicians accepting separate representation of the hinds and the Muslims on population basis in the legislature. But the controversy is raging once again in all its fury in political India and the Muslim

community is forced once again to make out its case for separate electorate.

**GREATER COMMUNAL CLEAVAGE:**

But whatever may be the other merits of a joint electorate proposal, which seek to maintain the proportionate communal strengths in the legislature of the country will not both Hindus and Muslim have to keep alive their communal passions to gain seats in the council? Will not every Hindu voter have to be influenced to vote for a Hindu, and every Muslim voter to vote for a Muslim? Will that be a less national calamity than the trumpeted evils of separate electorate? Looking for political security will not each party want to make for itself as much as it can an assured and dominating position? Will not this keep up only an armed feud? It will really be an internal cleaves and this natural cleaves on which the Muslims are asked to depend with be a perpetual division on communal lines while professing to be in a free electorate which will be no less dangerous from the national stand point than great bogey of communalism those who have any experience or knowledge of a general electorate if ready to paint a true picture will agree that there is more of dangerous communalism in a general electorate than any other system. On the other hand, there is less likely hood of communal friction if there be a separate electorate. Speaking before the reform inquiry committee in 1924, Mr. C.Y. Chintamani admitted that owing to the grant of separate electorate, there was less friction between Hindus and Muslims. The reason is obvious. To quote the words of the Nehru Committee itself “ it is notorious that even in highly democratic England votes are given not for high matters of policy or consideration that are really important but for trivial matters or even some times the most

objectionable consideration which the exigencies of an election force to the front. Men who were to govern an empire and influence largely world events have been elected for reasons which made ever intelligent person despair of democracy". Every word of this is literally true and applies with greater rigor in this country and men who go by advanced nationalism do not hesitate to swear by the "mother cow" or to call all "the tunes of Music" at election times.

It is no pleaser the Muslims to be in a separate register from their Hindu brethren. But to them it is case of sheer necessity and its lies more on the Hindu community to make the Muslim feel that they can join together in a common register.

#### **DIFFICULTIES OF JOINT ELECTORATE EVEN WITH RESERVATION:**

As an academic proposition there may be much to be said in favor of the joint electorate with reservation of seats for each community and at some future stage, it may even be possible to aim at this ideal. But for the present there are several practical difficulties in introducing this system.

#### **AMALGAMATION OF RURAL AND URBAN AREAS:**

The Muslim voters generally belong to the rural areas whereas the Hindus voters mostly belong to urban areas, so that the amalgamation of two in a joint electorate will make the urban voters virtually the determining factor in all elections. The urban voters live in compact block and they record their votes in variably in their home areas, whereas, the rural voters are in widely scattered areas and have to record their votes even 10-20 miles away from their homes. The rural

areas will those obviously be at a disadvantage and be swamped by those living in urban areas it is not also possible to separate the urban and the rural areas for purposes of election except in Howrah and 24 Parganas as the population figures in other districts do not justify the urban areas being formed in to one constituency in those places.

**GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION:**

A further difficulty arises out of geographical distribution of the two communities in the different district of Bengal. Take the case of Madinapur where the Muslim population is only 9% against 90% Hindus. According to its respective population strength, calculated on an average of one member for every two laces, there should be one Muslim member and 11 Hindu members. In any scheme of joint electorate, it is obvious that the Hindu community along will be only determining factor in returning the one Muslim member however undesirable he may be from Muslim point of view. It is at least only shadow of representation where people in whose interests the reservations are made having absolutely no influence in making their choice. The strength of the press, the command of money the superiority of organization will be very important factors in returning candidate in their districts where the Muslim though in majority are deficient in all these elements.

**IMPORTANT DISPARITIES:**

The extreme disparity between the Hindus and the Muslims in education, in economic conditions, and in their general organization is the other difficulties standing in the way of joint electorate. The Muslim form the tenancy, the agriculturist and the debaters classes whilst the Hindus form the landlords, the Bankers, and the Industrialist. One

community may therefore be interested in the development of its rural areas, its agricultural resources its water ways, primary education and in grant of further tenancy rights before activities are taken in hand, while it is easy to imagine that the other community may claim priority for the development of urban areas, of industry, for university and technical education.

### **DIFFERENCES IN POLITICAL VIEWS:**

The fact cannot be controverted that there are still occasions of acute difference of views and outlook between the Hindus and the Muslims though the Muslims have often the misfortune of their honest difference of political views being misrepresented as communal ones. In the last tenancy legislation, The Hindu members generally had pro landlord views while it was left to the Muslim members to take up the cause of the Raiyats. This was given a communal complexion and was misrepresented as communal conflict. Even though no Muslim for a signal moment thought that he was taking up the tenancy questions on communal grounds, yet no occasion more than one responsible politicians did not hesitate to brand it as such. Again only last year during the passage of primary education bill, the Hindu members (excepting the representatives of the depressed classes) walked out in a body and the Muslims had to face the full responsibility of legislating and important measure. In politics the Muslim as a community do not consider it to their interest to peruse any obstructionist or wrecking tactics whereas the Hindu electorate often feverous such political views. Within recent memory a legislation in the Bengal legislative council on the Kolkata shooting tragedy demanding an inquiry in to the incidence there failed to draw even human sympathy from a section of the Hindu

members of the council. Muslim still remember that even an able man like Sir Abdur Rahim was the victim of a huge communal outcry in the country.

### **THE UNSYMPATHETIC PRESS:**

It is unfortunately true that a large section of the press in Bengal is very largely unsympathetic to the Muslim point of view and far from attempting to understand it, goes out of its way to describe the Muslim as rank communalists. Every communal conflict is laid at the doors of Muslims and too often the act of a miscreant, if he happens to be a Muslim is shouldered on the entire community. News papers reports are often distinctly biased and prejudiced as for example, in a certain communal conflict when 288 huts of Muslim were burnt to ashes, the sensational did not hesitate to lay the blame on the Muslim themselves by declaring that they burnt their own huts. Far be it from any one to support atrocities of any one community over the other, but the fact stands out that the press too often gives a graphic description of the Muslim atrocities, whilst Muslim suffering either find no place or receive only scanty notice. If it truly discharges its function, the press is the greatest corrective in democracy of any one class or community commuting wrongs on the other, but unfortunately this function is not discharged by the generality of the press today. While we fully realize the necessity of the freedom of the press and its natural desire to find every support for its own particular policy, we think that an appeal for absolute fairness and even a measure friendliness towards Muslim will neither be out of place nor unfruitful and the response of Muslims to search a move on the part of the Hindu press will undoubtedly be more than that of merely extending the hands of friendship.

**SEPARATE ELECTORATE-RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION:**

An ounce of existing facts is worth more than tons of theories and the Muslims with a critical study of the past are therefore anxious that in the coming constitutional adjustment things may not be so shaped that they may find themselves virtually shut out from taking their legitimate share in the polity of this country. The demands of the Muslim are not based on any claim for special treatment. It is their inherent right of self-determination. They form the majority of the total population in the presidency and if they have not been able to keep peace with the sister community. It is only because the odds have always been heavily against them. They do not desire to retard the political pace of the country, but they must not be eventually shut out from its civic and political life they feel that as they form more than fifty percent of the total population in the presidency, they have a right, the inherent right of every people to be partners in its civic and administrative life. If Swaraj carries its message for all, if progressive realization responsible government and the increased association of Indian in every branch of administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions concede civic rights to Hindus and Muslim alike, then surely the Muslim may justly plead for the necessary adjustment of the administrative machinery that they may not be deprived of their rights, Even though they may not have always an abundance of university degrees. Any system that virtually shuts out half the people any scheme of reconstruction that does not recognized their requirements, must need revision and readjustment. Government of the people and for the people has always been held to be by the people and people never mean the virtual exclusion of the majority of the total population. This in short is the principles of the demand for separate electorate.



**SENSE OF POLITICAL SECURITY:**

As a community, the Muslims feel today that a separate electorate is the only security for them in the polity of this country, at least for some time to come and surely it will not be wise to take away this sense of political security from weaker community till the community itself feels secure and has justifiable reasons to abandon it. That day will come when they will be undoubted mutual confidence that the affairs of the one are safe in hands of other. To a very great extent it depends upon the general attitude of the leaders of the Hindu community, and still more upon the Hindu press. Very unfortunately there have yet not been many signs of this. When Mr. C. R. Das published the terms of this pact, there were howling protests from the press, and history records how the pact was later on whittled down and could be passed by the congress in spite of Mr. C R Das popularity. Within the past few weeks even Mohatma Gandhi has not escaped trenchant criticism in the press for his dictum- "surrender to minority demands" even Dr. Ansari has been branded as a rank communalist after his Faridpur speech, where he accepted most of the Muslim demands in India even though on the electorate issue he pleaded for joint electorate. No wonder, then, the Mussalman community does not yet feel safe and secure. There are men who want to Muslim to have greater confidence in the future. No one stands in the way of such mutual confidence and trust, and all would welcome the advent of such a day but the fact, however stands that for the past twenty years events have been recorded which prove that the feelings of the Muslim community are not unjustified. However much one may dogmatize this view is as deep rooted as genuine and as sincere as others who may hold very idealistic views of society. They can neither be brushed aside nor easily ignored.

**PUBLIC SERVICES:**

With bitter experience of the past, the Muslim mind are naturally very nervous to-day. The University of Calcutta is an instance to point out how Muslims are likely to fare in the absence of safe guards. The following table showing the number of Muslim employed under university is illuminating enough. Leaving aside University professors where one may argue with good deal of force that communal consideration should not ordinarily enter in such appointments, the appointments in the grade of junior professors and lecturers or even in ministerial offices do not even go to a Muslim.

**Table.4. Muslim Professors and Lecturers in Bengal:**

Subject	Total post	No. of Muslim
English	12	0
Philosophy	9	0
Ex-Psychology	7	0
Com. Philology	2	0
History	10	1
Ancient Indian History & Culture	12	0
Anthropology	5	0
Pol. Economy	2	0
Commerce	11	0
Pure Mathematics	7	0
Undergraduate teachers in Commerce	11	0
Science Subjects	14	0
Law College	49	2

**Table.5. Muslim Ministerial Officers in Bengal:**

Department	Total post	No. of Muslim
Registrars Dept.	68	0
University Press	29	0
Mess	3	0
Controllers Dept.	29	0
Post Graduate in Arts	17	0
Post graduate in Science(Secretary's)	5	0
Law Colleges	16	0
Inspector of Colleges	3	0
Student's Welfare	6	0
Calcutta Review	4	0
Student's Information Bureau	2	0

**A PLEA FOR ABOLITION OF SEPARATE ELECTORATE:**

There are some who hold that the separate electorate should be immediately done away with, on the ground that no community can prosper till it comes out and struggles in the open. They requisition the biological doctrine of the survival of the fittest but forgets another biological truth that "the better equipped individuals will as a rule go under" unless the latter can shelter behind other conditions for existence. The past history India bears ample testimony to this. With the advent of the Aryan in India the non-Aryans were conquered and almost exterminated until the remnants fled south words with the barriers of mountain and reveres to stand between. Brahmanism itself followed a policy of keeping down the other classes. With the advent of Buddhism, Brahmanism itself had no place in India but had to seek shelter in the foot hills of Nepal. With the revival of Brahmanism again, Buddhism was driven out of India in a manner still to be found in pages of Indian history. The special fact to be noticed in each of the above cases is that

though the responsibility is attached to religious rivalry, this was only possible because the state assisted in driving out other doctrines. The elemental passions of man still play their part modern history and in the absence of safe grounds and securities and with lack of toleration and respect with no possibility of ties of kinship history may repeat itself in all its naked brutality. Even the League of Nations guarantees to minorities are gradually proving to be more and less illusory and many minorities are already groaning under the crashing weight of majority rule as evidence in the history of the Hungarian minorities in Czecho Slovakia, Yugoslavia and Romania.

In the economic domain, of course, no one questions the need for the protection of nascent industries. Every country has had to accept it in some stage or other of its economic history and economic thinkers may be left to be answered if Indian industry can ever be built up without some form of protection in the interests of India. The verdict of economics as much as the course of world events point out the same teaching-viz, the need of special treatment for the weaker unless one wishes the weaker to be altogether weeded out in the struggle for the existence.

#### **GAINS THROUGH SEPARATE ELECTORATE:**

There are some who are tired of the present policy of the Muslim and question if the Muslims have gained through separate electorate. Those who use such an argument are blind to history and conveniently forget the gains and achievements of past twenty years. The fixture of percentages of Muslims in public services, the progress of education and the passing of the primary education act are not mean records of work. If more was not been possible in the past, it is because others did

not allow opportunities to Muslim to work the constitution for by following a deliberate policy of abstraction from within they made all work almost impossible in this province. The other reason is the impoverished state of Bengal finance. The Muslims may have a catalog of grievances against government but the question of electorate has hardly anything to do with them.

### **SEPARATE ELECTORATE AND BRITISH DOMINATION:**

It is not possible to find out as some hold how separate electorate perpetuates British domination in this country. But the Muslims have never yet stood against whatever pace of India's advancement the exigencies of political circumstance have dictated in the past. They stand for full and complete dominion status as the ultimate goal of his country. When the new constitution is being involved they only claim special representation of their own for reason more than one. Surely earth will not quick and heavens fall at such demands. They do not anywhere reduce the majority to a minority nor forced anybody to take his eyes of even the most extreme political views. They only plead for simple fairness.

### **SEPARATE ELECTORATE OF THE WESTERN MIND:**

To the western mind it is some time difficult to make him realize the necessity of separate electorate for a country like India where numerous creeds and faiths have found shelter, each retaining its distinct culture, its social environment and conditions of life, its own heredity and past and each leading a life of social detachment from others not belonging to his cult. Those who have seen only the occidental institutions are brought up in western tradition derive all their lessons and theories from

political thinkers whose deductions bear the stamp of western background, should hesitate in applying political theories that have their basis data in western life institutions while framing the future constitutions of India. The east has other traditions and history. What are accepted a fundamental in west may be difficult of achievement in the East? Political theories and principles borrowed from the copy books of the west may not be applicable to the particular circumstance of India. Those who have any vision of the future will realize that a new order of things will evolve in India distinct from what the picture in the west new sympathies in the fulfillment of Indians mission.

**THE REAL SOLUTION:**

The real solution of the problem lies in the frank recognition of stern realities without being led as tray by any doctrinaire view. It is neither prudent not politic to end the system of separate electorate decidedly against the view of the Muslim community. Real statesmanship lies in respecting the sentiments of the Muslim community. That will be laying well and truly the foundation of future better understanding that a time may come when the margin of mutual suspicions may be reduced to its minimum and may ultimately dissolve to produce real fusion between the two communities.

**PEEP INTO THE FUTURE:**

The conception of the India of the future consists of a sprite of mutual respect of views and sentiments of both the communities. Even when the views of one community are different from the other, the line of least resistance lies in the frank recognition of the realities. That is along to lead to ultimate fusion. There may be disagreements but that is no

excuse for a quarrel. The synthesis of the future lies not in the effacement but in harmonious coordinating of divergences.

**UNITY OF CREEDS:**

History has not yet made its final pronouncement as to the growth of a nation and the world may yet find a new synthesis in this country, where creeds will unite without sacrificing their essential in the common interest of the mother land. That may give rise to other unit and institutions in dividing a country for the purpose of electing representatives of the people. A country where for countries religious have supplied the greatest motive in the civic and political life cannot easily evolve other agencies with which to work. What is imperative today is to see that races, creeds and colors may leave in amity and unite in the common work of the mother land. Political India must travel beyond the boundaries of creed but it is not expected that the creeds will cease to play their part in the daily life of man.

Speaking at the twenty third session of the Indian National Congress Head in Madras in 1908 the Late Mr. Gokhale, Indians Nobel son, expressed himself in the following terms“ We have to deal with existing facts as they are. There are acute class differences in this country today and any scheme of representation which secured to important classes proper representation by means of election and representation by men in whom they have confidence any scheme of this description which secures this really in my opinion promotes the true interest of unity in this country.”

The unfortunate outbursts of communal conflicts periodically giving vent to all the frenzied passions of bitter quarrels are still not incidence of the past. If they were one would be fully justified in boldly taking a plunge in to the unknown. Pledged to a policy of absolute no violence, the country has just passed through the “slaughter of the innocents” at Benares, Kawnpur, Dacca and other places. If such events occur on the eve of election days, is there any chance for a member of one community getting a dispassionate verdict from the other unless he agrees to completely sell himself to get the sufferance? This is a tragedy, but none the less a true picture. There is no escaping from the fact that communalism does exist in the country. By mere time sentiment, it cannot be removed, nor can nationalism be created detached from real life by forcing one form of electorate instead of the others.

**DEARLY-BOUGHT EXPERIENCE:**

In surveying such a complicated and controversial subject as this, facts are only things which must be allowed to count and hence I have confined my remarks to practical realities rather than hazy theories. Muslims would not be so instant on separate electorates had they not been bitter sufferers in the past. They have bought their experience at a great price: but the sufferings and sacrifices of their political pioneers of the past will have been well worthwhile if the utmost profit is obtained there from in the present and the future. To state the truth in this matter is the least that can be done in this difficult times, and if this little exposition has in any way cleared the atmosphere of the fogs of doubt, its purpose will have been served.



To conclude separate electorate are only the proven results of intensive political experiments and until the whole political outlook changes, there can be no thought of abandoning what the logic of facts and the science of history have taught us as Muslims. May this exposition, therefore, be accepted in as friendly a spirit as it has been written.

He briefed here the socio-political condition of Muslim in Bengal. I have found some important data and information on socio-political condition of Muslim in Bengal which is rare in any book of at that time. He presented the data on Moslem representation by elected representative in District Board in 1927-28, Muslim representation in municipalities, Percentage of Muslim representation in Bengal district Boards (1912-28), Muslim Professors and Lecturers in Bengal, Muslim ministerial officers in Bengal. We have got a clear idea about socio political condition of Muslim of Bengal in this section.

## **5.6. Publications in Journal and News Paper:**

Mr. M. Azizul Huque has many write ups which were published in different contemporarily Journals and Newspaper. Some of that write ups are included in the appendix of the thesis.

I have found the following important written documents which would be discussed in this section:

1. Primary Education in Bengal
2. Three Seats
3. Cultural contributions of Islam to Indian History

I would like to discuss briefly on the above documents here.

### **5.6.1. Primary Education in Bengal**

I am presenting his documents on ‘Primary Education in Bengal’ here for better understanding on the topic. The Honorable Mr. Azizul Huque, Minister for Education, Bengal. With a population of over 54 million in the province of Bengal the problem of primary Education is not as simple as it is sometimes taken to be. Its complexity gets further aggraded by the peculiar geographical features of the province. In some of the Eastern districts a village is not even a number of clustered houses. In low-lying areas a village is more often in the nature of scattered habitations, each one a small raised plot of land where men, cattle and all animate beings and inanimate objects huddle together round the same place. Absence of good roads, amidst numerous beels, khals and jungles, make the location of primary schools difficult indeed. They form a more compact block in urban areas, but the urban population is only a little over 3 million and remainder, about 46 million, lives in rural areas in about 87,000 villages.

The first point in connection with primary Education is the duration of the course. Let us suppose that the primary Education course is to cover a period of 5 years. There are about 67 Lakhs of persons between the ages of 6-11 in Bengal and provision has, therefore, to be made for free and compulsory primary education covering a period of 5 years' course must have 5 teachers to run 5 classes. Such schools will not be able to accommodate more than 150 pupils. On this basis Bengal should have 45,000 primary schools. The cost of running one such school with 5 teachers may be taken as follows:

Head Master	Rs. 30 per mensem
One teacher@Rs.25 each	Rs. 50 per mensem
One teacher	Rs. 20 per mensem
Contingency	Rs. 5 per mensem
Total	Rs. 120 per mensem
Annually	Rs. 1,440 per mensem of School.

Even the pay of Rs. 30, 25, 20 and 15 is less than what the primary teachers are paid in some other provinces.

The total cost for running 45,000 schools will thus be near about Rs. 6 ½ cores. Even if it be not necessary to provide for more than 80% of the total number of boys and girls the cost will be near about Rs.5 ½ cores.

And this is not the only cost in any scheme of primary education. There is the question of building accommodation and even if the buildings are of a cheap type say, Rs. 500 per school, the capital cost of building charges will be near about 2 ¼ corers of rupees. Then there are costs of inspection, cost of training, cost of running the School Boards and other incidental expenses. Even the most drastic economics in

Government expenditure will not be sufficient to meet the heavy cost unless other sources are explored, considering that the normal revenues of the Government of Bengal in 1933, 34 were just about 9 cores of rupees only.

When one comprehends the full implications of the problem in the light of the above remarks, one will be able to appreciate the reason behind some of the proposals outlined in the education resolution of July 1935, on which public opinion was invited. Nobody denies and will ever deny that a 5 years course is certainly better than a 4 years one. Nobody will challenge that the larger the number of schools, there will not be greater facilities for the people, nor will any one controvert that the better the teachers are paid; the better will be the quality of work done. But the question of question is what money is available today, and how to make a beginning? It is not the counsel of despair it sits tight and merely looks at the enormity of the problem; nor is it statesmanship to shrink the whole issue on the ground of expenses. For the last 2 ½ years some attempts were made to bring the realities of the problem before the public; the result has unfortunately been mostly misunderstanding and clouding of the issues. I was a victim of bitter criticism for sponsoring a measure characterized by these cities as retrograde and even reputed nationalists did not hesitate to dub the proposals as one more communal measure in disguise. While I do not for a moment hesitate to accept that given sufficient money it is possible to devise a better scheme the problem for the moment is to find out as to what would be at least a good start to begin with. Something is better than nothing and half a loaf is certainly better than o bread.

But it is a tragedy in the politics of the country that when one attempts to construct a modest structure within the limited means available, he is whipped by merciless lashes of idealism which rest content by merely pointing out as to what is at best a possibility of beautiful palaces and mansions even though what actually exists may be a mere hovel. That Bengal has a defective system of primary Education is known to all. Our primary schools have a roll strength which is larger in the lowest classes and very small at the top. Our 5 class primary schools are at present run by one or at best 2 teachers. A primary School of the lower standard has today an average enrolment of 32 pupils with 21 in the infant and 4 in top class; a primary school of the upper standard has only 5 pupils at the top. Out of the pupils joining class1, 60 drop out in the first year, 79 in the second year, 91 drop out in third year, and 93 drop out in the fourth year, i.e. by the time a pupil reaches the top class of a primary school only 7 remain and remaining 93 drop out. This is an enormous wastage. But one cannot expect otherwise. In a system in which one or two teachers run 5 classes or one teacher runs 3 classes, it is bound to lead to heavy wastage. He cannot possibly devote himself seriously to the teaching work of all classes. Man has his human limitation and we cannot accept anything better from a teacher of an aided primary school when he receives only about Rs. 3.12 per month from public funds. But even apart from these unsatisfactory features, the primary schools in Bengal are not at all well distributed. A survey of the primary Education has brought out the glaring fact that whereas there are localities in and in the neighborhood of urban and developed areas covered with a number of primary schools, there are often wide blank spaces in the interior and backward areas without any primary school at all. Out of 64,000 or 65,000 primary schools in the whole of Bengal there are only

a little below 10,000 schools of the upper standard consisting of five classes. Out of 87,000 villages in Bengal only 8,500 villages have such schools and only about 28,000 villages have schools of lower standard of three classes. The remaining 62,000 villages are without any school even of the lower primary standard.

Public opinion was therefore; invited as to whether in view of the circumstances there should not be a well distributed plan and programme of primary schools covering the whole of Bengal The proposals were that the primary Education course should consist of 4 years instead of 5, that there should be at least 3 teachers in a primary school running 4 classes, that the teachers should be better paid and better trained. If instead of the present wasteful condition we have a well-organized system of 3 well trained teachers for each school better paid and better trained, I am sure what is being done today in 5 years can easily be achieved in 4. If a boy or girls is kept under tuition for a period of 4 long years under capable teachers, the result is bound to be effective literacy for the pupils. Ten years of teaching is enough to reach the matriculation standard, the primary courses covering a period of 4 years, middle stage a period of 2-3 years and upper secondary shape correspondingly a period of 3 or 4 years. For the time being, it is well worth considering, especially in view of the means available, as to whether a beginning cannot be made with a 4 years course. In a 4 years scheme, the total number of pupils available is 54, 88,376- 29, 06,642 boys and 25, 81,734 girls. Let us suppose there is compulsion for boys only at the start and option for girls but free education for all who come. Even under the compulsory scheme it is estimated that it will not be possible to get more than 80% of male pupils attending schools

in the beginning. The rest will have to be exempted on grounds of illness, disability or other causes. Provision will thus have to be made for 23,25,314 male pupils. In an optional scheme for females but free education for all girls who come. The number of girls may be taken to be 40% of the total number of girls between the ages of 6-10- half the percentage of the boys. The total number thus to be provided for is 23,25,314 boys and 10,23,692 girls. On an assumption that a school with three teachers will be able to teach 135 pupils, there is need for at least 25,000 schools. The cost of a 3 teacher school on a modest scale may be taken as follows:

Head Master	Rs. 20 per mensem
One teacher@Rs.15 each	Rs. 30 per mensem
Contingency	Rs. 5 per mensem
Total	Rs. 55 per mensem

The annual cost for each school, therefore, comes to Rs.660. The cost of running 25,000 schools will therefore be Rs. 1,65,00,000. In addition to this there is the cost for the Inspecting Staff. It will not be fair to place a burden of more than 100 schools on one inspecting officer. This would mean that there should be at least 250 sub-inspectors of schools. Even if the sub-inspector is paid at a cheaper rate, say at Rs.50-75, an average of Rs.69, it would mean an annual cost of Rs.828. Each sub inspector, in addition, will need a consolidated travelling allowance of at least Rs.25 per month. This means that the total cost of each sub inspector will come to about Rs.1,128 annually. The aggregate cost of the sub-inspectionate will thus be Rs.2,82,000.

Thus 25,000 schools will require 75,000 teachers. If the annual casualty from death, retirement and otherwise, is taken at 5% it will mean a provision of training 3,700 teachers annually. At present the cost for training a teacher is Rs. 200. If the cost is minimized and reduced to half, Rs.100 for each, this will mean provision for another Rs. 3,70,000. In addition a sum of Rs. 10,000 will be needed, on an average, to run each District School Board and for 25 districts; it will mean a sum of Rs. 2,50,000.

A provision of Rs. 36,000 approximately will be needed for a Director or Chief Inspector of primary education with two Assistant and his staffs.

In addition to this, if it is supposed that at least Rs.500 will be required for each primary school building, it will mean a capital expenditure of Rs.125 lakhs. In average repair cost at the rate of Rs. 25 per annum for each school the total will come to Rs. 6,25,000.

To summarize, the annual recurring cost a full scheme of primary Education on a most modest scale will be over a core and eighty lakhs.

Cost of Running schools	Rs. 1,65,00,000
Inspecting Staff	Rs. 2,82,000
Directorate	Rs. 36,000
Training Cost	Rs. 3,70,000
District School Board	Rs. 2,50,000
Annual repairs	Rs. 6,25,000
Total	Rs. 1,80,63,000



The capital cost needed will be a core and twenty five lakhs and if a twenty years bill is raised to meet the capital cost, it will mean an annual addition of a further fourteen or fifteen lakhs during the currency of the loan, and the total cost will come up to near about two cores annually. It will be for the government under the New Constitution to face the problem and on its satisfactory solution depends, to a very large extent, the future prosperity and well-being of the province.

I would like to mention here that the above publication has significant historical value because data and information which was given here is very rare. We have got a very clear idea about primary education and its problems of Bengal. He had drawn some important realistic recommendations to improve the quality of primary education through this publication. He had suggested recruiting sub inspector to monitor the quality of primary education. Also he commented that if government can ensure the quality training and sufficient salary for primary teacher; in that case five years primary education can be completed by four years. I am impressed to see his calculative analysis specially cost of education and benefit.<sup>21</sup>

---

21. *The Mussalman, Eid Special, 1936*

### **5.6.2. THREE SEATS:**

The 'three seats' is an article which was published by Morning News as Eid Supplement in 1934. In the article he wrote on a current issue which was a demand of Muslim for at least thirty percent representation in Legislative Council. It was the one of the demand of 14 demands of Mr. Jinnah. The article is presented here:

"It is a story of about 15 years ago. Calcutta was the venue of the annual sessions of both the Congress and the Muslim League. Various other Conferences were also meeting there that year. But more than the Congress or the League Session or the other Conference that were held on that occasion, the interest of the public was focused on the All-Parties National Convention which was called by the congress to discuss the Nehru Report. Distinguished leaders representing all shades of political opinion had gathered to participate in the Convention in an attempt to evolve a constitution for India acceptable to all parties and agreed to by all communities.

The Muslim League was also invited. As the President of the League, if I mistake not, from the 1921, Mr. Jinnah, then well-known as the "ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity," led the Muslim delegation .The Nehru Report had recommended adult franchise and joint electorates with reservation of seats for the minorities. But the general attitude of the Muslims all over India was in favor of separate electorates and this was particularly strong in Bengal. Mr. Jinnah and a school of Muslim thought were in favor of the acceptance in principle of joint electorates. Several days prior to the League Session, Mr. Jinnah had informal discussions almost day and night with the delegates from the different

provinces. The persuasive arguments of Mr. Jinnah ultimately held the field and even those, who were adamant in their pro-Separate Electorate attitude had to agree that a system of joint electorates was the best approach to an honorable settlement of the political controversies of the day. Bengal delegates, however still persisted in their views and for two days Mr. Jinnah, with infinite patience and a fund of arguments, discussed the point with them. I remember to this day, Mr. Jinnah meeting every point of objection by the Bengal delegate who ultimately had to fall in with the view that the acceptance of joint electorates was, in the circumstances conducive to the best interests of not only the Muslims of Bengal but of India as a whole. No one could have been a better advocate than Mr. Jinnah who carried all the delegates with him in supporting the scheme of joint electorates as later advocated by the League itself.

After these preliminary discussions, the League held its plenary session under the President ship of the Mahmudabad. It was resolved formally that the league does take part in the deliberations of the National Convention and the following 23 delegates were elected:

1. The Maharajah of Mahmudabad;
2. Mr. M.A. Jinnah;
3. Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew;
4. Mr. M.C. Chagla;
5. Mr. Malik Barkat Ali;
6. Moulvi Abdur Hamid;
7. Moulvi Mujeebur Rahman;
8. Dr. Mahmood;
9. Mr. Hissam-ud-din;

10. Moulvi Mohamad Akram Khan;
11. Moulana Zafar Ali Khan ;
12. Seth Yakub Hasan;
13. Ghazi Abdur Rahman;
14. Syed Abdullah Brelvi;
15. Mr.Tassaduq Ahmad Khan;
16. Choudhri Khaliquzzaman;
17. Nawab Liaquat Ali Khan;
18. Mr. Mazhar Ali;
19. Shah Mohammad Zubair;
20. Mr. Abdur Karim;
21. Mr. Mohammad Aslam;
22. Mr. M. Azizul Huque;
23. Mr. Faiznoor Ali.

While entering the pandal of the national convention I remember to this day the buoyant enthusiasm with which all of us hoped for a final settlement. India would have a constitution of its own and the Muslim would have an honorable place in the India polity. In accordance with the generally accepted views of the Indian Musalmans, the delegates supported the recommendations of the Nehru Report subject to the conditions, that there would be joint electorates with reservation of seats; one-third Muslim representation in the Central Legislature; Sind to be constituted a separate province; N.W.F.P. and Baluchistan to be raised to the status of a Governor's province and residuary powers to be with the provinces.

Mr. Jinnah made an able and comprehensive exposition of the Muslim case before the Convention. He referred to the divergent views expressed in the political discussions in the country on the electorate question. He mentioned the fact that the Muslims of India had been almost entirely, in favor of separate electorates for about two decades. He then referred to the necessity of composing the conflicting views of all communities in order to come to an agreed settlement. The Muslims he said were not guided by and narrow selfish motives. They had come there in the true spirit of cooperation to frame the future constitution. In spite of their decided views to the contrary, the Muslims had agreed to the principle of joint electorates with the reservation of seats where necessary but they claimed one-third of the seats in the Central legislature. They also pressed for 33 percent, of seats instead of 30% which was then the representation of Muslims in the Central Legislature. The other communities taken together would thus have 66 percent of seats instead of 70%. Mr. Jinnah referred the historic parallels in support of the demand such as that of the French in the time of the Canadian Settlement, and of the Copts in Egypt and appealed to the Convention to have due regard to the unwritten laws of countries that had cared to safeguard the rights of the minorities. He emphasized that in the onward march of India's struggle for political freedom no paper constitution would be of any avail unless the seven cores of Muslims joined the twenty –two cores of the Hindus in a spirit of comradeship and trust. To an interjection as to why Mr. Jinnah himself did not lead the people of India in their struggle for freedom and why did he not come forward with his support for joint electorates without any condition or reservation, Mr. Jinnah promptly replied that the question was not of

his coming forward, but of the seven cores of Muslims coming out with him in support of an agreed and acceptable Constitution for India.

I have still with me a few scribbled notes of this historic meeting. It took place in a pandal specially erected in what is now known as Park Circus. The conference began in the afternoon. The outstanding differences between the League and the Congress were referred to a small committee, which met immediately and continued till long after mid-night. Mr. Gandhi, Pandit Motile Nehru, Sir Ten Abrader Sapru, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mr. Jairamdas Daulatram, Sardar Tara Singh, Dr. Chintamani and other distinguished leaders numbering about 30 met together to consider the whole question. Mr. Jinnah pleaded the cause of the League at this conference and my notes taken at the meeting itself state as follows about Mr. Jinnah's statement: "Eloquent yet impassioned, sweet yet emphatic, polite and courageous yet meeting the bitterest opponents on the highest level of political thought." The main contention was the question of Muslim representation at the Centre, whether they would have 33 seats or 30. After Mr. Jinnah had made his statement, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya advised the Muslims not to press for it on the ground that Lala Lajpat Rai who was one of the original members of the Nehru Committee and who had breathed his last just before the session of the National Convention, as also the leaders of the Hindu Mahasabha, had repeatedly expressed their views that the existing proportion of Muslims in the Legislatures of the country was the maximum that could be permitted. The Muslim case was bitterly opposed by Mr. Jairamdas Daulatram.

One of the Sikh leaders who followed him said, "I have no objection if weightage is given to others, provided one-third representation is given to Sikh in the Punjab," Sir Tej Bahadur Sapur supported the Muslim demand fully but requested the Convention to take note of the Sikh objections. Dr. Chintamani stated that the Liberal Federation had advised its representatives to support the proposals of the Nehru Report in full unless an agreed settlement in modification of any part was reached; in which event the Liberal Federation had advised the members to support such an agreed settlement. Mr. Gandhi while saying that he was inclined to concede the Muslim demand stated that it was difficult to do so in view of Sikh objections. On behalf of the Central Sikh League, it was stated that the Sikhs could not agree to a Muslim majority in the Punjab. Mr. Gandhi stated that no such contingency was contemplated. For hours, the question of "three more seats" was discussed and debated. Evening shaded into night and night into midnight, but the Muslims could not get the three seats surrendered in their favor. Eventually the political future of India was buried in a coffin marked Three Seats.

There was not much disagreement on the other points. Those who took a statesmanlike view of the future and were prepared to support the Muslim proposal as a moderate and reasonable demand did not try to force a conclusion in view of the stiff attitude of the opposition. And my impression was that there were at least one or two who could have carried the majority with them if they had wanted to. In the long run the Muslim delegates who worked for weeks and months, had pleaded with their co-religionists to accept joint electorates as a token of goodwill and amity failed to get any response from the Conference. The decision was

that the Muslims would have joint electorates and representation according to their numerical strength and nothing more. No agreement was reached and the Convention ended in a failure. As we were coming out of the pandal, in the early hours of a cold December morning I noticed visible signs of a terrible disappointment specially among some of the most progressive members of the League delegation as one of them remarked while coming out –“My country is doomed; I do not know where it will end . For me it is the end of my politics. I have not the heart to join again.” He did leave politics after that and there by Indian politics lost a brilliant intellectual but to-day he is an eminent Judge of a High Court.<sup>22</sup>

This article is evidence that Mr. Huque was aware about political rights of Muslim of Bengal and he raised his voice to respective authority in favor of Muslim.

---

22. *Morning News, Eid Supplement 1934; M. Azizul Huque*



### **5.6.3. An Article on Cultural Contributions of Islam to Indian History:**

This is a historical article of Sir M. Azizul Huque which was published by Nawraz Journal in Srabon 1334 Bengali year. He briefed on the acceptance of Islam by Indian population by this article. In this period, mass people of Indian were divided by different casts. They were Bhammon, Khattryio, Bhaishno, and Shudro. Mr. Huque commented on the cast tradition that mankind can be divided by their professions and one can be dependent on another. But this cannot be accepted that one is superior to others. The main basis of the Indian cast system was social racism which was inhuman. His comment is good in aspect of humanity and human rights.

India was the central way of world merchant and there were many water ports. Arabic merchants were came India and started to do publicity on the theme of Islam in nine century. At that time Indian people was attracted by the holy concept of Islam 'every man is equal'. That is why, many Indian were converted as Muslim. Islam is not only a religion but also a very good culture. Arabian Merchants (Muslim) also transferred some Islamic culture among the Indians (Hindu). So it is a great cultural contribution of Islam to Indian history.<sup>23</sup>

We get a proof to see the present culture of the Indian sub-continent. Still we are practicing a mixed culture (Hindu-Muslim). The article of Mr. Huque also mentioned about the cultural context of India.

---

23. Bhuiya Iqbal, Sir.Azizul Huque, pp.115-121

## **CHAPTER - VI**

# **POLITICAL THOUGHT AND SOCIAL WORKS OF SIR MOHAMMAD AZIZUL HUQUE AND ITS EFFECT ON BENGAL**

## **6.0. AN OVERVIEW ON SOCIO-POLITICAL THOUGHT AND ITS EFFECT**

We can get huge information on Sir Mohammad Azizul Huque's political view, thoughts, social works and its effect in his publications. I have found him as a brilliant problem identifier and logical analyzer of socio-economic and political problems. He had tried to solve that identified problems by his heart and soul engaging all resources. He had contributed lot based on his intelligence. I have found the following areas where his views and thoughts had contributed significantly:

6.1: Muslim Education: His Thoughts and Contribution;

6.2: Farmer's Community: His Observations and Contribution;

6.3: His Contribution on Economic Development;

6.4: Social Development and His Contribution;

6.5: Cultural Development and His Contribution;

6.6: Political Thoughts and His Contribution;

6.7: Legal Reforms: His Thoughts and Contribution.

I want to discuss in detail on his socio-political thoughts and contribution on the above identified areas. My main task is finding out of his thoughts and contribution from his publications/works and does analysis on them. In these purposes, I am going to present his different statements from his own publications and other relevant publications on him.

## **6.1. MUSLIM EDUCATION: HIS THOUGHTS AND CONTRIBUTION**

Sir Mohammad Azizul Huque is the man who thought about progress of Muslim education since his student life. He was involved with Muslim institutions and its program concerned educational problems of the backward Muslim community and devoted much of his time and energy for the welfare of the Muslim in Bengal. In student life, he was the Secretary of the Muslim Institute, Calcutta in the year 1911-1912, Joint Secretary of the Bengal Presidency Mahomedan Educational Association, Assistant Secretary of the Bengal Presidency Muslim League and Editor of the Journal of the Muslim Institute, Calcutta. In 1912 C.E., while a law student and honorary secretary of the Muslim Institute, he wrote and published a pamphlet on Mohammedan Education. Mohammad Azizul Huque's continuous interest in the predicament of the Muslim students led to a paper read out at a meeting of the Muslim Institute presided over by W. W. Hornell, Director of Public Instruction of Bengal. He believed that much of our salvation lies with us and Government can only give an impetus to our efforts. Government has never saved person which does not help himself. He wanted to aware Mohammedan about their roles and responsibilities for Muslim education.

Writer's views on Muslim education expressed in his book "History and problems of Moslem education in Bengal". The book is a real picture of Muslim education in Bengal. I would like to discuss about his socio-political thoughts in light of the book.

During discuss about the problems of Muslim education, he mentioned that theoretically-though the Presidency College was opened during that time to Mahommedans too, on general competitions with Hindus and on payment of Rs.12 as fee per mensem, the high rate of the fee acted as prohibitive. How hard these regulations sometimes act would be understood from the fact that some time back a Mohammedan student who stood first in the intermediate examination among Mohammedans had refused admission in the first instance in to the presidency college.<sup>1</sup> the problem of professional and technical education was also very serious. There was no Mushin fund grant in the College towards part payment of fees and the high cost of medical education often prevented Mahommedan students in joining it. The result was that on the 31<sup>st</sup> March, 1914, out of about 800 students studying for medicine only 10 were Mahommedans, some of whom were Beharees. But the cruelest story was in the Engineering branches where out of 320, only seven were Mahommedans. In the whole history of the Engineering education, he mentioned only two Bengali Mahommedans had graduated themselves one was now a Deputy Magistrate; the other did not hold up till that time any such lucrative post under Government as to be model to future students.<sup>2</sup>

He told, "The present system of Madrassah education takes away about a decade of man's life without in any way making him fit for leading the life of a worthy citizen of the Empire or even of the Islamic fraternity".<sup>3</sup>

---

1. M. Azizul Huque, *History and Problems of Moslem Education in Bengal*, p.88

2. *Ibid*, p.95.

3. *Ibid*, p.98

He mentioned that poverty was our main and first problem. On the other hand, no Muslim representative was in governing body in university committee, even the Government of India had felt from time to time the absence and recognized the need of the Mahommedan element in the managing bodies and boards of Calcutta university.<sup>4</sup> It was significant that ever since the creation of the university not one single Mahommedan gentleman had been successful in being elected a fellow of the university, though some of the candidates were graduates of proved merit and ability. The right of voting was practically wholly confined to Hindu graduates who controlled and dominated the situation by virtue of sheer number and who seldom, if ever, consented to record a vote in favor of a Mahommedan in preference to a non-Mohammedan candidate. The result was that in the matter of admission to the university through the medium of election the doors of the university were wholly shut so far as the Mohammedans were concerned.<sup>5</sup> Sir M. Azizul Huque noted "If the university is to guide the educational destiny of this presidency-not particular section of the people, but the people in general-if difference in race or creed is not to symbolize a permanent difference in education and culture, if the Alma Mater is not to perpetuate a system in which the backward but the major section of the people will be left unaccounted for, to become still more backward, if the division of the people due to religious or historic cause were not to coincide permanently with difference in intellectual level and if over 24 million souls were not to remain outside the forces which are molding the University of to-day, surely the march of progress should also take note of the situation and circumstances which have sprung upon the

---

3. *Ibid*, p. 1015.

4. *Ibid*, p. 103

Moslems of Bengal. It is no use to be guided by the theories of Laissez-Faire and to create a system which does not actually embrace all sections of the people, in which equal opportunities are merely in theory open to all, when the naked reality of the situation is the practical exclusion of the major section of the people from the energizing forces of university life and when equal opportunities practically mean the swamping of the inferior and the backward by the superior strength of others. It is not always desirable to harp on these grievances oft and anon. While it is unpleasant to the susceptibilities of the dominating community, it is galling to the self-respect of the weaker; but if left uncontrolled and remedied, it creates a genuine unrest and discontent in the body politic.”<sup>6</sup> He also suspected that the complaints sometimes so small but so poignant that some inexpressible bitterness was its outcome.<sup>7</sup> He commented that the number of intelligent Mahtomedi students unable to prosecute their studies through poverty was fast increasing and keener was becoming the need of organizing a Central Fund to help such students. Of late there had been a tendency towards organization of several isolated charity funds. Such isolated efforts were bound to end in the dissipation of energies. He supposed that it was time that we should settle one definite and determinate policy of grant and organized a Central Fund. Of all the problems, this was one that mainly lies with the community to solve. A sound organization of a central body with a few guiding spirits would be enough to meet the situation.<sup>8</sup>

---

6. *Ibid.* pp.103-104

7. *Ibid.* p.105

8. *Ibid.*, pp.96-97

He added in his pamphlet 'The Mussalmans of Bengal: how they remain uneducated' which was published in 1912, being a statement of 201 Mohammedan applicants who were refused admission into Calcutta colleges and hostels.<sup>9</sup> He also added that so few were Mohammedan messes in Calcutta and suitable houses were so very rare owing to the refusal of many Hindu owners to let their houses to Mohammedans on grounds of beef and fowl eating, that students had to run from place to place in search of shelter. The spectacle of Mohammedan students was loitering about the corridors of the college in day and sleeping in garrets at night was simply shocking. After a protracted period of vain search, a majority of Mahommedan students was compelled to accommodate them in some insanitary and questionable surroundings.<sup>10</sup> in such a place growth was stunted and everything stands in the way of expansion of the mind. There could be no spirit of research or original study, no academic atmosphere in such messes. There was the greatest defect of them to have no discipline in themselves.<sup>11</sup> He told that a large number of these students already over-burdened with numerous languages were therefore compelled to take up another subject in place of Arabic. Silently in our midst a process of waste of intellectual energies had thus been going on.<sup>12</sup> These limitations and restrictions had almost become menacing to the higher educational interests of the Mussalmans and the problem must be solved satisfactorily in the near future unless he wished the course of history to repeat again.

---

09. *ibid*, p.88

10. *ibid*, p.92

11. *ibid*, p.93

12. *ibid*, pp.89-90



He mentioned “If our conferences leagues still think their function to be over by passing dozens of tiring resolutions and then hopelessly looking up to the Government for their execution, I am afraid, the future is very dark for us.”<sup>13</sup> He thought that it was the duty of the community to realize the full significance of the problems before them. He commented, “Our young men must be properly developed or else they will lack energy, force and definiteness of purpose. They may be B.A.s and M.A.s or B.Sc.’s and M.Sc.’s but they will not be men able to stand in the coming struggle. They will fail to influence society, government or national character and a generation will pass away leaving no evidence behind that they ever lived.”<sup>14</sup> He confidently remarked that the adherents of Islam in the shallow field of politics were theoretically becoming stronger and stronger. He had noticed that many students of very devout and religious families were coming for the purposes of study to Calcutta, and formerly to leave their religious practices day by day.<sup>15</sup>

Whatever the political formed of post war India, promised full self-Government by Britain an assurance that we were confident will full fill the educational needs of India’s 80 million Muslims must be the prime consideration now of the communities thoughtful leaders. A solid foundation had been offered by Sir Azizul Huque lethargy under the cloak of politics was to be deplored. The time for construction was that time. There had been an appreciable stir over the question of Muslim Education in India. Frank realization of the comparative backwardness

---

13. *Ibid*, p.91

14. *Ibid*, p.99

15. *Ibid*, p.100

of the community in this respect had been forthcoming and some improvement had ensued. The progressive development of the Aligarh and Osmania universities stood out but, generally, the defect appeared to be isolated effort. Though an all India body, exists it lacks strong links in the provinces and states to maintain watch and ward over the community's educational interests and put forward their legitimate grievances. This and other vital matters were dealt with by Sir Azizul Huque, Commerce and Industries Member, Government of India, when he presided over the annual session of the All India Muslim Education Conference at Jubbulpore. Delivered in April, 1944, the speech breathed realism and could determine that merited wider publicity than it obtained at the time and they reproduced it in full elsewhere in this issue. It was a magnificent contribution to the solution of Muslim educational woes and would repay close scrutiny.<sup>16</sup> An eight points program of education reform was put forward by the commerce members at Jubbulpore. He advocated re planning of the constitution and activities of the all India Muslim educational conference; organization of provincial and state branches; special boards in every province and state to ensure proper selection of text book suited to Muslim culture and thoughts; an Islamic research organization furnishing facilities including scholarship for research. He was indeed best fitted to tackle the matter. Inter provincial and international contact between Muslim teachers and students; evolution of uniform pattern for Muslim schools; establishment of a body to coordinate activities of oriental institutions and lastly, facilities for lecture for eminent scholars on the history and culture of Islam.<sup>17</sup>

---

16. *Through the editor's eyes; The Whip: July 3, 1944; Muslim Education Problems*

17.

*Ibid*

When the Mukherjee Retrenchment Committee in 1923 recommended almost the abandonment of as a state function, Mr. Huque published criticism in a pamphlet named 'Education and Retrenchment'. He was a member of Calcutta University Reorganization Committee whose report was the basis of the present university work and organization.<sup>19</sup>

Sir Azizul Huque an eminent son of Bengal, which filled a proud role in the field of education in India, he was Education Minister in 1934-37, later becoming Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University whose progress owes much to his wish administration then. He established a new department of Muslim history and culture in Calcutta University. In all the missions that had fallen to him in the course of his brilliant career (he was formerly India's High Commissioner in the U.K.) he had displayed a rare talent of being able to look years ahead.

He is the first person who identified and addressed education problems of Muslim community in Bengal in his book "History and problems of Moslem education in Bengal". It was he, who first introduced a Bill on primary education to all free of cost in Bengal. 'Free Education Day' had been observed in all districts in Bengal on 3<sup>rd</sup> January, 1938. During his tenure Bengal got numerous Schools. As education minister he introduced Education Weeks and Exhibition. Also he found reasons of drop out students from primary education. He commented that insufficient teacher is another reason for drop out student.

---

19. *Star of India, Friday, June 15, 1934, Bengal's New minister Khan Bahadur Azizul Huque Selected Takes Charge Today*

He took initiatives from education ministry to address the problem. In the resolution on 'overall situation of education system of Bengal (resolution no. 2517) in July 27, 1935 he briefed about poor quality of secondary education. He mentioned that education is not building moral characteristics. He was emphasized on the creative system of education. Education related decisions of Education Minister M. Azizul Huque created a friendly environment for education of rural Muslim farmer and as a whole Muslim community. A Teachers Training Department was introduced in Calcutta University in July 1<sup>st</sup> in 1935 and quality of teaching methods for Arts and Science was improved. A new scheme had been planned to coordinate Madrassah education with general education as per recommendation of Momen Committee when Mr. Huque took responsibility of education minister. Many old Madrassahs were got approval by government during his period. In 1935, the declaration of Education Minister M. Azizul Huque mentioned to take special initiative to overall improvement of Muslim female education in Bengal. Shakawat Girls High Schools had been fully governmental in January 1936. Government had formed an advisory committee to get all time advisory support on policy making and required advices to improve female education in West Bengal. Government introduced stipends to create female teacher and increase interest of student in East Bengal. He was famous as an educationalist at that time based on his valuable thoughts and works on education of Bengal. Considering his thought, views and contributions which are mentioned in this section, it is proved that Mr. Huque was a think tank of Bengal and a great contributor for progress of Muslim Education.

## **6.2. FARMER'S COMMUNITY: HIS OBSERVATIONS AND CONTRIBUTION**

Vast information about Bengal farmer's community articulated in his book 'The Man Behind the Plough', published in 1939. He identified many macro and micro level important problems of Bengal farmer's community which have shown about his views on farmer's problems. The book is very much informative and full with valuable information. His brilliant observations on farmer's problem and its solution are articulated in the book.

An instance of his prophetic vision is supplied in the book 'The Man Behind the Plough', in which Sir Mohammad Azizul Huque expressed a solemn warning that unless Bengal's food problem was handled with farseeing statesmanship a crisis would overtake the province. That warning had been heeded and suitable safe guards taken Bengal would probably have been spared the horrors 1943. Incidentally, we understand that Sir Azizul Huque was that time engaged bringing out a revised edition of that book which every public servant would do not only to read but digest. I am impressed knowing that how closely he observed farmer's community and felt their problems by his heart. This is a great work of him.

Sir M. Azizul Huque said in the preface of the book that "With land, as an essential item in the economy of production, comes the importance of land system and land tenure. No land system and tenure can long survive if the producer from the land does not get even bare subsistence from it and if there is no adequate return for human labor, leaving aside any resultant profit for the toiling worker. The landed, in

such circumstances, gives up his land in despair and becomes landless. The patient peasantry, the country's pride, soon fades out of the picture; agriculture falls into decay and chaos inevitably overtakes society and ere long breaks up the entire social structure. Where, due to sharp decline in agricultural prices without any corresponding adjustment in rent, interest, taxes and commodity prices, profits from land go even below the marginal limit, tenure and rent assume a special importance of their own. I have not attempted to discuss the problem of land in a spirit of condemnation of landlordism. Landlordism, in any land system, is an admitted asset in the economy of social life, always provided the landlord possesses a sense of his responsibility to the land and its tenants. It is then a power for immense good but it becomes an admitted evil if the landlord does not adjust himself to the needs of the times which all must regard as the only valid justification for landlordism.”<sup>20</sup>

He said about our farmer that “in prosperity of Bengal peasant is a model for human society; in poverty he is one of the finest specimens of humanity, with patience, fortitude and every other supreme quality of manhood. Self-restrained, composed and resigned in his adversity, he is hospitable, generous and kind in his prosperity. He bears the burden and the heat of the day with a uniform patience; he begins his unceasing toil in his field from early dawn, patiently and without complaint, and yet he cannot make both ends meet; he stands today with a face deeply marked with lines of semi-starvation in an attenuated frame.

---

20. M. Azizul Huque, *The Man Behind The Plough*, p.ix

In all humility, I place this book before all who are devoted to the cause of the raiyat of Bengal, all who wish him well and all who wish to know the tragic realities of the man behind the plough.”<sup>21</sup> He suggests that all improvements in agriculture – implements and stock must, therefore, be such as the small farmer can adopt within his limited means and resources.<sup>22</sup> Bengal must therefore produce more secondary and other money crops. With cities like Chittagong and Dacca with Calcutta and wider Calcutta, it would be profitable to study the market needs of these industries and urban areas. Lemons, pine-apples and papayas, potatoes, bananas, groundnuts, mustard and mustard-oil, sugar, wheat and pulses of all kinds, poultry, eggs and live-stock come in large quantities from outside places. The soil of Bengal is also suitable for the produce of all these articles. English vegetables of all kinds can be a profitable study for the economist to find out the extent to which Bengal is dependent upon outside supply of these articles. A careful organization of market and adequate marketing facilities for these supplies for these supplies would go a great way to improve the economic condition of the Bengal Raiyat.<sup>23</sup>

He discussed about Rice, Jute, Sugar-cane, etc. in this book. He told about rice that Bengal must grow more food within the province and our economic policy should be so framed that we may always have an assured supply of sufficient food. Our production should at least be equal to consumption. This is essential as a reasonable measure of economic security. Every country is from time to time faced with

---

21. *Ibid.* p.x

22. *Ibid.* p.28

23. *Ibid.* p.61

economical and political crisis. It will be weakness in our economic life if the food supply is not sufficient to meet the strain of such occasions. One must remember that during the great European War, the presence of the 'Emden' in the Bay of Bengal dislocated the movements of ships to and from Bengal ports considerably. It would be an economic disaster of the first magnitude if we are not self-sufficient in respect of our food supply. The producers of food must also have enough food to maintain national health. According to our estimate, the average annual food requirement for this province is 500 million maunds of paddy. Our production has been 340 million maunds per annum taking the decennial average from 1927 to 1937. The average annual deficit stands at 160 million maunds. Even if any margin is allowed for varying factors such as fewer requirements for urban people, sickness, and substitution by other cereals, the deficit on even a most modest estimate will stand at over 125 million to 130 million maunds of paddy per year. The best remedy for this shortage without further increasing the acreage under rice is to increase the average yield by at least 5 maunds per acre, leaving any additional areas for production of other money crops. And this is not beyond the range of possibility if lands are well mannered and if there is less dependence upon monsoon conditions.<sup>24</sup>

He commented that there is a considerable body of opinion in the country that the marketing conditions of jute and the process of movement of jute from the field to the factory determine the price in the interests of the trade rather than the welfare of the growers.

---

24. *Ibid*, pp.56-57



The grower has no power to hold over and he is compelled to bring his jute within a short compass of time to the market. Jute being the only money-crop of importance in the jute-growing districts, every one regards its harvest time as the season for collections. The landlord, the mahajan, the credit banks, the local authorities, in short, creditors of all degrees and ranks- all at the same time put pressure on the grower for the collection of their dues; the grower is thus confronted all at once by his creditors and in the absence of adequate and regular credit facilities, he is compelled to meet his liabilities by bringing all his jute at one time to the market.

“Buy jute in puja time” is now a tradition with the trade. That is the time when the cultivator is not merely confronted by all his creditors but has also invariably to meet other liabilities and expenses of his own. If there were a steady and regular flow of jute throughout the year, jute prices would probably have been firmer than at present.<sup>25</sup>

He also suggested that the mills have invariably a large surplus stock purchased from previous year's crops and the trade is, thus, in a position to bargain on its own terms. The complete helplessness of the growers against organized trade and business interests naturally affects the price and the hierarchy of middlemen between the grower and the manufacturer reduces the margin for the grower who seems only to get the residuum after paying the share of everybody else. Yet it is the grower who has the monopoly of the raw material; the trade has no such monopoly. The number of looms for jute manufacture within India is only about 60% of the world's total.<sup>26</sup>

---

24. *Ibid*, pp.56-57

25. *Ibid*, pp. 67-68

26. *Ibid*, pp. 68-69

He said that the other contributory cause to the low price for grower is the multiplicity of the middle men between the grower and the consumer. In the absence of any contact between the producer and the consumer the grower gets only a portion of the total value not even sufficient to meet his cost of production. The Farias and the Beparis and Arathdars, the marchents and the balers come in between the grower and the consumer. The number of middle men is larger in the case of jute than in the case of other crops. It is partly due to the prevalent practices and partly to the especially process of balling required at the finishing stage of the export of the fiber.

According to the evidence before the Bengal Jute enquiry committee, the number of Bapparis in Narayanganj centre along was estimated to be over two thousand. The prevalence of different weight in different localities and the practice of additional weights and tollages further reduce the resultant price for the cultivator. It appears from evidence before the Jute enquiry committee that various tolls are levied by middle man; drayage allowance known as Dhalta is often deducted in calculating the way of weight of Jute sold. Some extra jute known as Dasturi is always taken with each maund weighed; the sellers have often to give about two seers extra per maund; Ten percent wastage is generally charged in mousse centre; the Beparis have in some places to give about 145 seers extra per each 100 maunds; in others even an excess of 12.5 maunds per hundred maunds. Weighing charges, staff allowance, charges for festival and functions, sometimes even contributions for goshalas and other charitable institutions are realized and in some places the seller has to pay even for the cost of the Barber, the washer man, the weigh man, the sorter and such other staff of the

purchasing firms! The Calcutta firms generally get an extra weight of five seers per kutchha bale. According an estimate made by the deputy director of agriculture, eastern circle, Dhaka, the lowest grade of Farias make a profit of 4-8 annas per maund, the Baparies make 4-8 annas per mound, the Mohajans make 4-8 annas per mound, kutchha balers 4-8 annas per mound, so the Calcutta price is Rs.5 per mound, growers does not get more than Rs.3. The cost of transit from village to outline markets and Jute centres, including the Baparie's profit should not ordinarily exceed at the highest 3 annas per mound. The difference between the village price and the price at outlying Jute centres should not, therefore, exceed 3 annas per mound, but it was reported before Jute enquiry committee that the difference was on an average 6 annas per mound at Mymensigh at some times went even up to 8 annas at Narayanganj.

Mr. Huque added that it is of course, correct to say that in business, one always tries to purchase at the lowest price and sell at the highest. Unfortunately the conditions are different in this province where we have an organized industry and an unorganized body of agriculturists, ignorant and scattered over a very wide area and as such utterly helpless in the matter of bargaining powers with the powerful organizations in trade and industry. The ultimate welfare of the grower is, therefore, a factor which has to be considered and this should, at least to some extent, determine the amount of trade profits. While it is quite correct to say that no industry can survive without a fair margin of profit in order to retain its efficiency, it is also equally true that the grower must also obtain a fair price for the raw materials he produces. Jute has a special importance all its own for this province both as an

agricultural commodity and as an industry. It is a valuable money-crop for the cultivator in a number of districts; as an industry it has a paid-up capital of about Rs.25 cores invested in 104 mills, out of which 95 are within the province, all within a compact area. About 2,75,00 workers are engaged daily in these jute mills. It gives a substantial income to the Central and Provincial revenues; Bengali's share of Jute Excise duties in 1937-38 was over Rs. 2.5 cores and this represents only 62.5 per cent of the total income. The Railways and Steamer Companies, other transport agencies, insurance concerns, brokers, balers, exporters, middlemen, dealers- in fact, everyone in the chain gets a good return in the shape of profit or income from the distribution, manufacture and export of Jute fibers and Jute fabrics. The industry itself and every section of the trade are highly organized, resourceful and well-informed and get their quota of gain in the shape of wages, dividends, income and profits from export of the fabric and from manufactured goods, even though the industry is not a monopoly of the province. It is only the grower who does not always get his fair share of the return from the value of jute, in spite of the production of the fiber being virtually monopoly of the province and though it requires most rigorous and exacting labor to make the fiber suitable for the market, a jute grower does not in the present market obtain a price even sufficient to meet the cost of production.

Mr. Huque thought that under these conditions, the economic possibilities for Sugarcane in Bengal do not appear to be a mere myth. The cultivator is fully aware, even today of the methods of its cultivation and also of sugar production. He has not been averse to using newer types of sugar crushing machines, if they are within his limited means.

Throughout Bengal, one notices Renwick's sugar crashing machines and pans used by cultivators. It is estimated that about 35,000 of such machines, which are drawn by cattle, and 27,000 pans are hired and purchase annually by villagers in Bengal. Started within the last few years eight vacuum pan factories and 42 open pan factories were at worked in 1937 and 3 more vacuum pan factories were under construction but unfortunately the grower is not getting a fair price for this cane, while, on the other hand some of the factories are attempting to grow their own cane. This may develop the industry but the small grower will not be benefited by any such development. Consumption of sugar was the largest in Bengal among all the provinces probably. Of the total sugar manufactured and imported into India, Bengal consumes about 13%. But her production is only 2.8% of India's total output. In 1935-36, there was an import into this province of 20, 79,494 mounds of Gur and 2,943311 mounds of white sugar. In 1936-37 Bengal produced 626175 mounds but she consumed 3539250 mound of white sugar. There is thus great scope for the development of sugar industry in the province but care should be taken to reach the profits to the growers. In organize industry there is always inevitable tendency to profiteer at the early stage of its development but the benefit to the masses must mean better prices for the growers in consonance with the ultimate value of the finished product and in any case sufficient to cover the cost of production in full with a margin of profit.

Mr. Huque raised question about the living expenses of an agriculturist family after observation on living expense of farmer. An average family has been taken to consist of 5 persons, of whom, 3 may be taken be adult and 2 children. The two children may be taken as equivalent to

one adult. The agriculturist family may, therefore be taken as one which has to meet the living expenses of 4 adults. An average agriculturist-an adult-will required at least chataks of rice for his morning meal, 6 chataks of rice for his midday meal and 5 chataks for his night meal. Before he goes to work in the field he must have something to eat, his first meal consists of cold rice, steeped in water over night. In jail a convict gets 12 chataks of rice for two meals including a liquid meal of 2 chataks in the morning, with vegetables, fish and occasionally meat. Under the Bengal famine code (revised addition 1905) the scale of wages for an adult digger worker is to be calculated on the basis of 16 chataks of rice with 2 chataks as deduction in the allowance of grain when cooked food is given, the deductions representing the amount pulse, salt, oil, condiments and vegetable which are given in addition to cooked rice. Famine rations were devised on the principle of giving the lowest quantity sufficient to saved life and maintain health. Considering all these, the standard, taken at 15 chatak of rice per adult, is not an over estimate in any sense. It is probably below the normal requirements of a hard working adult doing field works. A family of 5 person or 4 adults requires at least 2 chataks of salt daily, an amount equal to what is provided in jail for 4 persons. The daily cost of dal, vegetable and fish taken at one anna per day per family is rupee 1-14-0 per month, against the jail figure of Rs.3-10-10 per month, at least a piece (3 pies) is required daily for spices, a piece for karosin and matches, and a piece for tobacco and this are the barest minimum requirement of a family, probably less than the usual needs. In Bengal master oil is used for cooking purposes and is also used by the adults and children for rubbing on their persons before their daily bath. It would not be an over estimate if we take 1.5 chatak of oil as the daily

requirement of a family, the jail scale being 1.25 chatak. Gur is only sweet consumed by the cultivators, children as well as adults and its cost may be estimated to amount to 2 Rupees 6 per annum for the whole family. Betel leafs and betel nuts are almost a necessity for the family and we may take 2.5 pieces (7.5 pies) as the weekly expenses or Rs.2 per annum on this account. The family required at least 2 thatched huts with open verandas and a kitchen the annual repair of which may well be taken to come up to at least Rs.3. The cooking and other domestic utensils required the expenditure of at least Rs. 1 annually.<sup>27</sup> Not only that they also have others various expenses of living.

**Table.6.Living expenses of an average agriculturist family compared with Jail: <sup>27</sup>**

Food items	Jail 4 adults				Average Family ( 3 adults and 2 children) equal to 4 adults		
	Rs.	Anna	Paisa		Rs.	Anna	Paisa
Rice	61	9	6		77	0	0
Salt	2	13	6		2	13	6
Dal	21	6	6	Rs.44, A2, P6	22	13	0
Fish	11	6	0				
Vegetables	11	6	0				
Spices	0	9	0	Rs.1, A13,P6	5	11	0
Spices	0	12	0				
Spices	0	6	6				
Spices	0	2	0				
Oil	10	11	0		12	12	0
Gur	2	14	0		6	0	0
Anti-scorbutic	1	0	0		-	-	-
Betel Leaves and Nut	-	-	-		2	0	0
Total	123	14	0		129	1	6

27. *ibid*, pp.110-15

**Table.7: Average family income of agriculturist family <sup>28</sup>**

Items	Average family income		
	Rs	Anna	Paisa
Brought forwarded (from above table)	129	1	6
Kerosene and Matches	5	11	0
Tobacco	5	11	0
Dwelling house repairs	3	0	0
Utensils	1	0	0
Clothing expenses	18	4	0
Total	162	11	6

Our calculations of food expenses come up to a monthly average 2 Rupees and 11 annas per adult or 2 Rupee 2 annas 9 paisa per person.

Mr. Azizul Huque observed family budget of Agriculturist very critically. It, therefore, appears that ordinarily the income of a unit agriculture family is roughly Rupee 170. On the basis of the highest computation of the value of his produce, viz. on the assumption that his crop is normal and also that it synchronizes with the highest price for his crops and it is only once in ten years that there is normal rainfall in this province-it is Rs. 276. The barest minimum expenses of a family of 5 including two children Rs. 293 and it may go up to Rs. 319 with a rise in the price of staple food. If there is any disaster or the crop fails or is below the normal, if he is incapacitated or fails to work for any cause, if he gets fever or cannot work in the field, the agriculturist is immediately on the verge of acute distress. But even without this, he is in deficit year after year. Immediately he gets bad crop or meets seasonal disaster or physical ailment, he must contact his expenses by starving himself and his family in order to meet his fixed liabilities.

---

28. *ibid*, p.116



In addition he has to meet the illegal exactions and abwabs and to pay extortionate rates of interest. His expenses, as calcite above, do not take account any expenses for purchase of land, for medical needs, education, construction of dwelling houses, social and religious ceremonies, litigation, fuel, toilet expenses, milk, manure, cattle food, or any luxury or comfort either for himself or for his children. He **is** rarely extravagant for he really has no means to be so. He has hardly any scope for thrift. A man living from hand to mouth or rather perpetually half starved, can seldom save and if occasionally he feels temped to satisfy the common cravings of a man, for himself or for family, it cruel to charge with him improvidence. In the above section, we have discussed income and the expenditure of the Bengal Raiyat with reference to his land only. No allowance has been made for any subsidiary income such as from poultry, livestock, milk, milk products or cottage industries such as rope making, etc., for they do not come out of the land proper. The income from such sources does form the income proper of the average cultivator, who generally has little, if any income from such sources.<sup>28</sup> Sir M. Azizul Huque commented that with a good deal of insecurity of harvest, due to complete dependence on nature, man must have not only plenty of land for purposes of subsistence but he should also be able to stand the strain of lean years. The holder of a few acres cannot possibly have enough for subsistence unless he takes to intensive to cultivation or has some sort of a second string to his bow; else he is in the constant grip of grinding poverty. To draw a living from a tiny holding, scattered in many plots, is often a veritably insoluble problem for the peasant.

---

28. *ibid*, p.116

As the result of a study of economic condition in the Punjab, Darling is of opinion that a man with a wife and two children required a minimum 13-40 acres of cropped area to live on, the area depending where he lives. In actual fact, the ordinary Punjab cultivators cultivate 8-10 acres and the Punjab has irrigation facilities on an extensive scale. As Darling says even in the richest part of England "it is considered that 10 acres is the smallest area on which a man can support a family without any other industry to help him". But whereas the Punjab cultivators has an average holding of 8-10 acres with extensive irrigation facilities, an agricultural holdings is much less in size and its fragmented and scattered in tiny plots. It leaves no margin of profit and does not give enough for subsistence, and the Bengal cultivator has to borrow regularly. In a previous chapter we have seen that the average holding per a unit agricultural family is about 7 acres, of which 5.3 acres are cultivated and 1.7 acres are fallow. This figure is on the basis of the province as a whole and in fact it varies widely from district to district <sup>29</sup>.

Mr. Huque observed a farmer's average income and deficit. The average income, district by district of a family of 5 persons, on the basis of total cultivated area in Bengal in the year 1936-37, may now be calculated. Table 51 in the page no. 128 of his book shows the average value of produce of a unit agricultural family of 5 and on the estimate made in the previous chapter that a family of 5 person needs at least Rs. 290 to meet its fixed liabilities and living expenses, it also shows the amount of deficit per family in different districts of Bengal. These calculations each district has been arrived at on the following basis:

---

29. *ibid*, pp. 120-121

Entire paddy area of district has been calculated at the uniform rate of 16 mounds of yield per acre, at a price of Rs.1-8-0 per mound. The entire Jute area has also been similarly calculated on an average yield of 14.5 maunds at rs.4-0-0 per maund. The remainder of the total crop area in a district minus the areas under cinchona, fodder crops, fruits, vegetables and miscellaneous crops has been calculated on lump basis of Rs 20-0-0 per acre. The total crop values thus calculated has been divided by the number cultivating owners and tenant cultivators in the district excluding growers of special produce. Thereafter as each cultivating owner and tenant cultivator represents a family of 3.5 persons including him, the figure for each such owner and cultivator has been converted to the unit family consisting of 5 persons. In order to bring the different districts nearer their actual conditions, this figures have also been adjusted, by deducting 20% from the districts of Nadia, Murshidabad, Birbhum, Bankura, 10% from Maldah, to make some allowance for the poor fertility of the soil and consequent poor out turn of crops in these districts, and by adding 20% to the districts of Bogra, Pabna, Dacca, Mymensigh, Faridpur, Bakerganj, Chittagong, Noakhali and Tipper, the fertile districts of Bengal. Again to show the actual state of the district, the rental charges, which vary from district to district, have been deducted from the total value of the produce, in estimating the effecting deficit figure.<sup>30</sup>

Mr. Huque noted that Bengal is mainly a permanently settled province. Its total land revenue demand in 1936-37 was Rs.31, 206,462 of which Rs 21,498,926 was from permanently settled estates. The incidence of

---

<sup>30</sup>. *Ibid*, pp. 126-27,

<sup>31</sup>. *ibid*, pp.131-32

land Revenue demand per acre of permanently settled land varies widely from district to district and bears no relationship either to the productivity or to the intensity of population. It is as high as Re.1-14-0 in Howrah, Re. 1-7-0 in the district of Burdwan and goes down as low as Re.0-3-6 in the district of Dacca and Re. 0-3-3 in the district of Mymensingh. the district of Burdwan, with 3,245 square miles of permanently settled area in it, pays more than Rs.30 lacs in land revenue, while the whole of the Dacca Division, comprising four districts and embracing an area more than four times the area of the Burdwan district, has to pay less, in fact just a little over Rs.26 Lacs, and yet these four districts are the most fertile tracts in the whole of Bengal. The district of Birbhum, with 1,695 square miles, has to pay land revenue of more than Rs. 10 lacs, while the district of Dacca, with about double the area, via, 3,030 square miles, pays not even half the land revenue of Birbhum- Dacca paying only about Rs.4 laces. The district of Nadia, with the poorest soil in Bengal, has to pay more land revenue than the district of Mymensingh, even though the permanently settled area of Mymensingh.

Mr. Huque added that Bengal is primarily an agricultural province and any deterioration in her agricultural condition cannot but seriously affect the entire structure of her economic life and the moral and material welfare of the people of the province. Discussions in the previous chapters must have shown that agriculture does not afford fail subsistence, and further, that it certainly yields no profit. The inevitable tendency, in such circumstances, to leave the land has distinctly been visible since the last census decade. On the other hand, during the

whole of the last census decade, prices of all agricultural commodities continued to be sufficiently high. The high prices had a decided influence on the rise in wages. Compared with 1916, agricultural wages showed a marked increase in 1925, amounting in some cases to as much as almost 100 %. In the districts of Burdwan, Hooghly, Howrah, Jessore, Khulna, in all the districts of North Bengal except Maldah, in all the districts of the Dacca Division and in all the districts of the Chittagong Division excepting Noakhali, the average rate of daily wages ranged between 10 and 15 annas. In the other districts it was about 8 to 9 annas.<sup>32</sup>

One would have expected a better agricultural outlook as a result of high prices. But in spite of a high price level the number of cultivators – cultivating owners and tenant –cultivators- has declined heavily with in the last Census period (1921-31). The land owning cultivators are being slowly expropriated or are leaving their land, to swell the ranks of landless laborers and the unemployed. For the result, it leads to fall in agricultural wages.<sup>33</sup> in this time it will be seen that about three millions of workers and earners, involving about 10 millions of people, has ceased to be cultivators in one decade. About two –thirds of these displaced people, comprising a little over 6 million, have increased the number of landless agricultural laborers, domestic servants, petty shopkeepers, etc. This is a permanent loss to Bengal's agriculture and cannot but be a matter of serious concern to all interested in the welfare of rural Bengal.<sup>34</sup>

---

32. *ibid*, pp.139-140

33. *ibid*, p. 141

34. *ibid*, p.142

On the other hand Mr. Huque witnessed increasing of land lord. It is interesting to note that the census reports show an increase of 7000 in law 22,000 in medicine, 41000 in the rank of teachers-an aggregate total of 70,000 workers representing 225,000 persons. On the other hand, the number of non-cultivating proprietors, taking rent in cash or kind, has increased from 385,170 to 783,755 an increase of 398,585 workers representing 1,195,755 persons-the number of landholders having exactly doubled it in ten years. The process of sub-inflation resulting in an increase of petty landlords has been the bane of the Bengal land system. And such is the mad craze for land investment in Bengal, that the moment they are in possession of some surplus money, merchants, businessmen, industrialists, and money-lenders- all rush to invest it in Zemindaries and lands. The conclusion is irresistible that whereas agriculture yields neither profit nor subsistence, the land system makes landlordism and Zemindary a profitable concern. The high margin of rental above the revenue makes it inevitably so. It is probably the climatic influence that tends to make our people seek a life of comparative ease and comfort, involving no manual labor but bringing in easy profit.

At the same time, respectability has been so much assumed to be associated with landlordism that the tendency is to become a landlord, at any cost , to make up for other deficiencies and shortcomings.<sup>35</sup>

Mr. Huque ask open question that must be the cultivator borrow? The answer clearly is in the affirmative: he must borrow and live on a system of credit till he is in a position to market his produce. The average

peasant is not financially well off: he has no capital of his own. He must, therefore, borrow in order to finance agricultural operations and to maintain his family. The total annual expenditure of an average agricultural family of 5 persons cultivating 5.3 acres of land is estimated in our calculations to be Rs.292 to Rs.319. And this does not include anything but the barest minimum and not even expenses for primary education or for medical needs etc. Assuming the average to be Rs.300, assuming that agricultural operations are spread over the whole year, at least Rs.150 have to be borrowed as short term or intermediate term loan. In our calculations there are over four million agricultural families in Bengal and they require every year a minimum credit amounting to Rs.60 cores. As will be seen later, the average annual credit supplied by Co-operative Societies never exceeded Rs.1crore 60 laces and that was in 1930. It came down to only about Rs.25 laces in 1935. The loan offices function only in a few districts and the annual credit supplied by them do not at present exceed a few laces of Rupees only. For the bulk of the 60 cores of rupees the agriculturists have to fall back on the village money lenders.<sup>36</sup>

The causes of indebtedness may now be enumerated and examined. The intense pressure of population on the soil excessive sub division and fragmentation of land, poverty of the soil and declaim of village industries are some of the causes of indebtedness. But behind all there is the grinding poverty-poverty which makes precarious and uncertain living failure to provide for depreciation of cattle is another cause of indebtedness.<sup>37</sup>

---

35. *ibid pp. 143-44*

36. *ibid pp. 155-56*

37. *ibid p.156*

Mr. Huque discussed indirect causes of debt. The modern change in the economy position of the cultivator have also been and indirect factor in the growth of indebtedness, particularly of mortgage Debts. The value of land has increased and so also the peasant's capacity to brow on the strength of it. The money lender with his abnormally facile system of credit has also been an indirect cause of indebtedness. Money landing has always been a feature of our ruler economy from the earliest times. But formally, the position of the agriculturist was stronger in as much as there was in existence a vital village community. But the decline of the village community has made a change for the worst in the position of the cultivator. He has been called the Shahukar's serf'. It is indeed true that the village money lender has also met the demands of the cultivator but the rate of interest which his changes has been very much oppressive, to say the least of it. When the Bengal banking enquiry committee concluded its enquiry, it was found that the rate of interest was extortionately high in many cases. The fertile districts had a much higher rate of interest than the district of poorer fertility. In the district of Pabna and Mymensigh, for example, the rate of interest was 37.5% to 300% and 24% to 225% respectively. Even civil court decreed as a high rate as 75% to 150 %.<sup>38</sup>

---

38. *ibid.* p.161



Mr. Huque commented that behind all the factors leading to the indebtedness of the Bengal peasant, the real reason stands that he is perpetually under a deficit budget. His income is always behind, and probably often much behind, his expenditure. Land is the only means of his subsistence. Its produce is much less than what is barely necessary to maintain his family in meeting the grossly minimum physical needs. The monsoon fails, the weather is cruel, the shower does not come in time, the river floods the country, the tornado sweeps away the villages- and the peasant has to borrow. Malaria attacks the family and the children, waves of influenza pass over, small-pox rages round, cholera sweeps away hamlets and villages, the medical practitioner has to be paid, medicines have to be purchased, diet has to be provided and the peasant has to borrow. He has to pay his rent and Union rate, and the collectors of these will not wait for the vagaries of the season, monsoon or market- he has to borrow. The epidemic of cattle mortality takes its toll- he has to borrow. He requires his seeds- he has to borrow. What else is left for him and where will he go? His debt burden rises in geometric progression. If anyone says that money lending does not pay, it may be correct to the extent that the money lender does not receive his pound of flesh and by the terms of his bond. But if he had not received more than the equitable rates of interest, if he had not received his principal within reasonable period, would the money lender from across and near the frontier have covered many hundreds of miles to carry on money lending in Bengal? Has there been any decline in the number of money lenders in each Census period? Has there been any case of a money lender becoming insolvent for his failure to collect his principal and his interest charges? Have not money lenders added to their fortunes?

To speak of the improvidence of the Bengal peasant in the growth of his indebtedness is a tragic accusation. A starving family occasionally purchases a fish or a fowl or a fruit or some vegetables. Once in a season the agony of the father, the husband or the brother is momentarily drowned in the pleasure of seeing his dear and near ones enjoy their simple and poor meal. He goes to the urban market or a mela. Passing by the many show-cases of fancy goods and articles, he remembers the face of his sweet little child and perchance purchases a little toy; probably he purchases a pair of glass bangles for his wife or daughter. The Bengal peasant is after all a human being and is not molded in a cast different from the rich and happy. If he adds a little to a day's comfort to see the sweet smile of his child or the happy face of his wife—and if he is then called improvident, it will be human nature perverted and a tragedy too poignant to bear for any feeling heart.<sup>39</sup>

Mr. Huque said about background of all planning and programme. And the problem has to be courageously faced at once and once for all. Plans and programmes, schemes and proposals, surveys and enquiries that may attract fascination, and yet may take years, if not decades, before they can complete their or bit of revolution to return to the normal plane of practicality, have little value in any immediate solution of the problem. A little sense of proportion in our perspective and outlook is also the imperative need of the hour. With limited means at our disposal, we cannot very well indulge in extravagances and

---

39. *ibid*, pp 163-64

superfluities, hobbies and oddities. In any work of agricultural welfare the means proposed must be such that it may be possible for the average cultivator of humble means to adopt.

The activities of the various departments of Government, and especially of the Agriculture and the Veterinary Departments have to be tuned and tempered accordingly. The Neutral Ammonium Sulphate, the Ammophos and Diamonophos may be experimented for the production of better and more Jute, if it is within the means of the average cultivator to purchase them. All manners of manorial experiments may still be carried on with Jute in the agricultural farms, if they are needed in the interest of the grower. Mango trees may be planted in their scores in farms of Eastern Districts to study the causes of mango weevil, if the flooded lands of these districts can grow mangoes. Heavy bulls may be imported from foreign countries if the benefit reaches the cultivator. The rab-furnace, the power-driven pug-mill and improved molasses-furnace may be further improved if they can be within the means of the average villager, The Rhode Island Reds and Orpingtons may merrily run about the poultry farm if they can spread though the rural areas of Bengal. The 'Meston' and other improved ploughs may be devised to replace the simple plough of the peasant, if they can be drawn by his weak cattle. Otherwise any research, experiment and demonstration that cannot be of direct and immediate benefit to the cultivator of humble means may wait till the immediate problems are at least partially tackled. The peasant with his small holding must be the background of all planning and programme.<sup>40</sup>

---

40. *ibid* pp. 343-44

The problem facing Bengal to-day is complex in the extreme and requires tacking in many varieties of its phases. The economic well-being of the peasant has no one solution. Let us not be under any delusion that the mere solution of the tenancy problem of Bengal is a panacea of all the evils. Even if the Permanent Settlement is totally abolished and the chain of intermediaries be wiped away by a stroke of the pen, we must have clear notion as to how far it will help the peasant to get two square meals a day. Reforms are no doubt urgently needed in agrarian and land laws of the province. But that is only one of the many problems and does not exhaust all that has to be done.

Mr. Huque offered that market needs to grow with in the province. The work has to be so planned and organized that the soil of Bengal may be made to yield all those that can be made to grow within the province. Calcutta and wider Calcutta have a large market. There are 77 markets including 7 Municipal markets within the limits of the Municipal Corporation of Calcutta. The revenues of the 7 Municipal markets fetch over 13 laces of rupees annually. Near about one lak and half of sheep and over one lak and half of goats are slaughtered for the Calcutta markets every year. Potatoes, peas and tomatoes, pine apples, guavas and oranges, papayas, mangoes and litchis, poultry and eggs, goats and sheep are imported in huge quantity and number for Calcutta from outside the province. And yet most of them can be grown within the province.

He also offered that in any planning of agriculture, the trend of modern developments in other regions of the world may be profitably studied. The world to-day is not what it was even a few years back. Economic

welfare of the rural masses is now the most prominent feature of all State activities. Higher interests of national life are rising above the egoism of classes and groups. Free play of competition is being rapidly abandoned in favor of planned production and distribution. Integrity of property and sanctity of contracts stand as no serious obstacle in readjusting the terms of agricultural loans and in eliminating peasant's debt burden. Capitalism without being scrapped up is being leveled down in the higher interests of the community. Economic theories are continuously giving way to economic policies evolved in the exigencies of difficulties. Here in India, men, even with the best of intentions, do not often realize the extent of the new deals in the world to-day. Though neither full nor comprehensive nor even systematic, they are primarily intended to serve as mere indications of tendency and ideology abroad. The world abroad has a large fund of practical knowledge and scientific facts within the last decade; numerous measures taken for agricultural welfare have added to the experience of the people and the experience of the Government, have affected economic forces and have now woven into the development of life.

Mr. Huque also criticized the National Agricultural policy. He said that with our knowledge of the agrarian background in Bengal, we can evaluate conditions in terms of world experience and may guide ourselves in our future. The profitability of world agriculture depends on the intensity of farming, use of technical inventions, marketing organizations and development of Co-operation. Bengal agriculture and agriculturist stand very much behind by comparison and contrast. The need of the hour is a national agricultural policy and planning, national in the true sense of the term, in which the

Government and the people may work together in taking up ameliorative measures to benefit the rural millions. Unfortunately, we in India too often suffer from frozen nations and chilled ideas. Dead theories still play their part, and orthodoxy and dogmatism often clamp our thoughts and prove a dead-weight to all dynamic actions. Let beaten track be finally abandoned and all of us, peasant, organization and State, strive towards the betterment of the present conditions of rural agricultural life.

The urban interest has been the dominant key-note of most of our activities in the past. We have been more anxious for the 'Bhadraloks' and the city-dwellers. Often times only a few has been benefited at the cost of many. The emaciated, struggling peasant has grown jute and sugar-cane, but he has not always received full value for his crops. The wonder is that the small farmer on his five acre holding, weak and isolated as he is, should receive for his crop as much as he does, for as regards much of his produce he is confronted by a thoroughly organized body of distributors and by ultimate consumers no less well equipped, who are able to draw their supplies from every quarter of the globe.

But let us not moan about the past, so long we can take care of the future. Let us not be hard on anybody; probably things did not shape well in spite of the best intentions behind. The resources of the State and the will of the people should now combine to build up a better Bengal. The nation building activities of the government, the beneficent and ameliorative works of local bodies, the social services of the people and the parties should all be dominated by one note –are they for the benefit of the rural millions and to what extent they are so?

Mr. Huque obtained that let us realize that the vast population of the rural areas can no longer be kept content behind the plea of destiny or the inevitable. The peasant has come into contact with the world – he has seen the towns and cities, their wealth and opulence, their luxuries and pleasures- and he can no longer be kept a mere dumb plodder in the field. To-day his demands are modest, two square meals for himself and his family, minimum literacy for his children, a little healthy and sanitary outlook in his surroundings. Who knows, he will not make radical demands tomorrow? Small reforms not done in time only succeed in demands of drastic nature.

Unless the entire economic outlook of the country is changed in the interest of the rural masses, the very foundations of our economic life may be trembling and shaking, and instead of a stable social order, we may have society disintegrated to atoms and let not Bengal be the storm Centre of agrarian difficulties. A nation that neglects its agriculture soon loses its vitality and a bold peasantry when once destroyed can never be supplied. A few cannot live happily in a Democracy without taking the millions with them. Let us realize that the dominance of the agricultural vote has changed the color of the country and let something be done, before the political allegiance of the rural constituencies may perchance be allied with social disorders.

Finally Mr. Huque said that fortunately there are signs of hope, however faint they might be. Here and there men are growing to their senses, even though dark shadows are still around us. Let the province only read the signs of the times and the dangers that threaten it. The

sleeping village may still be sleeping but it will soon awake with its millions and when awake with its millions and when awake, let them not suffer from agonies and pangs of hunger, thirst, illness, and illiteracy driving them to frenzied and mad acts. And we “should think kindly of them, for in truth they are very gallant gentlemen.”<sup>41</sup>

Mr. Huque was one of them who had studied the irrigation problem and he had the most prominent figure during the irrigation debates in the council at that time. It was mainly at his instance that the irrigation budget had now a summery form to make better intelligible to the lay man. Sir William Will Cox refereed to Mr. Huque in his book on ‘Ancient Irrigation in Bengal’. He had been a consistent championed of the Raiyat’s interest in the Bengal Council and during the Bengal Tenancy debate he positioned in the opposition with vigor and courage.

He mentioned all micro and macro level problems of farmer’s community besides Zeminder tradition which were discussed in this section. He also believed that food deficit can be fulfilled by ensuring supply of good fertilizer and improving irrigation system. He also believed that relevant authorities are responsible for these things. Beyond this he suggested to provide low interest loan to farmers to continue agricultural production. Through these initiatives farmers will get relief from inhuman life.

---

41. *Ibid.* pp. 343-349



### 6.3. His Contribution on Economic Development:

He was the only representative from Bengal on the Lothian Committee where he had contributed lot by his wisdom. As a member of the Bengal Banking Enquiry Committee, he involved to conduct economic surveys of the district of Birbhum. He was Vice-President of the Bengal Board of Industries, a member of the Bengal Jute Enquiry Committee, a member of the Bengal Board of Economic Enquiry and a member of the Bengal Retrenchment Committee.<sup>42</sup> As a member of Jute Enquiry Committee, Mr. Huque observed that the other contributory cause to the low price for grower is the multiplicity of the middle men between the grower and the consumer. In the absence of any contact between the producer and the consumer the grower gets only a portion of the total value not even sufficient to meet his cost of production. The Farias and the Beparis and Arathdars, the merchants and the balers come in between the grower and the consumer. The number of middle men is larger in the case of jute than in the case of other crops. It is partly due to the prevalent practices and partly to the especially process of balling required at the finishing stage of the export of the fiber. According to the evidence before the Bengal Jute enquiry committee, the number of Bapparis in Narayanganj centre along was estimated to be over two thousand. The prevalence of different weight in different localities and the practice of additional weights and tollages further reduce the resultant price for

---

42. *Star of India*, Friday, June 15, 1934, Bengal's New minister Khan Bahadur Azizul Huque Selected Takes Charge Today

the cultivator. It appears from evidence before the Jute enquiry committee that various tolls are levied by middle man; dryage allowance known as Dhalta is often deducted in calculating the way of weight of Jute sold. Some extra jute known as Dasturi is always taken with each maund weighed; the sellers have often to give about two seers extra per maund; Ten percent wastage is generally charged in mofussil centre; the beparis have in some places to give about 145 seers extra per each 100 maunds; in others even an excess of 12.5 maunds per hundred maunds. Weighing charges, staff allowance, charges for festival and functions, sometimes even contributions for goshalas and other charitable institutions are realized and in some places the seller has to pay even for the cost of the Barber, the washer man, the weigh man, the sorter and such other staff of the purchasing firms! The Calcutta firms generally get an extra weight of five seers per kutcha bale. According an estimate made by the deputy director of agriculture, eastern circle, Dhaka, the lowest grade of Farias make a profit of 4-8 annas per maund, the Baparies make 4-8 annas per maund, the Mohajans make 4-8 annas per maund, kutcha balers 4-8 annas per maund, so the Calcutta price is Rs.5 per maund, growers does not get more than Rs. 3. The cost of transit from village to outline markets and Jute centres, including the Baparie's profit should not ordinarily exceed at the highest 3 annas per maund. The difference between the village price and the price at outlying Jute centres should not, therefore, exceed 3 annas per maund, but it was reported before Jute enquiry committee that the difference was on an average 6 annas per maund at Mymensigh at some times went even up to 8 annas at Narayanganj. For this reason he wants to make a fixed price for farmer benefit.<sup>43</sup>

---

43. *The Man behind The Plough* pp.69-70

On the score of technical industrial education which is destined to play a leading role in the nations march to full industrialization, Muslim requirements would be met partially by the fruition of the scheme drawn by the committee, headed by Professor A.V.Hill, that meet at Delhi recently for the establishment at Aligarh of a Muslim Institute of Science and Technology.<sup>44</sup> In the Bengal Legislative Council, he has been a member since 1926; he has been a member of the Public Accounts Committee for the last eight years with only a short break. He had been an active member of the Select Committee of every important Bill. He introduced the Bengal Money Lenders Bill as a private Legislation and successfully carried it though the Council, he has been a member of various Standing Committee Mr. Huque was considered as one who had specially studied the Irrigation problems and has been the most prominent figure during the Irrigation debates in the council during the last few years. It was mainly at his instance that the Irrigation Budget has now a summary form to make it better intelligible to the layman. Sir William Willcox referred to M. Huque in his book in inside Bengal. He has been a consistent champion of the Raiyat's interest in the Bengal Council and during the Bengal Tenancy debts he let the opposition with vigor and courage.<sup>45</sup>

Mr. Huque has recruited as High Commissioner and moved to Britain in 1942. He has recruited as executive councilor of Viceroy and taken over responsibility of Business and Industries after returning from Britain. He introduced scheme of all India Technological at that time; as a result a technological institute has been established in Kachrapara.

---

44. *Through The Editor's Eyes; The Whip: July 3, 1944; Muslim Education Problems.*

45. *Star of India, Friday, June 15, 1934, Bengal's New minister Khan Bahadur Azizul Huque Selected Takes Charge Today.*

On the score of technical industrial education which is destined to play a leading role in the nations march to full industrialization, Muslim requirements would be met partially by the fruition of the scheme drawn by the committee, headed by Professor A.V. Hill, that meet at Delhi recently for the establishment at Aligarh of a Muslim Institute of Science and Technology.<sup>46</sup>

He said that “to-day there is no one remedies against any recurrence of such serious economic situation, but the most urgent need is to widen the basis of agriculture in the province- to grow more secondary crops and other suitable money crops. It is not likely that the price level will have any quick adjustment in the near future. But even if that were possible, we must even now realize the economic folly of virtual dependence only upon two main crops. Every crisis has its lessons for the future and the last crisis will not go in vain if it can teach Bengal to take to other money crops, instead of mainly depending upon jute and rice.

---

46. *Through the Editor's Eye; The Whip: July 3, 1944; Muslim Education Problems.*

Lemons, pine-apples and papayas, potatoes, bananas, groundnuts, mustard and mustard-oil, sugar, wheat and pulses of all kinds, poultry, eggs and live-stock come in large quantities from outside places. The soil of Bengal is also suitable for the produce of all these articles. English vegetables of all kinds can be a profitable study for the economist to find out the extent to which Bengal is dependent upon outside supply of these articles. A careful organization of market and adequate marketing facilities for these supplies for these supplies would go a great way to improve the economic condition of the Bengal raiyat.<sup>47</sup>

He was closely connected with the passing of Bengal tenancy Act of 1928, Bengal Money Lender Act, it would be well to mention here that at present money lending and usury in Bengal are regulated by the Bengal Money Lender Acts of 1933 which M. Azizul Huque introduced as a private bill and piloted through the old Bengal legislative council.

The Bengal Money Lender Act 1933 has been subjected to criticism on the ground that it did not afford sufficient relief to the agriculturists. It is argued that even the prescribed rates of interest are too much for the people to pay. The criticism may be well founded by the fact remains that it was the best scheme under the then existing circumstances. The Bengal Agriculture Debtors Act of 1935-36 and the Bengal Tenancy Act of 1938 he had a great contribution.

---

47. *The Man Behind The plough*, p-61

M. Azizul Huque observed economic condition of Bengal deeply since his student life. According to his view, poverty was the main barrier for Muslim education. Besides this, during his analysis on agro-economics in his book 'The Man Behind the Plough' he discussed about economic power of farmers, economic crisis and effect of price hike and price down which was considered by the government. But there was no scope to analysis and execute his recommendations due to unrest condition for Second World War. Effects Famine 1943 on Bengal might be less, if his economic thought and suggestions could be executed properly.

## 6.4. His Contribution on Social Development:

Mr. Azizul Huque had a member of the faculty of Law and of Arts, a member of the Board of Studies in Economics and of Sanskrit Languages in the University of Calcutta, and examiner in Law in the Calcutta and Aligarh University, Mr. Huque was also a member of the Central Textbook Committee for the last few years and as such was elected Chairman of the History Syllabus Committee, of the Biblical and Islamic Names Transliteration Committee and was for some time also the Chairman of the History Board of the Test Book Committee. In his district he was the Secretary of the Krishnagar Technical School which is one of the best run institutions of its kind in Bengal. A member of the Governing Body of Krishnagar College, of Collegiate School, the Secretary or President of several educational institutions in the district of Nadia and a member of many others, he has been in the forefront of all local activities in his district. He was involved with the Scout Movement. He was elected a member of the Executive Committee of the Bengal Territorial Advisory Committee for some time. He was unanimously elected the Chairman of the Krishnagar Municipality, a Board of Commissioners with only four Muslims and he held the Vice Chairmanship of the Nadia District Board.<sup>48</sup>

---

48. *Star of India, Friday, June 15, 1934, Bengal's New Minister Khan Bahadur Azizul Huque Selected Takes Charge Today*

He was the Vice President of the Bengal for some time and Assam postal R.M.S association and the president of the Nadia postal and RMS union, secretary of the Nadia exhibition in 1926 and 1927, member of the East Bengal railway advisory committee for last five years, he was also for some time a member of the Indian Police Service selection committee, the Bengal Civil Services and other Services Recruitment committee and other selection committees and boards.<sup>49</sup>

As reputed Lawyer, he was the public prosecutor of Nadia for some years, though his work in public life left him very little time to devote himself to his professional works.<sup>50</sup> He was a Secretary of Hajj Committee, Nadia. He was also a Secretary of Nadia Anjuman Ittefaque Islam. In 1938 he was a member of Bengal Film Censor Board. Member of Bengal scout Committee. He was involved many other social institute.

Mr. Azizul Huque believed that religious faith, positive changes of people and responsible behavior of every citizen can build up a happy and prosperous society. As per his opinion, educational institutions can teach people for these changes. To fulfill these objectives he gave emphasis on the moral education in educational institutions.

---

49. *Star of India*, Friday, June 15, 1934, Bengal's New minister Khan Bahadur Azizul Huque Selected Takes Charge Today.

50. *Ibid*



## 6.5. Cultural Development and his Contribution:

Sir M. Azizul Huque worked for cultural development. As a Muslim he like and believe in Islamic culture but this does not mean he was a fanatic. He mentioned that to us social texture is essentially religious. An oriental mind finds no comfort in the material aspect of human life. Religion is the universal axiom of our salvation. Our education must be therefore combined with morality and religion based on the highest ideals of life preached by Islam and the East. With the introduction of English education and culture, the country has fallen prey to the conflict of ideals and the problem to be solved is how to assimilate the West without any deviation in the course of oriental evolution. And of all, this is the task that is mainly ours. I can conceive of no greater insult to the spirit and traditions of Islam than to ask the Government to undertake our moral and religious teachings.<sup>51</sup>

An eight points program of education reform was put forward by the commerce members at Jubbulpore. He advocated re-planning of the constitution and activities of the all India Muslim educational conference; organization of provincial and state branches; special boards in every province and state to ensure proper selection of text book suited to Muslim culture and thoughts;

---

51. *History and Poblems of Moslem Education in Bengal*,p. 100

an Islamic research organization furnishing facilities including scholarship for research; Inter provincial and international contact between Muslim teachers and students; Evolution of uniform pattern for Muslim schools; establishment a body to coordinate activities of oriental institutions and lastly, facilities for lecture for eminent scholars on the history and culture of Islam.<sup>52</sup>

Mr. Azizul Huque believed that “India has differences but what country in the World is without its difference? Ours is a vast country and therefore, It is natural we should have many languages but please remember Indians are essentially a united people despite their many languages and creeds.”<sup>53</sup>

I would like to quote two important things which show very positive impression on his political thought, view and moral characteristics. Ms. Shahanara Alam (his daughter) mentioned refereeing her father’s words that once her father told “Keep in mind; you cannot purchase all goods from market even though you bring much money with you. Money will not be sufficient for you. Therefore, reduce your demand so that you can minimize your expenses within the limit.” Another day returning from Delhi in June, 1946 he told that “It is good that I returned and there is scope to live together with family. I could not see the upper side of life because I want to see how much I have grown up in my life. This thinking will increase the demand and mental dissatisfaction. Always I saw lower side to understand how much I have rose in my life. You can get mental satisfaction by this type of thinking. So I have no dissatisfaction in my life.”<sup>54</sup>

---

52. *Through the editor’s eyes; The Whip: July 3, 1944; Muslim Education Problems*

53. *Shahanara Alam and Husniara Huq, ibid, 357*

54. *Ibid.12*

## 6.6. His Political Thoughts and Contribution:

When Mr. Huque was a student, he connected with Muslim League. After completing education life, he went to Kishnagar and practiced law. At that time he was involved with various social works and local politics. As I came to know, he was involved with Muslim League in his student life. He was attracted on Krishok Praja Party when he was involved with local politics but finally he returned in the Muslim League again.

When he was a speaker of Bengal Legislative council as the first Speaker of the Bengal Legislative Assembly he has been responsible for guiding the destinies of a body which, in spite of these times of stress and strain, has developed in political sense. The task of Mr. Speaker is one of the most difficult that can fall to any man, since he must maintain unremitting watch on the proceedings and be prepared to give impartial judgment on a wide variety of problems. It is hard, indeed well-nigh impossible, to please every day. Speaker Sir Azizul Huque has lived up to the best traditions of the office. Throughout his term he has shown himself ready to devote the whole of his ability to the good of the Assembly, and he is looked to by all for justice and impartiality.

As a High Commissioner of India, he said, "India is united in diversity. There can be no withstanding the unanimous desire of 400 million people for liberty from foreign domination. India is capable of guiding her own destiny he asserted."<sup>55</sup>

---

55. *Shahanara Alam and Husniara Huq, Azizul Huque: A Biographical Account of his Life and Work, Dhaka 1994, p.262*

This was a very critical stage in the Allies fortune during Second World War with the Germans almost daily pounding London and the imminent prospect of enemy invasion. Azizul Huque assured the British Government of India's participation in war effort.

When he was High Commissioner in London he expressed his views on the independence of India at difference conference and meetings. During interview with Reuter in London at May 5, 1942 he said "we claim our right to lead our own destiny. We have experience and ability to govern our own country." <sup>56</sup>

In 1943, when Mr. Huque came back to India, he found a considerable amount of press speculation about himself. Immediately after his arrival in Calcutta he was requested to see His Excellency the governor, and both His Excellency and Lady Mary Herbert and almost all party leader extremely anxious that he should accept the prime minister ship of Bengal and lead an all-party cabinet. He thought and said, "the affairs in Bengal were in a terrible mess. The last ministry made terrible humbles and stories of all kinds are raging in the market. On consideration of all circumstances I thought it not prudent on my part to accept the gravest responsibility at the time of this crisis, especially after so much mis handling of affairs by others, unless certain conditions precedent were satisfied and I know they would not be. I informed His Excellency the governor that it would be impossible for me to form an all-party cabinet unless I was able to exclude some of the ex-ministers from the cabinet altogether and also immediately transfer a few dozen of officers from Calcutta. In any case, I was not prepared to accept this responsibility. On the other hand, when I arrived at Delhi on the 25<sup>th</sup> morning, I had

---

56. *Interview with Reuter in London at May 5, 1942*

Several interview with his Excellency the Viceroy, and on the 16<sup>th</sup> he invited me to join his cabinet as a member of executive Council. I could not know the portfolio proposed for me, but I was asked to wait for some time. On the 16<sup>th</sup> April, I received a communication from His Excellency, inviting me to be in charge of the portfolio of commerce, Industry and Civil Supplies which includes Food. Circumstances left me no alternative but to accept. My association with Mr. Lall, yourself and others in office had been so pleasant and so cordial that I had a good deal of feelings within me to part company so soon after. Circumstances, however, left me no other alternative; the portfolios proposed will no doubt give me many opportunities to serve India in India. To be of some service to the Motherland within the country is certainly an attraction, but quite apart, considerations of the family and specially the health one of my daughters was such that I thought it best to accept the offer. She has been very ill for some time and could not possibly leave her to go to England even a few months later. In any case, the formal announcement has not yet come, but I am expecting that by the time you receive this letter you will not know about this appointment formally but also probably the name of the next High Commissioner will be announced.”<sup>57</sup> Above quotations showed about his great moral characteristics which keep him far away from greed of power. That is why he did not accept the offer of Prime Ministership of Bengal 1943.<sup>58</sup> Also he rejected all titles bestowed on him by the British government on August 16, 1946. It is evidence of his great mentality. Actually, He is immortal by his political philosophy and contribution. His political thought can be a role model of present and future policy maker.

---

57. *Bhiaya Iqbal, ibid pp-109-110*

58. *Ibid. p. 268*

## **6.7. Legal reform: His views, thoughts and contribution:**

I would like to discuss about Sir Mohammed Azizul Huque's thought and contribution on Legal reform in two parts. First part is on his views/statements on the facts hold up to 1912 and second part is facts hold after 1912.

### **VIEWS ON THE FACTS HOLD UP TO 1912:**

The collection of the mehal was accordingly vested in the hands of Maulovi Mujeeduddin, but he had no ability in the management and supervision of Zemindary affairs. About the year 1788, it was thought necessary to appoint another officer to look after the Zemindary work connected with the Madrassah and an Amin was appointed for the purpose. Unfortunately however he was vested with considerable power over internal discipline, and management of the institution. In the whole history of the world administration, the principle of dual control has never been successful and this was the very system inaugurated in the affairs of the Madrassah. As was but natural it proved a failure.<sup>58</sup>

The first Legislative enactment recognizing the policy of education in India is found in a provision of Act 53, George III Ch. 153 of 1813 which laid down that the surplus of the company's revenue, in no year to be a sum of not less than one lak of rupees, is to be spent for the spread of native education. But the Court of Directors in their dispatch of the 3<sup>rd</sup> June, 1814, instructing as to the ways of spending the amount, entirely

---

58. *History and problems of Moslem education in Bengal*, p.42

ignored the interest of the Mahommedan community and of their learning and sciences contained in Arabic and Persian works and confined their instructions to the promotion of Sanskrit learning among the Hindus.<sup>59</sup>

The Court of Directors sent in the meantime another dispatch of 29<sup>th</sup> September, 1830, in which, however, they gave decided preference to the promotion of English learning. Natives are to be gradually qualified for situations of higher importance and trust. English is to be gradually introduced as the language of public business in all official departments. Justice is to be administered in the language of the people. The dispatch marks the beginning of the close of the chapter of Persian and Arabic supremacy in India. For Moslems it was a death blow to their indigenous system of culture and training.<sup>60</sup>

University education in India began with the policy of the “open door”, without any distinction of caste or creed. Act 11 of 1857 which established and incorporated the university of Calcutta was enacted for the purpose of spreading a liberal course of education among all sections of “Her Majesty’s subjects”.

But prior to this, Persian was abolished as the court language. There was neither any provision for the teaching of Persian or Arabic under the new University system; the teaching and the inspecting staff specially in the subordinate Branches was mostly manned by the

---

59. *History and problems of Moslem education in Bengal*, p 12

60. *History and problems of Moslem education in Bengal* pp.13-14

Hindus and above all a thorough and learning foreign to the Moslems were for the first time introduced into the land. Holding paramount power in India for several centuries, the Mahommedans even in the fifties and the sixties of the last century could not bring themselves up to modify their feelings towards the new situation and surroundings. They had to adopt a new language, and a literature still foreign to them, in lieu of their own –rich with lore's of wisdom, capable of affording a high degree of intellectual training and polish. The introduction of English was by some regarded as a step towards conversion to Christianity.

For such and perhaps for other reasons, the Mahommedans, fresh with the memory of the past, could not reconcile themselves to the new system of liberal education.<sup>61</sup>

In its Resolution No.10/309, dated the 23<sup>rd</sup> October, 1884, the Government of India reviewing the recommendations of the Commission and laying down its general policy with reference to Mahommedan education said that “in view of the backward conditions into which the members of that community have fallen,” the Governor General thinks it “desirable to give them in some respects exceptional assistance”.

In February, 1882, a memorial was addressed to His Excellency Lord Ripon by the Central National Mahommedan Association. “It called attention to the decayed position of Mahommedans in India, to the causes which had in the opinion of memorializes led to this decadence

---

61. *ibid*, pp.19-20



and to the circumstances which in their belief tended to perpetuate that condition.” The Government of India circulated the memorial to various Local Governments for reports thereon and it was also discussed and considered by the Education Commission. Nawab Abdul Latif in a memorandum demurred the memorial being accepted as the exponent of the views of the Mahommedan community and criticized the memorial in several important points. Lord Ripon was, however, unable to deal with the question before he left India, but he “left on record an expression of his hope that it would receive full consideration at the hands of his successor, the Earl of Dufferin”.

The memorial, its numerous correspondences from all over India, the reports of the Local Governments formed the basis of a Resolution by His Excellency in Council No.7/21525 in the Home Department-Education,(dated , 15<sup>th</sup> July,1885) reviewing the history of the measures which had been adopted by Government since 1871, in the cause of Mahommedan Education and giving expression to the views of the Government on the subject, with special reference to the recommendations of the Education Commission. The Resolution has its special importance in this that it gave the Moslems a sound and states manly warning and that it also conveyed the sympathy of the Government of India towards the Mussalmans of India respecting their future educational and other prospects and welfare. “It is only by frankly placing themselves in line with the Hindus and taking full advantage of the Government system of high and especially of English education that the Mahommedans can hope fairly to hold their own in respect of the better description of state appointments.”

In September, 1901, Lord Curzon convened the Conference of the leading members of the Government, the Director of Public Instruction from every province and the representatives of principal Colleges and the Universities. The Conference made a preliminary survey of the whole educational field. In January, 1902, the Indian University Commission was appointed and its report was published in June. On the basis of the commission's recommendation the Indian university act was passed to amend the laws relating to the universities of the British. It received the assent of the governor general on the 24 March and came in to force on the 25 September, 1904. As far as the university of Calcutta is concerned revision was made of its rules and regulations which was approved the finally came into operation in July 1906. The university entered in a new phase of its life. No longer was it for encouragement in the pursuit of a liberal course of education. It was for the purpose (among others) of making provision for the instruction of students with powers to appoint University Professors and Lecturers, to hold and to manage educational endowments, to erect, equip and maintain University libraries, laboratories and museums, to make regulations relating to the residence and control of students and to do all acts consistent with the act of incorporation and the Indian Universities Act, 1904, which tend to the promotion of study and research.<sup>62</sup>

The Resolution of the Bengal Government No.4147, dated the 16<sup>th</sup> November, 1915, would now complete the tale of the Mohsin Endowment Fund. The Resolution has effected fresh change in the

---

62. M. Azizul Huque, *History and problems of Moslem education in Bengal*. pp.56-57

policy of the distribution of the Mohsin Fund. The Government has now provincialized the cost of all Government Madrassahs and the charges for grants-in-aid to non-Government Madrassahs. The Mohsin Fund has been set free from the charges which should have been borne from the Provincial Revenues. The Resolution strikes a definite departure in the policy of Government followed from 1873 up till 1915.<sup>63</sup>

At the census of 1911, it was found that only about three-tenths of the total numbers of literate persons in Presidency were Mahommedans, though more than half of the population professes the faith of Islam. It was then pointed out that though there had been a remarkable expansion of Mahommedan Education, it had not yet had time to produce its full effect on the statistics, and that only 4 % of the community was literate.

A study of more recent statistics shows that only in the primary stage of education is the number of Mahommedan pupils at all commensurate with the proportion which the community bears to the population which the community bears to the population of Bengal and even here the percentage (42) is below their proportional strength. In more advanced stages of education the ratio falls steadily being 25.3% in middle schools, 16.8% in high schools, and only 7.8% in Colleges". It may be noted here that in Bengal the Moslems are no less than 24 million and represent 52.3% of the total population against 45.2% of the Hindus.<sup>64</sup>

On the other hand, Lord Rippon established Muslim representation local government in Bengal through Bengal Local Self Government Act 1885. It was appreciated by him.

---

63. *ibid.* p. 75

64. *History and Problems of Moslem Education in Bengal pp. 81-82*

**VIEWS ON THE FACTS HOLD AFTER 1912:**

In attempting to solve this problem, the Hindus and the Mussalmans have, generally speaking, suggested different remedies, and for the past two decades the two communities have been keeping up this difference. From time to time, on the eve of constitutional changes, some patched-up truce was arranged or some "workable" formulas were arrived at to keep up a united front on constitutional issues. Such for example, were the Lucknow Pact of December 1926, Mr. C. R. Das's Pact of 1923, the Delhi proposals of 1927 and the Unity resolution of the Madras Congress in 1927. The problem has to be faced once again and its immediate solution is an imperative constitutional necessity today.

The Nehru Committee recommended a free electorate for the Presidency of Bengal and in doing so; it commended a careful study of certain statistical facts. On the basis of these figure, the Committee came to the conclusion that in a free electorate, the Moslems in Bengal could 'certainly have nothing to fear,' that 'there is no foundation in fact for the fear entertained by the Moslems' and that they could be assured of over 60% seats in the Legislature in an open general election.

We need not here enter into a controversy over the probable correctness or otherwise, of the recommendation on the assumption made by the Nehru Committee, viz, that there would be adult franchise or at any rate some franchise which would ensure that the number of electors of the various communities bears the same ratio each to other as the population figures of these communities. Suffice it to say that it is really a very large assumption and in practical politics, it is doubtful how far it is justifiable to come to conclusions affecting the future constitution

of a country on an assumption of such large magnitude. Whether adult franchise is yet feasibility for a vast Presidency like Bengal, where universal and compulsory primary education seems still to be far off and whether or not the electorate would break down if this stage, are questions on which it is very difficult to come to any safe conclusion. But if the question of adult franchise is left aside as beyond the range of practical or likely politics, it is not possible to devise any franchise or any property qualification common to both communities that can ensure the number of electors of the various communities bearing the same proportion as the population figures of those communities. The Moslem electorates are bound to be smaller as the Muslims are the poorer community and in Bengal, the political strength of the Moslems is decidedly weaker than their numbers indicate. In surveying such a complicated and controversial subject as this, facts are only things which must be allowed to count and hence I have confined my remarks to practical realities rather than hazy theories. Muslims would not be so instant on separate electorates had they not been bitter sufferers in the past. They have bought their experience at a great price: but the sufferings and sacrifices of their political pioneers of the past will have been well worthwhile if the utmost profit is obtained there from in the present and the future. To state the truth in this matter is the least that can be done in this difficult times, and if this little exposition has in any way cleared the atmosphere of the fogs of doubt, its purpose will have been served.

To conclude separate electorate are only the proven results of intensive political experiments and until the whole political outlook changes, there can be no thought of abandoning what the logic of facts

and the science of history have taught us as Muslims. May this exposition, therefore, be accepted in as friendly a spirit as it has been written. His 'A Plea for Separate Electorate' has a great contribution to get separate position of Muslim in the constitutions of 1935.

He was closely connected with the passing of Bengal tenancy Act of 1928, Bengal Money Lender Act, it would be well to mention here that at present money lending and usury in Bengal are regulated by the Bengal Money Lender Acts of 1933 which M. Azizul Huque introduced as a private bill and piloted through the old Bengal legislative council.

The Bengal Money Lender Act 1933 has been subjected to criticism on the ground that it did not afford sufficient relief to the agriculturists. It is argued that even the prescribed rates of interest are too much for the people to pay. The criticism may be well founded by the fact remains that it was the best scheme under the then existing circumstances. The Bengal Agriculture Debtors Act of 1935-36 and the Bengal Tenancy Act of 1938 he had a great contribution .<sup>65</sup>

After 1942, there was serious political unrest in India. In this context, as a member of Viceroy's Executive Council, In charge of Commerce & Industries, Civil Supplies & Food and Textile he tried to perform his responsibilities efficiently.

Mr. Huque was aware about political rights of Muslim of Bengal and he raised his voice to respective authority in favor of Muslim. I think Mr. Huque was a man who tried to solve all problems by his heart and soul.

---

65. *Banglapedia Vol. I, p. 347*

## **CHAPTER-VII**

## **EVALUATION**

## **7.1. EVALUATION**

Sir M. Azizul Huque was one of them those who were eminent in British Bengal due to their significant works and contributions. He had grown up in middle class family and held up top class positions when Bengal society was dominated by landlord or blue blooded family. He is an example of success: 'how a man can ascend in the top of success fighting with unfavorable condition'. This study found him as a brilliant politician, a great educator, an excellent philosopher, a good writer, a bright legal and social philanthropist and a high skilled bureaucrat.

Based on his bright political insight, he held several high level positions in his life. He held the positions of Vice–Chairman of Nadia District Board, member of the Bengal Legislative Council, Education Minister of Bengal (1934-1937) and Speaker of the Bengal Legislative Assembly (1937-1942). As a politician he held up a moral standard and ensured welfare of the poor citizen as much as possible. After great movement of 1857, British government took steps against Muslim in India. Muslims were deprived from all assistances of British government due to those steps. They were less educated and fallen in to the dark of the society. But Muslims have taken education and got chance of government jobs by the initiatives of Syed Ahmed, Sir Ameer Ali, Nawab Abdul Latif and others famous educators. Muslims were re thought about their development after Bengal partition of 1905. They started to see dream to live as an educated person not as a deprived citizen. But they were unpleased on the British Government due to abolish of Bengal Partition in 1911 and broken of Caliphate of Turkish as a result of First World War. They started Caliphate movement to protect Caliphate system.



Muslim development of last 60 years was going to stop due to Caliphate movement. Muslim started avoiding British assistance when Caliphate movement and non-cooperation movement was connected. Muslim students did not admit in government schools. They resigned from government jobs<sup>1</sup>. On the other hand, Hindus were taken the chance and filled out those vacant positions. Hindu-Muslim conflict was started.<sup>2</sup> Mahatma Gandhi and C. R. Das called a campaign to establish religious harmony which was failed; because non-cooperation movement was first started by the support of Mahatma Gandhi. On the other hand, entry in politics by the middle class and voting power of rich farmer create a new complex environment in 30<sup>th</sup> decade. In this period, politicians were started competition in favor of new voter to get vote. As a result, policy makers of the society considered the issues of deprived Muslims (new voter). But they did not considered issues of general farmers and land less labor. In this situation, Aziza Tuque entered in the politics actively and he raised voice to the government in favor of common people. He tried heart and soul by his initiatives to improve the situation of common people.

As I said, he raised his voice in favor of common people of the society whenever need. He tried to educate poor and under privileged group of people. In perspective of Hindu-Muslim conflict he supported for Pakistan state (1947). He did not curb any problems with view of any political party. He analyzed problem based on the practical ground with proper judgment which prove him as a brilliant politician. This study found him as a neutral and honest politician.

---

1. *Islami Bissokosh*, pp, 113-114

2. *Shila Sen, Muslim politics in Bengal 1937-1947*, p, 49

His proficiency and ability was made him a very good education minister (1934-1937) of Bengal. As an education minister he took very important initiatives to improve educational status of under privileged Muslim communities in Bengal. He sowed the seed of education among the Muslim in Bengal which is a big plant at present. He introduced free compulsory education for 6-10 years old boys at 9 No. ward of Calcutta Municipality. Implementation of free compulsory primary education act was started at Calcutta city through following his initiative. Education tax was imposed on the citizen of Mymensingh district as alternative option of government. As a result, free compulsory primary education was started in 1937. A free primary education day was observed on 3<sup>rd</sup> January 1938 to accomplish this objective. He declared a regulation on overall problem and progress of education in Bengal. Due to his step publicity had been continued to keep educational institutions free from political terrorism and communal conflict. Based on his recommendations, government recognized huge number of old Madrassah, government fulfilled the vacant positions of Muslim female teachers in government girl's schools and for the improvement of the pay scale of primary school teachers. He took a particular interest in the advancement of Muslim Education by granting Science Scholarships and by Overseas Scholarships from Mohsin Fund. He was largely instrumental in the change of the medium of Instruction from English to Bengali, and his Scheme of Primary Education is still in force. As an education minister, his above contribution had significant value to improve Muslim education in Bengal.

Free compulsory primary education had introduced in 1937 based on his steps. As effect of those initiatives secondary education is free along with primary education at present. He has taken steps to improve female education and recruitment of more Muslim female teachers in vacant positions in the government girl's schools. We have seen similar initiatives by our present government like free higher secondary education with scholarship for female students and 30% reserve position (quota) for female teacher. During in-depth analysis, it is found that there is a great effect of his steps and ideas on our present education system.

He jumped in to prominence by his ability as speaker; his in-depth knowledge on large number of subjects came before the house, his zeal and energy not only for his own community but for the province as a whole. In debate he has always been important measure did not show his name on its select committee. He had substantial contribution to pass Bengal Tenancy Bill (1938). He was closely associated with passing of the Bengal Tenancy Act of 1928 and the Bengal Money Lender's Act of 1933. But we give all credit of passing the above bills to A. K. Fazlul Huq as a chief minister of Bengal and leader of Krishok Proja Party.<sup>3</sup> As a speaker, he has lived up to the best traditions of the office. Throughout his term he has shown himself ready to devote the whole of his ability to the good of the Assembly, and he is looked to by all for justice and impartiality.

---

3. *Harun-or –Rashid, Foreshadowing of Bangladesh, pp,56-60*

He was a top class bureaucrat and he had played professional responsibilities at the home and abroad. He held the position of Government Pleader, Public Prosecutor, Vice Chancellor of the Calcutta University (1938-1942), High Commissioner for India in London (1942-1943) and Member of Viceroy's Executive Council-Delhi. He served on most of Public Committees of the Legislature and helped in the passage of tenancy and debt settlement legislations. He served in every important selection committee. As a V.C. of the Calcutta University he introduced Islamic History and Culture Department. As a high commissioner of India he expressed his assertive comments in favor of liberty of India in the world forum. During the Second World War, he played his responsibilities properly. He worked to eradicate Bengal Famine from his portfolio in the department of commerce, industries, civil supplies and food. He was very capable bureaucrat and he contributed lot in his positions. He was rewarded by government several times due to his excellent performance and contributions. He was made Khan Bahadur in 1926 and awarded CIE in 1937 and Knight in 1941. But in support of the protest call given by the Muslim League against the Vice Roy's actions, he renounced all titles bestowed on him by the British government on August 16, 1946. It is evident of his strong moral characteristics.

During evaluate his professional life, we found that undoubtedly he was a devoted bureaucrat and he worked for welfare of common people. He was always active in taking steps for welfare of mass people. He presented the problems of common people to the government several times. So, he has taken some positive steps to change the situation of

common people exercising his government power. Beside this, he was active to ensure own country benefit as a High Commissioner.

As a social reformer, member of the Bengal Banking enquiry committee and Bengal Jute enquiry committee, his separate report on the whole subject being commonly regarded as an independent of great value. He was always and everywhere championed the interests of the Raiyats and the farmers. In debate he was readily fluent, much better than well informed, good tempered, courteous. He was advanced by his own ability, energy and services to the public. He was made an acceptable place in the public life in the province. In his district he was the Secretary of Krishnagar Technical School which is one of the best run institution its kind in Bengal and he had been in the forefront of all local activities in his district. As a member of Banking Enquiry committee, he made economic survey of Birhum. Mr. Huque was considered as one who had specially studied the irrigation problem and had been the most prominent figure during the irrigation debates in the council at that time. This study found him as a very bright and active social reformer because he was actively involved with different reform committees and contributed lot for Bengal.

As a social reformer he is very important to us because he sacrificed his life to reform the society. We should keep in mind that he raised from middle class family. So, it was not easier for him to reform the society like as other elite class people. Firstly he had to achieve believable position in the society. It is found analyzing his life that he raised the problem of Muslim education to the government from his student life. As an education minister he reformed the education system taking

courageous steps. Besides this, not only he raised the farmer's problem to the government but also he wrote some books, speeches and organized campaign on the issues. He believed that nation cannot develop without developing citizens. So involvement of everybody with development is essential. But the task was very much difficult. He observed that maximum people of the country is farmer. So he wanted to improve farmer's situation through providing education of their son and daughters. His ultimate objective was to build poverty free educated society. If we want to compare his contribution with others, he is not less important contributor than Raja Ram Mohon Roy as social reformer. Similarly as an education reformer, he should not get less importance than Syed Ameer Ali or Syed Ahmed. Unfortunately we are not evaluating him properly and there is no acknowledgment of his contributions like others.

As a writer Sir Azizul Huque did not write to create literature. His aim was to ensure welfare of mass people through improvement of education and economy. That is why, though he started writing by poem but he established himself as a writer of informative book. His Bengali literature is very few; we have found only three Poems, two Articles, and two written Speeches in Bengali. Numbers of English Articles are not many but all of them are very important. Only two articles were published by 'the Morning Sun' and 'the Mussalman Journal'. Some Articles were published by monthly newspapers which are rare at present. But around ten booklets were published in the period of 1913-1942; most of them were written speeches which were presented in the convocation of different universities. Three books were published; among them two books were translated and published in 1969 and

1992. An English book named “The Sword of Crescent Moon” unfinished life history of Prophet Hazrat Mohammad (sm); he wrote to 17<sup>th</sup> chapter of the book. His three daughters (Shahanara Alam, Rawshon-Ara-Dastogir and Husniara Huq) completed 18th to 23rd chapters and published the book after his death in 1984. His first booklet on ‘Mohemmadan Education’ was published when he was twenty years old.<sup>4</sup> His ‘Mahommedan Education’ published and appreciated by eminent persons. He presented the article on ‘Mahommedan Education’ at Calcutta Muslim Institute in the evening of 11 December of 1914. Mr. W. W. Hornell was chaired the program, Syed Nowab Ali Chowdury, A. K. Fazlul Huq, A. D. P. Tailor, Majharul Huq, Mujibur Rahman were presented in the program at 11<sup>th</sup> December, 1914.<sup>5</sup> It is example of his extra ordinary talent. Mr. Azizul Huque was conferred D. Litt (Honoris Causa) by university of Calcutta. He was not a regular writer. He wrote in the gap of his duties, social & political works and administrative responsibilities. Though he was not a professional writer but he considered as a great writer for his two books named ‘History and Problems of Muslim Education in Bengal (1917)’ and ‘The Man Behind the Plough (1939)’.

‘The Sword of Crescent Moon’ published after his death (1984). The publisher of Crescent Moon mentioned that after Syed Ameer Ali, Sir Azizul Huque is the second most important Bengali Muslim writer who wrote in English on the Holy Prophet (Sm). As per my knowledge, among both of them M. Azizul Huque is the only Bangladeshi (in British

---

4. *Bhuiya Iqbal, Sir Azizul Huque, p.28*

5. *Ibid p. 32*

period) who wrote in English on Holy Prophet (Sm). One of my key informants (Prof. Sirajul Islam) mentioned that only Mr. Huque and Mr. Nehru wrote regular basis besides their social and political work in this subcontinent.

An article 'Primary Education in Bengal' was published in the 'Bulbul' a high quality Bengali Literature paper, edited by Habibullah Bahar and Shamsunahar (Mahmud) in Mugh 1343. At the same time the article was published in Eid special issue of 'The Mussalman' in 1936 edited by Mujibur Rahman.<sup>6</sup> His fatherly Mozammel Haque was the founder member of 'Bangio Mussalman Shahitta Samity' (est. 1911). Mr. Azizul Huque was involved with the Samity. He was president of reception committee of 6<sup>th</sup> conference of the Samity and delivered speech which was held in 6-7 May, 1939 (At that time he was V.C. of Calcutta University). The conference was opened by Prime Minister A. K. Fazlul Huq and chaired by Abdul Karim Shahitto Bisharod. The speech of Azizul Huque was published in the 'Shawgat' in Jaisto 1346 (Bangabdo). He was involved with cultural organization in Delhi when he was Executive Counselor of Viceroy. He delivered speeches in the programs organized by Delhi Bengal Shahitta Samity. This study found his interest on literature and culture in the written speech delivered in the mourn ceremony program of Rabindranath Tagore in 1941.<sup>7</sup>

---

6. *Ibid*, p.29

7. *Ibid*, p.31



He had a good relation with Rabindranath Tagore, Nazrul Islam, Karunanidhan Bondhopadhyay, Shahadat Hossain, Abul Fazle. Rabindranath wrote a letter to inspire him about Bengali translation of 'Man Behind the Plough'. Kazi Nazrul Islam wrote a song (You are not only for Nadia, You are pride of Bengal...) when he was education Minister. Shahadat Hossain wrote eight lines (Call upon from other side of Sindhu...) before joining as High Commissioner of England. As a writer, his few books were published. His published book 'History and Problems of Moslem Education in Bengal' was only one book on the subject at that time.<sup>8</sup>

The book 'The Man Behind the Plough' had received high appreciation from Sir Michael Sadler, president of Calcutta University Commission, and Mr. J. W Gregory, member of commission, as a book of great interest and assistance in the study of Muslim education in Bengal and it was quoted and referred to in the report of Calcutta University Committee. Years of sustained interest and hard work crystallized in 1939 in the publication of 'The Man Behind Plough' his socio-economic study of the peasants of Bengal. 'The Man Behind the Plough' is a wide-ranging, in-depth and moving study of the endemic problems and tragic suffering of the peasants of the undivided Bengal. In order to go into the roots of these problems, the author Sir M. Azizul Huque reviewed the Land System introduced by the Permanent Settlement (1793) contrasts

---

8. *Ibid*, p.32

it with what prevailed during the Mughal era and throws light on how the Seminars lobby distorted the original intention of the regulations of 1793 with disastrous consequences. The author has made use of extensive facts, archival materials and statistics to establish his interpretations and conclusions. It was a research work of very high quality, and may be regarded as what is now called an interdisciplinary work. The author put in ten years of labor of love, albeit very hard labour, to produce the book, which aims to look into the problems of agriculture 'from the point of view of the peasant'.<sup>9</sup> His publications have great historical value. That is why it is logical to say, he is not only a very good writer but also a good historian.

This study found him as a great educator in Bengal. He was the first Bengali who tried to spread out education widely among the Muslim and as well as among all population of British Bengal. He had thought about problem of Muslim education and its solution since his student life. Introduction of a new department as well as subject 'Islamic History and Culture' in Calcutta University was one of the proof of his contribution as an educator. His book 'Man Behind the Plough' had been included in B. A. course of Calcutta University which was recommended by Rabindranath Tagore at that time.<sup>7</sup> He contributed lot through his literatures and initiatives to improve education of Bengal. His various good initiatives for improvement of education of British Bengal proof him as a good educator. I was surprised knowing about Sir Mohammad

---

9. Shahanara Alam & Husniara Huq, *Azizul Huque, A biographical account of his Life and Work*, p.261

Azizul Huque and his contribution. One question came to my mind at the end that 'why we do not know him properly'. His contribution has significant value for welfare of Bengal but we are not well aware about his contribution; that is why we are not respecting him properly. We should promote his thoughts and contribution to aware Bangladeshi through appropriate media.

---

## **CHAPTER-VIII**

## **CONCLUSION**

---

## **8.1. CONCLUSION:**

I would like to conclude my thesis summarizing above discussion and findings. The true reward of a purposeful life is the affection and esteem of friends and contemporaries. Of this few, if any, can have a larger shared than the Hon'ble Sir Mohammed Azizul Huque, Kt., C.I.E.,D. Litt. He shined with the luster of public esteem and the brilliancy of talent. He represents great steadfastness of purpose. He had within him that power of genius which elevates itself to the maximum extent as occasion demands. His manners were simple and easy. The Hon'ble Sir Mohammad Azizul Huque is doubtless a man of high principles and the best of motives. The refinements of a mind, the persistent strength of his innate virtues and his burning zeal have enabled him to achieve great things. It is therefore no wonder he is held in high esteem in official as well as non-official circles.

In his student life, he was the Secretary of the Muslim Institute, Calcutta in the year 1911-1912, Joint Secretary of the Bengal Presidency Mahomedan Educational Association, Assistant Secretary of the Bengal presidency Muslim League and Editor of the Journal of the Muslim Institute, Calcutta. He had contributed lot in these positions.

He had added to the practical literature of the province and his books shown a keen appreciation of local conditions and a wide vision as to how local needs can be met and difficulties can be overcome. He had shown practically how a man can rise in dignified position step by step in political and professional life depend on his own intelligence and dynamism. Mr. Huque came from a lower middle class family in Bengal

and he had made his mark solely by his own merit and exertion. The true principle of democracy had been honored in his appointment. Sir John Anderson deserves the thanks of the public for doing that.<sup>1</sup> His early days were spent in his home district of Nadia. He was Vice-Chairman of the Krishnanagar Municipality, besides having served for some time as President of a Village Union Board. Mr. Huque's career showed that he had some experience which was properly used to achieve complete advantage from them.

It was not therefore surprising that Mr. Huque made a success of his career in the old Legislative Council and subsequently in the Legislative Assembly. In the former he was Minister of Education, in the latter he was speaker. As the first Speaker of the Bengal Legislative Assembly, he had responsible for guiding the destinies of a body which in spite of these times of stress and strain had developed in political sense. The task of Speaker is one of the most difficult that can fall to any man, since he must maintain unremitting watch on the proceedings and be prepared to give impartial judgment on a wide variety of problems. It is hard, indeed well-nigh impossible, to please every day. It can be said without risk of rejection that, as Speaker, Sir Azizul Huque had lived up to the best traditions of the office. Throughout his term, he was shown himself ready to devote the whole of his ability to the good of the Assembly, and he was looked to by all for justice and impartiality.

---

1. *Star of India*, Friday, June 15, 1934, Bengal's New minister Khan Bahadur Azizul Huque Selected Takes Charge Today

---

In debate he showed profound knowledge of local conditions. During his tenure of the Ministry of Education several important schemes were undertaken for the advancement of education. He took a particular interest in the advancement of Muslim Education by granting Science Scholarships and by Overseas Scholarships from Mohsin Fund. He was largely instrumental in the change of the medium of Instruction from English to Bengali, and his Scheme of Primary Education is still in force.<sup>2</sup>

In three and a half years he had filled the post of Vice-Chancellor of the greatest University in India in a brilliant manner. His work had been hard, his hours of work had been long, but he had managed successfully to guide the destinies of the Calcutta on sound lines. During his period many important decisions had been made which has good consequence in the future of education in Bengal. He had been trying to remove a long-felt want by establishing a department of Islamic History and Culture to complement the great national work initiated by Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee.

Sir Azizul Huque leaved with adventure to take up the important post of High Commissioner in London. In London he was represent the whole of India and India would be well served by him. In Bengal took a particular pride that a real son of Bengal whose life and work had been so closely bound up with his native province should represent India in Great Britain. In all the missions that have fallen to him in the course of his brilliant career when he was formerly India's High Commissioner in the U.K., he had displayed a rare talent.

---

2. Azizul Huque, *History and Problems of Moslem Education in Bengal*.pp.94-96

Sir M. Azizul Huque is indeed best fitted to tackle the matter. An eminent son of Bengal, which fills a proud role in the field of education in India, he was Education Minister in 1934-37, later becoming Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University whose progress owes much to his wish administration then. An instance of his prophetic vision was supplied in his famous book 'The Man Behind the Plough', published in 1939, in which he uttered a solemn warning that unless Bengal's food problem was handled with farseeing statesmanship a crisis would overtake the province.

I would like to mention here about limitations which was faced during my research. There are shortages of information on some issues. To explore his unbiased role as a Speaker, I could review the Parliamentary proceedings of Legislative Council but the proceedings papers are very much confidential and access is not easy. No Parliamentary proceedings paper is available in our country which is preserved in India. I am a bit confused about his views and role during 'abolish of partition of Bengal in 1911' and 'demand of undivided Bengal' of Surawardi in 1947. Still I have a question in my mind, why he was inactive in politics and he had been enrolled in the Calcutta High Court in 1946 after a long career as a politician. Even, I did not get clear answer of those questions from his daughter Prof. Husniara Huq during discussion. Another limitation was shortage of time of key informants for the interview. Though there was some limitation but based on the findings it can be said Mr. Huque had significant contributions in education, politics, social welfare, economics, rural development, agriculture, history and culture.



This study found that his thought, views or books are not included in any course in any educational institution of Bangladesh. But his thought, views, works has significant effect on our present education, economy and society. It can be recommended to include his biographical history and political thought in the Curriculum of Bachelor and Master's Degree Courses of Arts and Social Sciences departments of Universities and Colleges as the way to uphold his contributions to Bangladeshi students, teachers and researchers. His thoughts, views, letaretures and its contribution has great value in history, culture, politics, social welfare, economics, rural development and agriculture. That is why, it can be recommended to include his life and thoughts in the relevant courses of Dhaka University especially in the department of Islamic History & Culture. Besides this other Universities of Bangladesh can take initiative to include his thoughts in their curriculum. More research also can be done on him and his work to un-solved question rose from this study.

His socio-political thought and contribution has great effect in Bengal. Analysis and publication of his views and thoughts can bring useful result for our present society. Initiatives can be taken to conduct seminar/symposium to do analysis on his articles. His thoughts and contribution should be shared widely through appropriate media to aware mass people about the great son of Bengal. His thought and work can be a role model for any policy maker, social reformer, educator, bureaucrat and researcher. As a great contributor of British Bengal, he should get proper respect and honor from present society for his contribution. If we cannot show proper respect to this great Bengali Muslim son; no great son will born in this society.

As a researcher, I would feel proud if my work can contribute little in the relevant field of the history and culture. This is really an important topic which has scope of more research. I hope this initiative will create an opportunity to learn more about this great son of Bengal.

## **APPENDIX I:**

---

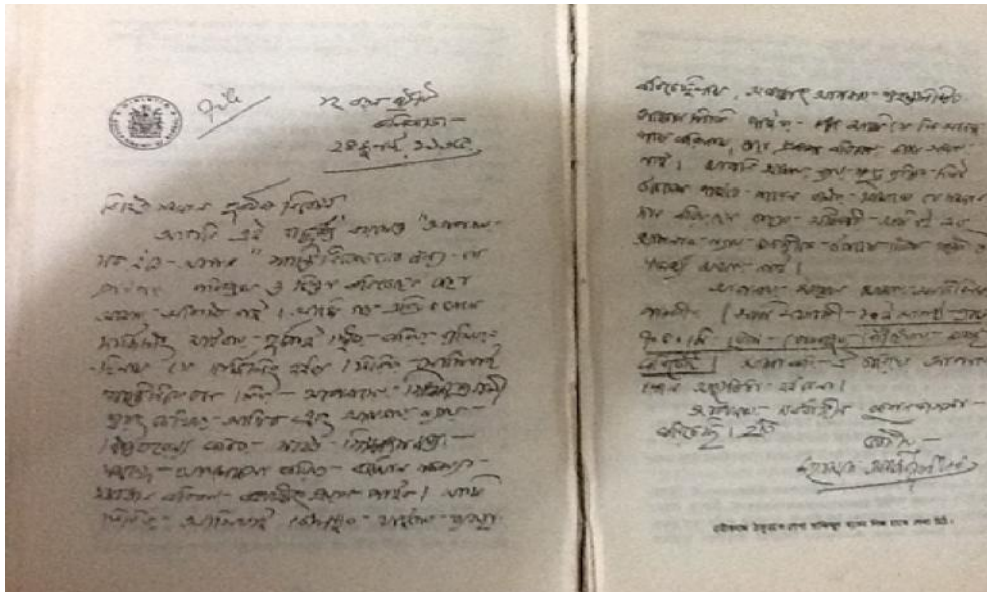
### **PHOTOGRAPH OF SIR M. AZIZUL HUQUE**



## APPENDIX II:

### LETTERS OF MOHAMMAD AZIZUL HUQUE

#### Letter to Rabindranath Tagore:



**LETTER TO S.N. DUTTA**

Esquire, Private Secretary to the High Commissioner for India, India House, Aldwych, London, S.W.1

20, Akbar Road,  
New Delhi.

The 27th April, 1943

My Dear Dutt,

It was with a very heavy heart that I parted company from you on the 5th afternoon and reached Foyen in about two hours. After waiting there for some time we were informed that due to some engine trouble, the plane would require minor repairs and we were taken to a hotel at Adair for the night. We had to halt there for three days and us lelf Foyen on the 9<sup>th</sup> evening. We reached Lagos on the 11<sup>th</sup> morning at about ten. It was practically one continuous run barring two hours halt at Lisbon and five hours wait at Bathhurst. The plane was a luxury one with sleeping accommodation for three in a saloon, cloak room, bath, and pantry with every other convenience. It was 112feet long, and 150 feet from wing. We stayed at Lagos for three days and left Lagos on the 14<sup>th</sup> morning. We reached at Leopold Ville in the afternoon, and we started again the next morning. Soon after leaving Leopold Ville we were caught by terribly high wind, almost heavy with rains and thunder. The journey was extremely bumpy: at one time, we were going just over forests, hills and rivers. It was not possible to precede much beyond and after two hours we had to halt at a re-fuelling station named Coquiat Ville. There was no hotel there, but there was a hospital where about 20 beautifully furnished rooms intended only rest cure and in splendid setting were available and we were all accommodated there, it was a delightful stay.

On the 16<sup>th</sup> we reached Stanley Ville and we arrived at Khartoum on the 17<sup>th</sup>. We had to halt at Khartoum for three days and left Khartoum on the 20<sup>th</sup>. We reached Cairo on 20<sup>th</sup> the evening; on the 21<sup>st</sup> we reached Basra. Here again very strong wind was blowing for the whole Night; early morning it was slightly better and we started on the 22<sup>nd</sup> morning, two hours after the usual time reached Karachi at about 9.00 P. M. the same day. I was tired of the air journey; even though it was not of much discomfort, it was tedious and boring. I took to train from Karachi and left Karachi early next morning on the 23<sup>rd</sup>. On the 24<sup>th</sup> morning I reached Lahore and started for Delhi the same night, and reached Delhi on the 25<sup>th</sup> morning. On my way, at Lahore, I received a message from the Military Secretary to the Viceroy, asking me to be the guest at the Viceroy's House and I stayed at the Viceroy's house on the 25<sup>th</sup> and 26<sup>th</sup>. On the 26<sup>th</sup> night I left for Ajmer and reached there on the 27<sup>th</sup> morning. From Ajmer I came to Jaipur by car and after a few hours halt proceeded by car for Delhi; we had a breakdown after 40 miles. So we returned back to Jaipur, took train again and reached Delhi on the 28<sup>th</sup> morning. I left Delhi half an hour after for Hazaribagh and reached Hazaribagh on the 29<sup>th</sup> morning. I stayed at Hazaribagh for about four days and reached Calcutta on the 4<sup>th</sup> of April, exactly a year after as I left Calcutta on the 4<sup>th</sup> April last year. From Calcutta I went for a day to Krishnanagar and another day to Santipur, I returned to Hazaribagh on the 14<sup>th</sup> morning, leaving Calcutta the previous night, and left for Delhi again on the 17<sup>th</sup> April. I am now at Delhi and I hope to be here for about a week more and I shall go to Calcutta. All through since the beginning of March I have thus been constantly on the move, and while air Journeys were boring and tiresome; the Railway journeys had to be undertaken in terrible heat with dust and dirt.

On arrival in India I found the food situation to be extremely unsatisfactory with considerable muddle in the provinces, especially in Bengal. Rice was selling at Rs. 25 per maund, wheat was practically not available in many parts of Bengal and Bihar; hundreds of people had to wait day after day in queue to get some rice or wheat. Most of them could not always get sufficient food articles when they needed. Prices of almost all other articles have gone up terribly high. All rounds, you only hear stories and tales of black markets and profiteering. There is apprehension that the situation may be still more acute during next two months. We only hope and pray for the best. Within the last few days, however, there have been visible attempts all over to get the situation under better control and there is just an indication today that the situation may improve later.

Immediately on my arrival at Karachi, I found a considerable amount of press speculation about myself. Immediately after my arrival in Calcutta, I was requested to see his Excellency the Governor and both His Excellency and Lady Mary Herbert and almost all party leaders were extremely anxious that I should accept the prime Ministership of Bengal and lead an all-party Cabinet. But the affairs in Bengal were in a terrible mess. The last Ministry made terrible bungles and stories of all kinds are raging in the market. On consideration of all circumstances I thought it not prudent on my part to accept the gravest responsibility at the time of this crisis, especially after so much mishandling of affairs by others, unless certain conditions precedent were satisfied and I knew they would not be. I informed His Excellency the Governor that it would be impossible for me to form an all-party Cabinet unless I was able to exclude some of the ex-Ministers from the Cabinet altogether and also

immediately transfer a few dozen of officers from Calcutta. In any case, I was not prepared to accept this responsibility. On the other hand, when I arrived at Delhi on the 25<sup>th</sup> morning I had several interviews with His Excellency the Viceroy, and on the 26<sup>th</sup> he invited me to join his Cabinet as a member of the Executive Council. I could not know the portfolio proposed for me, but I was asked to wait for some time. On the 16<sup>th</sup> of April I received a communication from His Excellency, inviting me to be in charge of the portfolio of Commerce, Industry and Civil Supplies which includes food. Circumstances left me no alternative but to accept. My association with Mr. Lall, yourself and others in office had been so pleasant and so cordial that I had a good deal of feelings within me to part company so soon after. Circumstances, however, left me no other alternative; the portfolios proposed will no doubt give me many opportunities to serve India in India. To be of some service to the Mother land within the country is certainly an attraction; but quite apart, considerations of the family and especially the health of one of my daughters was such that I thought it best to accept the offer. She had been very ill for some time and I could not possibly leave her to go to England even a few months later. In any case, the formal announcement has not yet come but I am expecting that by the time you receive this letter you will not only know about this appointment formally but also probably the name of the next High Commissioner will be announced.

As I cable to you, as soon as the formal announcement is made, I hope you will give notice to the landlady to terminate the lease under the diplomatic clause. Probably the house will have to be kept till the end of June. In case it is so, up to the end of that time, whatever it is, you will



continue to make usual payments in regard to allowances and expenses to Miss Aplin who will remain in charge of the house. Miss Aplin has been of such help and assistance to me that I was really feeling embarrassed to write to her. She gave her devoted service and all along my life I have got great tenderness of feelings for all those who are of least service to me. I am therefore anxious that she should get some suitable employment congenial to her and in consideration of her health it should not be too heavy. I wonder if you will be able to arrange anything for her. I have asked her to consult Mrs. Mohan and Dr. Nanda or Mrs. Nanda-and I hope you will also telephone both of them for some suitable employment for Miss Aplin. I shall also be grateful if you will kindly put her in touch with Brown of Grind lays to whom I am sending a letter through Miss Aplin for a little more assistance to her later. Please send me a cable as to the term of the lease is over and the exact amount which may stand in my bank balance after that. If there is anything more needed, I shall send a telegram to Grind lays accordingly.

As regard the dispatch of my clothing's and articles, I am suggesting the following. I hope you would not mind to take the trouble of arranging and doing the needful. Firstly, as regards clothing's, uniforms, table cloths and all other clothing materials, I have written to Miss Aplin that she will take certain things such as bed covers, towels and bed sheets such as she may need. The rest may be safely packed in two boxes and should be hermetically sealed. I had bitter experience on the last occasion of every article being damaged, and I do not wish any repetition of that or can I afford to do so. After that, you will keep these boxes in the India House for some time till I am able to send a cable to

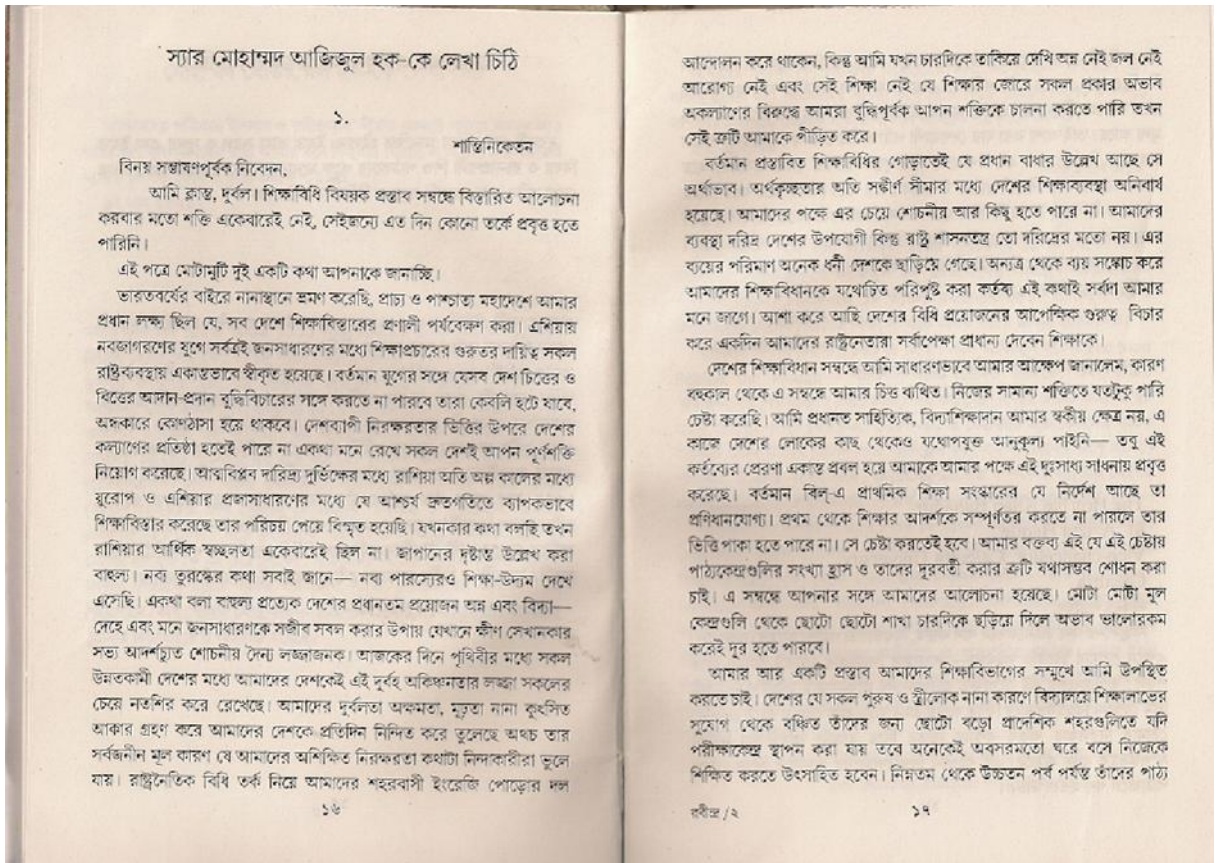
you as to how the articles should be sent. I am trying to have them dispatched by air. Would it be convenient for you to let me know by cable the total weight of the clothing materials so that I may send necessary instructions from here to send them by air? Some of the articles are irreplaceable; certainly I cannot get them in war-time and I do not wish to lose them. There is no hurry; for the time being you will keep them in your custody. When you pack these articles, please put in that box the cutleries which I have got in my house. A certain amount of cutlery, as you know, was purchased and those things may be placed inside the box which will come by air. If possible, please put Forhan's tooth paste which were purchased and a few packets of blades which were purchased. As regards tiffin carriers and Icmic Cooker, Crockery, cooking degchis, pots and pans and various other articles, I have asked Miss Aplin that she may take such as she may require for her use and the rest you may put inside boxes and keep them locked up somewhere in India House. I am looking forward to go to London again as soon as the war situation is better, at least temporarily for a short time. I could not even bid farewell to all, and I feel that I owe a duty and obligation to the friends who have been so kind to me all through my stay that made my life in London such a pleasant one, and I shall never forget my association and their help and services.

You will be glad to know that I presented the cheque for Rs. 4, 12,000 to His Excellency the Governor and I delivered a speech on that occasion, a copy of which will be of interest to you. Yesterday's "Statesman" published the photograph which shows you just behind me and I am sure it will be a matter of great joy to your family. Is there any further collection after what was sent here? So, how much?

I have asked Miss Aplin to dispose of the chickens in such manner as she wishes, and if possible to give those to such friends of her who can keep them and occasionally supply her with eggs. There is nothing further for the time being to write to you, but if there is any point which I may remember I shall write to you next week. I am taking up the question of woolnough very soon. I hope to take up Lall's case also as soon as I assume office.

## APPENDIX-III:

### LETTERS ON MOHAMMAD AZIZUL HUQUE; COPIES OF THE LETTERS BETWEEN M. AZIZUL HUQUE AND RABINDRANATH TAGORE



**LETTERS TO MOHAMMAD AZIZUL HUQUE FROM SIR  
SALLIMULLAH:**

The Ahsan Manzil, Dacca.

The 20<sup>th</sup>, March, 1914.

My Dear Azizul Huq,

I heartily thank you for the Draft speech. I am so sorry I could not return to Calcutta as early as I intended to do. I hope, however, to be very soon with you- long before the Budget Meeting, and I would ask you to help me again, with your Valuable advice. We have hard work to do in connection with the coming Conference. I can assure you we got a beautiful place to put up the guests and hold the meeting.

Hoping that you are hale and hearty.

Azizul Huque, Esq.

I remain  
Always your grateful  
9, Mirzapur St. Calcutta Sd  
(K.Salimullah)

## **APPENDIX IV:**

### **LECTURES ON THE INSIDE SYSTEM OF IRRIGATION AND ITS APPLICATION MODERN PROBLEM BY SIR WILLIAM WILLCOCKS**

We now come to the west and East banks of the Hooghly north and Howrah and Calcutta, on which run the East Indian and Eastern Bengal Railways. Para 66-67a of my third lecture show clearly how malaria which is everywhere on this banks, started with the construction of this two embankments with insufficient and inadequate culverts for letting river water cross the lines outwards or drainage water cross them coming inwards. All these culverts do not need any regulating apparatus. They only want to be adequate in number and sufficient in size. How far seventy years, embankments are allowed to impoverish lands, and improvise people and afflict them with malaria when a trifling expenditure of money could bring relief is a standing source of astonishment in Bengal. When after all these years these very necessary works are constructed, care should be taken that the channels leading to them and from them are wants thoroughly cleaned and then left to the peasantry to maintain.

We now come to the canals east of the Hooghly, the land of “dead rivers” which the pessimists have pronounced to be “already dead and which can never be reconverted into leaves streams by the action of men”. (para91). After having paced the Mathbhanga bed in 1928 and measured it's depth below ground and seen the Ganges in February flowing freely down the Bhairov jelingi, I saw in vision all these canals full of life as I recounted in my lecture of 6 March 1928,; but this year I

have stood of Khan Bahadur Azizul Huque of Nadia district on mount Pisgah and seen the promised land. The shift of the channels of the gangs which had in 1927 to 28 filled the Mathbhanga in flood and Bhairov head of the Jalingi with winter and summer water has continued till now and the districts of Murshidabad and Nadia have begun to use these old canals are finding them as full of life as ever they were. The Ganges bed has only to be fixed as it is now before it shift again and the flood supplies of the Googly and all the "dead rivers" to the most insignificant one of them will be again utilized. I called upon you Bengali's never to rest and never to let the irrigation service rest till you have secured the fixing of the bed to Ganges in its present most favorable position. It might cost millions to bring it back if it changed its course and flowed again under Rampur-Bualia. The old irrigation of the sandy tracts which constitute by far the greater part of the districts of Murshidabad and Nadia was well suited to such tracts. The "aus" rice was off the ground by August and then the banks were cut and the old canals miscalled "dead rivers" were opened on to the fields of stubble, covering the ground with plentiful supplies and filling deep all "bhils" and low depressions and thoroughly saturating the ground. It was a kind of late basin irrigation of Egypt, and was followed, as over great part of Egypt, by winter crops of legumins. These winter crops were especially valuable. The peasantry is looking forward to a return of the old prosperous days when irrigation with the muddy water of the Ganges flood was the heritage of all. I have been three times though Nadia and once through Murshidabad by railway in day time, and along the whole length of the Ganges in a steamer, getting out and examining every place worth examining. To see the head of the Mathabhanga we had to walk 17 miles and then get back 17 miles in a bullock cart. A metaled

road should be made to the head of the largest irrigation canal in the whole world. With Mr. Inlis' atlas before me and with the aid of engineers who have been familiar with the ground for years I have been able to go over the districts one by one. It is very easy to follow the old irrigation canals and understand how the country was irrigated. The irrigation of the country east of the Hooghly must always have been on the broad lines laid down for Nadia and Murshidabad. The areas were too large and the canals on a scale far too great to permit of the delicate irrigation on the east of the Damodar. The early "aus" rice was off the ground about the beginning of August, and the wholesale irrigation of the ground by the numerous canals was begun in imitation of the basin irrigation of Egypt. In an Egyptian basin today anyone may grow any crop he likes in summer, but on the 20<sup>th</sup> of August, the Nile is opened into the basin, and any man who has not removed his crop loses it.

In Central Bengal there are so many canals existing on the ground in a workable condition that the expenditure on earthwork will not be great. It will be confined to the lengths of canal which have been ploughed up. These are most numerous in Murshidabad and then in Nadia. The canals in Jessore and Khulna have been left very much alone.



## APPENDIX-V:

### SPEECHES OF MOHAMMAD AZIZUL HUQUE

রবীন্দ্র-স্মরণে

কলিকাতা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয় কর্তৃক আহূত স্মৃতিসভায় পঠিত

সোমবার-১৮ই, আগষ্ট, ১৯৪১

কবি রবীন্দ্রনাথ আর ইহজগতে নাই। বাঙ্গালীকে কাঁদাইয়া, বিশ্বভারতী, বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়, বিশ্বভারতকে শোক-সলিলে ভাসাইয়া আজ তিনি সসীম জগতে সকল মায়া-বন্ধন কাটাইয়া ভাষার অতীত স্থানে, কল্পনার অগম্য লোকে, অসীমে চলিয়া গিয়াছেন। আজ আমরা কলিকাতা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের পক্ষ হইতে আমাদের সম্পর্বেদনা, শোকসম্পৃক্ত হৃদয়ের স্মৃতিস্বন্দ অনুভূতি প্রকাশ করিবার জন্য সমবেত হইয়াছি। ভাষার ভিতর দিয়া সে ব্যথা, সে শোক কেমন করিয়া প্রকাশ করিব তাহা আমরা জানি না। আমার যাহা হারাইয়াছি, দেশ যাহা হারাইয়াছে, তাহা ব্যক্ত করিবার ভাষা আমাদের নাই; তাহা চিত্রপটে আঁকিবার তুলিকা আমরা দেখি নাই; তাই আজ আমরা যাহাই বলি না কেন, তাহাতে আমাদের হৃদয়ের অন্দরস্থলেন অনুভূতি কণিকামাত্রও ব্যক্ত হইবে না। মরমের ব্যথা মরমেই থাকিয়া যাইবে, হৃদয়ের বেদনা হৃদয়েই রহিয়া যাইবে, অশ্রু-ধারা নয়ন-কোণেই শুকাইয়া যাইবে।

সে আজ অনেক দিনের কথা। রাজা-রাজেশ্বরী মহারাণী ভিক্টোরিয়া নূতন ঘোষণা-পত্রে তখন সবেমাত্র ভারত-শাসনের ভার গ্রহণ করিয়াছেন। সিপাহী বিদ্রোহের আগুন সবে নিবিয়াছে, কোম্পানীর মুলুক হইয়াছে। ভারতের ইতিহাসে সে এক সন্ধিক্ষণ। পলাশীর ময়দানে হতভাগ্য সিরাজের ভাগ্য-নির্ণয়ের পর একশত বৎসর কাটিয়া গিয়াছে। এই একশত বৎসরে বাংলার সমাজে অনেক ওলট-পালট আসিয়া গিয়াছে। রাজস্ব-আদায়ের অজুহাত একই জমির পৌনঃপুনিক ভূস্বামীর সৃষ্টি হইয়াছে। প্রাচীন রায়তী স্বত্ব ধ্বংসপ্রায়; দলিলী প্রমাণ অভাবে বহু লাখিরাজ, নিষ্কর জমি বাজেয়াপ্ত হইয়াছে। মহাজন দেনাদারের সর্বস্ব-শোষণের সুযোগ পাইয়া আদালতের সাহায্যে পুঞ্জীভূত চক্রবৃদ্ধি সুদের দাবী বজায় রাখিতেছেন; গ্রামের শাসন, সমাজ-বন্ধন, লোক-মত এবং জনশক্তি শিথিল হইতে শিথিলতার হইয়াছে। রেলওয়ের লৌহপাতে ভারতেভূমি বাঁধা আরম্ভ হইয়াছে, প্রাচ্য হইতে প্রতীচ্য সীমান্দু পর্য্যন্দ, অগম্য গিরিশিখর হইতে কন্যা-কুমারী পর্য্যন্দ টেলিগ্রাফের স্ক্রল্ড বসিয়া যাইতেছে। সেকালের শেষ হইয়া একাল আরম্ভ হইয়াছে।

ভারত ইতিহাসের সেই সন্ধিক্ষেপে, ১৮৬১ সালের ৭ই মে তারিখের বাঙ্গালী কবি রবীন্দ্রনাথের জন্ম। “কলকাতা শহরের বক্ষ তখন পাথরে বাঁধানো হয় নি, তেলকলের ধোঁয়ায় আকাশের মুখে তখনো কলি পড়ে নি, সন্ধ্যাবেলায় জ্বলতো তেলের প্রদীপ।”

সে সে-কালের কথা। এই আশি বৎসর ভারতের ইতিহাস বহু ভাঙা-গড়ার ভিতর দিয়া নানা অদল-বদল হইয়াছে। রবীন্দ্রনাথ সে-কালের মানুষ, এ-কাল দেখিয়াছেন। সে-কাল এ-কাল, দু'কালই অনুধাবন, পর্যবেক্ষণ, বিশেষণ করিয়াছেন, দু'এরই স্বরূপ দেখাইয়াছেন, অনুভূতি করিয়াছেন; জাতিকে দেশকে জাগাইয়াছেন; কাব্য, গীতি, গদ্যে, বহু ছবি আঁকিয়াছেন; দেশ-প্রাণের স্কুরণ, জাতির বেদনা লেখনীর মুখে প্রকাশ করিয়াছেন, প্রেরণার বাক্সে জনগণ মাতাইয়াছেন; দেশের সত্য ও প্রকৃত আদর্শ প্রতিষ্ঠা করিয়াছেন; কবি হাসিয়াছেন, কাঁদিয়াছেন, গাহিয়াছেন; কল্পনার ছবিতে বাস্তবতার রঙ ফলাইয়াছেন। সত্যকে টানিয়া বাহির করিয়াছেন; বিপণ্ডবের শঙ্খধ্বনি শুনাইয়া আবার উদ্দাম উচ্ছ্বলতার পরিণতি দেখাইয়াছেন; জাতির, দেশের সমাজের ইতিহাস ও ইতিবৃত্ত লিখিয়াছেন। যদি কোন নৈসর্গিক বিপর্যয়ে গত আশি বৎসরের ইতিহাসের নিদর্শন ও উপকরণ একেবারে লোপ পায়, তাহা হইলেও রবীন্দ্র-সাহিত্য হইতে সে ইতিহাসের ধারা ও প্রকৃতি পুনর্গঠন করা বহু কষ্টসাধ্য হইবে না।

রবীন্দ্র-প্রতিভা আজ দিকে বিচ্ছুরিত। সাহিত্যিক, দার্শনিক, ঐতিহাসিক, সমাজ-নীতিজ্ঞ, নানা দিক, হইতে নিজ নিজ ভাবে বিশেষণ ও সমালোচনা করিয়াছেন। পলংটীর প্রান্ডের, নদীর সৈকতে, সমুদ্রের বেলাভূমিতে বিজন কাননে, লোকাকীর্ণ জনপদ, ঘাটে, মাঠে বিপণিতে রবীন্দ্রনাথ আজ পরিব্যাপ্ত। শিশু, পৌঢ়, যুবক, বৃদ্ধ, দীন, দরিদ্র, ভিখারী, রাজা সকলেই তাহাতে আনন্দ ও অনুভূতি পাইয়াছেন। সকলেরই প্রাণের কথা, হৃদয়ের বেদনা, মর্মের বাণী, অশ্রুর কাহিনী ব্যক্ত করিয়াছেন। আজ রবীন্দ্র-সাহিত্য বাঙ্গালীর নিজস্ব, বাংলার শ্রেষ্ঠ সম্পদ। জগৎ-সাহিত্যে রবীন্দ্রনাথ শ্রেষ্ঠ স্থান পাইয়াছেন, পৃথিবী তাঁহাকে আদর করিয়া লইয়াছে।

রবীন্দ্র-প্রতিভা আজ দিকে দিকে বিচ্ছুরিত। সাহিত্যিক, দার্শনিক, ঐতিহাসিক, সমাজ-নীতিজ্ঞ, নানা দিক হইতে নিজ নিজ ভাবে বিশেষণ ও সমালোচনা করিয়াছেন। পলংটীর প্রান্ডের, নদীর সৈকতে, সমুদ্রের বেলাভূমিতে, বিজন কাননে, লোকাকীর্ণ জনপদ, ঘাটে, মাঠে বিপণিতে রবীন্দ্রনাথ আজ পরিব্যাপ্ত। শিশু, পৌঢ়, যুবক, বৃদ্ধ, দীন, দরিদ্র, ভিখারী, রাজা সকলেই তাহাতে আনন্দ ও অনুভূতি পাইয়াছেন। সকলেরই প্রাণের কথা, হৃদয়ের বেদনা, মর্মের বাণী, অশ্রুর কাহিনী ব্যক্ত করিয়াছেন। আজ রবীন্দ্র-সাহিত্য বাঙ্গালীর

নিজস্ব, বাংলার শ্রেষ্ঠ সম্পদ। জগৎ-সাহিত্য রবীন্দ্রনাথ শ্রেষ্ঠ স্থান পাইয়াছেন, পৃথিবী তাঁহাকে আদর করিয়া লইয়াছে।

“চারিদিকে নানা শব্দময় জন-কোলাহরে মাবো কবি-হৃদয়ের প্রথম সম্পন্দন। প্রভাতের রবির কিরণে প্রাণের প্রথম স্কুরণেই কবি দেখিয়াছিলেন,-

“চারিদিকে মোর

পাষাণে রচিত কারাগার ঘোর

বুকের উপরে আঁধার বসিয়া

(রবীন্দ্র রচনাবলী-অবতরণিকা।)

করিছে নিজের ধ্যান।”

কিন্তু জাগ্রত প্রাণ আর আঁধারের বাধা, পাষাণ কারাগার মানিতে প্রস্তুত নয়, সে তখন রবির কিরণে হাসি ছাড়াইয়া পরাণ ঢালিয়া দিতে চায়; জগৎ পঞ্চাবিয়া আকুল পাগলপারা হইয়া গাহিয়া বেড়াইতে চায়-

“অগাধ বাসনা, অসীম আশা

জগৎ দেখিতে চাই”

সেই অসীম আশায়-

“পাষাণ বাঁধন টুটি’

ভিজায়ে কঠিন ধরা,

বনেরে শ্যামল করি,

ফুলেরে ফুটায়ে তুরা”

সারা প্রাণ ঢালিয়া দিতে চায়। সীমান্দ্রবিহীন অসীম আকাশে, স্বাধীন পরাণে প্রাণের আবেগে ছুটিতে চায়।

“ফিরে নেব রবিশশিতারা,

সে তখন সংগ্রাম-প্রয়াসী-

ফিরে নেব সন্ধ্য আর উষা,

পৃথিবীর শ্যামল যৌবন,

কাননের ফুলময় ভূষা।

ফিরে নেব হারানো সঙ্গীত,

ফিরে নেব মৃতের জীবন,

জগতের ললাট হইতে

আঁধার করিব প্রক্ষালন”

সে চায়-

“সুদূর সমুদ্রে গিয়া

সে প্রাণ মিশাব, আর সে গান করিব শেষ”

সে তখন সীমা লঙ্ঘন করিয়া, গভী অতিক্রম করিয়া, পাষণ কাঁরা ভাঙ্গিতে চায়-

“আমি ভাঙ্গিব পাষণ-কাঁরা

আমি জগৎ প-বিয়া

বেড়ায় গাহিয়া

আকুল পাগল পারা।”

(নির্বীরের স্বপ্নভঙ্গ, সংগ্রাম-সঙ্গীত, নির্বীরের স্বপ্নভঙ্গ)

প্রাণে ভয় নাই, পরাজয় জানিতে চাহে না-

“মাতিয়া যখন উঠিছে পরাণ,

কিসের আঁধার, কিসের পাষণ

উথলি’ যখন উঠিছে বাসনা

জগতে কিসের ডর।”

সঙ্গে সঙ্গে-

“ভাঙরে হৃদয় ভাঙরে বার্ষন

সাধরে আজিকে প্রাণের সাধন

লহরীর পর লহরী তুলিয়া

আঘাতের পর আঘাত কর।”

“ওরে চারিদিকে মোর

এ কী কারাগার ঘোর।

ভাঙ ভাঙ ভাঙ কাঁরা,

আঘাত আঘাত কর।

ওরে আজ কী গান গেয়েছে পাখি  
এনেছে রবির কর্।”

জীবনের এই উদ্দাম আশা আজ শতমুখী হইয়া জাতিকে মাতাইয়াছে। কোথায় ইহার শেষ হইবে  
কেহই তাহা জানে না, বলিতে পারে না। এ কথা সত্য যে-

“পূর্ব আকাশ হতে উঠিবে উচ্ছ্বাস  
পশ্চিমেতে হইবে বিলীন।”

কিন্তু তাহার সীমা কোথায় কেহ জানে না।

“জগতের মাঝখানে, সেই সাগরের তলে  
রচিত হতেছে পলে পলে,  
অনন্ড জীবন মহাদেশ,  
কে জানে হবে কি তাহা শেষ।”

সে তখন-

“যে প্রাণ অনন্ড যুগ রবে  
(নির্বারের স্বপ্নভঙ্গ, অনন্ড জীবন)  
সে প্রাণ পেয়েছে নূতন।”

কোথায় ভবিষ্যতের পরিণতি তাহা জানিবার প্রয়োজন নাই। হয়তো-

“ছন্দরমুক্ত জগতের উন্মত্ত আনন্দ-কোলাহলে,”  
“সৃজনের ধ্বংস যুগান্ধুরে”  
“আকাশের অনন্ড হৃদয়-  
অগ্নি অগ্নি, শুধু অগ্নিময়”

হইতে পারে; হয়তো মহা অগ্নি জ্বলিয়া উঠিয়া মহানলের সৃষ্টি হইতে পারে; কিন্তু-

“সৃজনের আরম্ভ সময়ে  
আছিল অনাদি অন্ধকার,  
সৃজনের ধ্বংস যুগান্ধুরে  
রহিল অসীম হতাশন।”

কবি জাতির সম্মুখে সেই আদর্শই বরণ করিলেন। উষার অরুণ আলোকে অসীম কালস্রোতে ভাসিয়া, কাণ পাতিয়া জগৎ-কলরব শুনিবার পথে অগ্রসর হইলেন। পথে বহু বাধা-বিপত্তি আছে, কিন্তু তাহাতেই বাঁচিয়া থাকার আনন্দ, তাহাতেই প্রাণের স্কুরণ, তাহাতেই জীবন। কেন না-

“জগৎ হয়ে বর আমি

একেলা রইব না,

মরিয়া যাইব একা হলে

একটী জলকণা।”

কবি মরণের পথে যাইতে চাহেন না। সে পথে যাইতে চান, সে পথের লক্ষ্য-

“আমার নাহি সুখ-দুখ

পরের পানে চাই

যাহার পানে চেয়ে দেখি

তাহাই হ’য়ে যাই।

অপন ভাসে, তারা ভাসে,

আমি যাই ভেসে,

তাদের গান আমার গান,

(সৃষ্টি স্থিতি প্রলয় স্রোত)

যেতেছি এক দেশে।”

“চারিদিকে সে চাহিতে চায়,

তারার মাঝে হারিয়ে গিয়ে

আপন মনে গাহিতে চায়।

মেঘের মত হারিয়ে দিশা

আকাশ মাঝে ভাসিতে চায়।”

সে প্রভাত-কিরণের অরুণ আভায় কবি প্রথমেই দেখিলেন-দেশের বাসুন্দের চিত্র।

“চারিদিকে সোনার ধান ফলেছে”

“নীল আকাশেতে নারিকেল তরু-

ধীরে ধীরে তার পাতা নড়ে,

প্রভাত আলোতে কুঁড়ে ঘরগুলি

জলে ঢেউগুলি ওঠে পড়ে”

বাংলার পল-ীতে বাঙ্গালীর দেখিলেন, কাহিনীতে ঘেরা ছোটো গ্রামখানিতে-

“কেহবা দোলায়, কেহবা দোলে,

গাছতলে মিলে করে খেলা,

বাঁশি হাতে নিয়ে রাখাল বালক

কেহ নাচে গায়, করে খেল।”

কিন্তু-

“চারিদিকে তার গাছের ছায়া,

চারিদিকে তার নিষুতি,

চারিদিকে তার ঝোপে-ঝাপে

আঁধার দিয়ে ঢেকেছে।”

“যে প্রাণ আছিল তোরি

তাহারি দুয়ার ধরি

কেন আজ ভিখারিণী বেশে”

(স্রোত সাধ, একাকিনী গ্রামে, আদরিণী , স্মৃতি-প্রতিমা)

শূন্য গৃহ জনহীন প'ড়ে কতদিন

আর হেথা বাঁশি নাহি বাজে”

“চারিদিকে কেহ নাই, একা ভাঙ্গাবাড়ি

সন্ধ্যাবেলা ছাদে বসে ডাকিতেছে কাক,

নিবিড় আঁধার, মুখ বাড়ায় রয়েছে,

যেথা আছে ভাঙা প্রাচীরের ফাক।

পড়েছে সন্ধ্যার ছায়া অশথের গাছে,

থেকে থেকে শাখা তার উঠিছে নড়িয়া,

শুষ্ক শুষ্ক দীর্ঘ এক দেবদার<sup>১</sup> তর<sup>২</sup>

হেলিয়া ভিত্তির পরে রয়েছে পড়িয়া।”

তার পরের অবস্থায় “উৎসুক মনের কাছে পৃথিবীর দৃশ্য খন্ড খন্ড জলচ্ছবির মতো দেখা দিতে লাগলো।”

তখন গ্রামের মধ্যে গিয়া দেখিলেন-

“এক কালে বিশ্ব যেন ছিলে বৃহৎ,

তখন, মানুষ ছিল মানুষের মতো,

আজ যেন এরা সব ছোট হয়ে গেছে”

“চোখেতে ঠেকিছে যেন সৃষ্টির পঞ্জর”

দেখিলেন গ্রামবাসী পরস্পর ঝগড়া-দ্বন্দ্ব মগ্ন। “পরের ভিটামাটি উচ্ছন্ন করিতে এক গালে চূণ, এক গালে কালি লাগিয়ে দেশ থেকে দূর করে দিতে, ভিটেয় ঘুঘু চরাতে” মশ-গুল; পন্ডিত তখন “স্কুল থেকে স্কুল, “কি “সুস্ক থেকে স্কুল,” “বৃক্ষ থেকে বীজ” কি “বীজ থেকে বৃক্ষ” ইহার মীমাংসা নির্ণয় করিতে ব্যস্ত “শাস্ত্র নাহি যার শাস্ত্রের উপদ্রব্য চতুর্গুণ”। অন্নের কাঙাল বৃদ্ধি ভিক্ষকের পিপাসায় ছাতি ফাটিতেছে, আর গ্রহরী আসিয়া ভিখারীকে ধাক্কা দিয়া মস্তুর পুত্রের পথ পরিষ্কার করিতেছে। অন্য দিকে “ক্রন্দনের ধ্বনি,” “শুধু ক্ষুধা, দরিদ্রের ক্ষুধা,” ক্ষুধার্ত কঙ্কালসার কাঙাল বাসনা,” “ধান্যপূর্ণ বসুন্ধরা তবু প্রজা কাঁদে অনাহারে”, “উর্ধ্বস্বরে কেঁদে মরে, রাজ্য উৎপীড়িত নিতাল্ডপ্রাণের দায়ে”

“কবি তাই কাঁদিতেছেন-

“কেন দুঃখ কেন পীড়া, কেন এ ক্রন্দন?

(স্মৃতি-প্রতিমা প্রকৃতির প্রতিশোধ-মন্ড্র্য)

অত্যাচার, উৎপীড়ন, অন্যায় বিচার,

কেন এ সকল? কেন মানুষের ‘পরে

মানুষের এত উপদ্রব? দুর্বলের

ক্ষুদ্র সুখ, ‘ক্ষুদ্র শান্দিটুকু তার’ পরে

সবলের শ্যেন দৃষ্টি কেন?

এই “নিষ্ঠার কঠিনে”র মধ্যে-

“লৌহ পঞ্জরের মাঝে বসিয়া বসিয়া

আকাশের পানে চেয়ে নিঃশ্বাস,

তবে কিরে আর কিছু নাহিকো উপায়?”

অথচ-

“এ জগৎ মিথ্যায় নয়,

বুঝি সত্য হবে,



মিথ্যা হ'য়ে প্রকাশিছে  
আমাদের চোখে”

উপায় কি?

“কোথা যাব, কোথা যাব, শেষ অন্ধকারে  
জগতের কোন প্রান্তে নিশীথের বুকে”

শেষে কবি বলিতেছেনঃ-

“ভালবেসে চাহিবে  
এ জগতের পানে,  
তবে তো দেখিতে পাবো  
স্বরূপ ইহার।”

এইরূপে কবিচিন্তার প্রথম স্ফুরণ, কবি-হৃদয়ের প্রথম বিকাশ কাব্য জীবনের প্রথম বাস্কার।

প্রভাতে অরুণ উদয়ের প্রথম আলোকস্পর্শে কবি এই দীক্ষা লইয়া ও জীবনের সম্মুখে বিপুল সম্ভাবনার ভবিষ্যৎ লইয়া জগৎ সমাজে নামিয়াছিলেন। রবীন্দ্রনাথের কবিতা কাব্য-হিসাবে কত বড়, তাঁহার রচনা সাহিত্য-হিসাবে কোন স্থান পাইতে পারে, তাঁহার গানের অর্থ ও ওজন কোথায়, এ সবার মীমাংসা বা বিচারের সামর্থ্য (রাজা ও রানী প্রকৃতির প্রতিশোধ) আমার নাই। তবে তাহা না করিয়াও এ কথা বল যাইতে পারে যে, রবীন্দ্রনাথ সাহিত্যে সৃষ্টি করিয়াছেন, আসীমের সীমা আঁকিয়াছেন, ভাষায় ভাবে নানা রঙের ছবি আঁকিয়াছেন, মানুষের চরিত্র ও প্রকৃতি পরতে পরতে বিশেষত্ব করিয়াছেন।

রবীন্দ্রনাথের কাব্য, রচনা ও গানে ঙ্গুসধহঃরপরংস, সুংঃরপরংস, রূপ-মাধুর্য, নিরবচ্ছিন্ন কল্পনা, রসলীলায় বৈচিত্র্য কি আছে, তাহার আলোচনা আজ করিব না। কবি-চিন্তার শুধু একটা দিক আজ দেখিতে চাই,- কবির স্বদেশসাধনা, দেশপ্ৰীতি এবং সমাজ ও জাতীয় জীবনে তাঁহার মর্মে মর্মে অনুভূতি ও গীবর অনুরাগ।

কবির দেশবোধ ধনঃঃধপঃ অনুভূতি বা মানবকল্পনা হনে। দেশ তাঁহার কাছে পরম সত্য ও সজীব। তিনি নানা ছন্দে ও সুরে, শত রঙের চিত্র ও মানচিত্রে, অপরূপ রূপে দেশ মূর্ত্ত করিয়াছেন, যুগ-যুগান্তরের কাহিনী লিখিয়াছেন, জাতীয় জীবনের দোষ-গুণ বিশেষত্ব করিয়াছেন ও অতীতের ইতিহাস চলচ্চিত্রের মত দেখাইয়াছেন, এই দেশাত্মবোধে কোনরূপ সঙ্কীর্ণতা, ক্ষুদ্রতা নাই। সমাজের সহিত তাঁহার নিকট সম্বন্ধ-

“জগৎ জুড়িয়া এক জাতি সবে,  
সে জাতির নাম মানব জাতি”

এই আদর্শ সবেবাপরি প্রতিষ্ঠা করিয়াছেন।

সে আজ বহু দিনের কথা নয়, যে দিন ভারত প্রাণহীন, নিস্পন্দ, নীরব, নির্জীব বলিলেও অত্যাঙ্কিত হইত না। অথচ বিশ্ব-জগৎ তখন নব অভ্যুদয়ে জাগরিত, মুখরিত। সেই দুর্দিনে কবি গাহিয়াছিলেন-

“আগে চল আগে চল ভাই।

প’ড়ে থাকা পিছে, ম’রে থাকা মিছে,

বেঁচে মরে কী বা ফল, ভাই।

আগে চল আগে চল, ভাই।

সেই বিশ্বব্যাপী বিরাট অগ্রসরের পথে আহ্বান করিয়া কবি বলিয়াছিলেন-

পিছিয়ে যে আছে তা’রে ডেকে নাও,

নিয়ে যাও সাথে ক’রে

কেহ নাহি আসে, একা চ’লে যাও

মহত্বের পথ ধ’রে।

পরমলক্ষ্য সম্মুখে রাখিয়া সাহব করিয়া দাঁড়ইতে বলিয়াছিলেন-

“দাঁড়া দেখি তোরা আত্মপর ভুলি,

হৃদয়ে হৃদয়ে ছুটুক বিজুলি,

প্রভাত-গগনে কোটি শির তুলি’

নির্ভয়ে আজি গাহো রে।”

সোনার ভারতের মানচিত্রের স্বরূপ দেশের মর্ষপটে আঁকিয়া দেখাইয়াছিলেন-

“নীল-সিন্ধু জল-ধৌত-চরণতল,

অনিল-বিকম্পিত-শ্যামল-অঞ্চল,

অম্বর-চুম্বিত-ভাল-হিমাচল

শুভ্র-তুষার-কিরীটিনী।”

দেশ নববলে বলীয়ান, নূতন আদর্শে মহীয়ান হইয়া উঠুক, ইহাই কবির ছিল পরম বাঞ্ছিত। কেন না-

“সুখহীন নিশিদিন পরাধীন হয়ে,

ভ্রমিছ দীন প্রাণে।

সতত হয় ভাবনা শতশত, নিয়ত ভীত পীড়িত,

শির নত কত অপমানে।”

তাই অগ্নিবীণায় সেই ছবি মূর্ত্ত করিয়া কবি বলিয়াছিলেন-

“দৈন্যের মাঝে আছে তব ধন,

মৌনের মাঝে রয়েছে গোপন,

তোমারি মন্ত্র অগ্নি বচন

তাই আমাদের দিয়ো ।

পরের সজ্জা ফেলিয়া পরিব

তোমার উত্তরীয় ।

তারপর এমন এক দিন আসিয়াছিল, যে দিন সারা বাংলাদেশে কাল-বৈশাখীর ঝড়ের মত কাঁপিয়া উঠিয়াছিল ।

সেদিন কবি গাহিয়াছিলেন-

“আমার সোনার বাংলা, আমি তোমায় ভালবাসি

চিরদিন তোমার আকাশ, তোমার বাতাস

আমার প্রাণে বাজায় বাঁশি ।

ও মা, ফাগুনে তোর আমের বেন

ছাণে পাগল করে

ও মা, অছাণে তোর ভরা ক্ষেত্রে

কী দেখেছি মধুর হাসি ।”

কিন্তু সেই পরম বাঞ্ছিত শ্রেষ্ঠ সাধনার পথে জাতি যাহাতে উদ্বেলিত লক্ষ্যভ্রষ্ট না হয়, তাই সাবধান করিয়া বলিয়াছিলেন-

“আমার স্বদেশ, আমার চিরন্ডন স্বদেশ, আমার পিতৃ-পিতামহের স্বদেশ, আমার সন্দ্বন-সন্দ্বতির স্বদেশ, আমার প্রাণদাতা শক্তিদাতা সম্পদদাতা স্বদেশ ।.... যে পথ কঠিন, যে পথ কস্টক-সঙ্কুল, সেই পথ যাত্রার জন্য প্রস্তুত হইয়াছি । আজ যাত্রারলন্ডে এখনো মেঘের গর্জন শোনা যায় নাই বলিয়া সমস্‌ডটাকে যেন খেলা বলিয়া মনে না করি । যদি বিদ্যুৎ চকিত হইতে থাকে বজ্র ধ্বনিত হইয়া উঠে, তবে তোমরা ফিরিয়ো না ফিরিয়ো না, দুর্ব্যোগের রক্তচক্ষুকে ভয় করিয়া তোমাদের পৌরস্বকে জগৎ-সমক্ষে অপমানিত করিয়ো না । বাধার সম্ভাবনা জানিয়াই চলিতে হইবে, দুঃখকে স্বীকার করিয়াই অগ্রসর হইতে হইবে । অতি বিবেচকদের ভীত পরামর্শে নিজেকে দুর্বল করিয়ো না । যখন বিধাতার ঝড় আসে, বন্যা আসে, তখন সংযত বেশে আসে না, কিন্ডপ্রয়োজন বলিয়াই আসে, তাহা ভাল-মন্দ লাভ-ক্ষতি দুই-ই লইয়া আসে ।”

তাই নানা ভাবে কবি বলিয়াছেন-

“আমি ভয় করবো না,

ভয় করবো না

দুবেলা মরার আগে

মরবো না ভাই মরবোঁ না ।

তরীখানা বাইতে গেলে

মারো মারো তুফান মেলে

তাই বলে হাল ছেড়ে দিয়ে

কান্নাকাটি ধরবো না ।”

“তোর আপন জনে ছাড়বে তোরে

তা বলে ভাবনা করা চলবে না ।

তোর আশালতা পড়বে ছিঁড়ে

হয়তো রে ফল ফলবে না ।

তা বলে ভাবনা করা চলবে না ।”

“বন্ধ দুয়ার দেখলি বলে

অমনি কি তুই আসবি চলে,

তোরে বারে বারে ঠেলতে হবে,

হয়তো দুয়ার টলবে না

তা বলে ভাবনা করা চলবে না ।”

(বিজয়া-সম্মিলন)

“যদি তোর ডাক শুনে কেউ না আসে

তবে একলা চলো রে ।”

“যদি ঝড় বাদলে আঁধার রাতে

দুয়ার দেয় ঘরে-

তবে বজ্রানলে

আপন বুকের পাজর জ্বালিয়ে নিয়ে

একলা জ্বলো রে ।”

এই আদর্শের বৈচিত্র-প্রকাশের মধ্যে কবি দেশপ্রণ প্রতিষ্ঠা করিয়াছেন-

“বাংলার মাটি, বাংলার জল,  
 বাংলার বায়ু, বাংলার ফল,  
 পূণ্য হউক, পুণ্য হউক,  
 বাঙালীর পণ, বাঙালীর আশা  
 বাঙালীর কাজ, বাঙালীর ভাষা,  
 সত্য হউক, সত্য হউক।”

“কোন বনেতে জানিনে ফুল  
 গন্ধে এমন করে আকুল;  
 কোন্ গগনে ওঠেরে চাঁদ  
 এমন হাসি হেসে।

আঁখি মেলে তোমার আলো  
 প্রথম আমার চোখ জুড়ালো,  
 ঐ আলোতেই নয়ন রেখে  
 মুদবো নয়ন শেষে।”

দেশের এই পরম কাল্পিত্ত প্রতিষ্ঠিত করিয়া কবি দেশের স্বরূপ উন্মোচিত করিয়া বলিয়াছেন-

“ভারতবর্ষের প্রধান সার্থকতা কী, এ কথায় স্পষ্ট উত্তর যদি কেহ জিজ্ঞাসা করেন, সে উত্তর আছে।  
 ভারতবর্ষের ইতিহাস সেই উত্তরকেই সমর্থন করিবে। ভারতবর্ষের চিরদিনই একমাত্র চেষ্টা দেখিতেছি,  
 প্রভেদের মধ্যে ঐক্য স্থাপন করা, নানা পথকে একই লক্ষ্যের অভিমুখীন করিয়া দেওয়া এবং বছর মধ্যে  
 এককে নিঃসংশয়রূপে অস্ফুটরূপে উপলব্ধি করা-বাহিরে যে সকল পার্থক্য প্রতীয়মান হয়, তাহাকে নষ্ট না  
 করিয়া তাহার ভিতরকার নিগুঢ়, যোগকে অধিকার করা।”

“পরস্পরের প্রতি আমাদের দাবী আছে। আমাদের সমাজের গঠনই সেইরূপ। আমাদের সমাজে যে ধনী সে দান করিবে, যে গৃহী সে আতিথ্য করিবে, যে জ্ঞানী সে অধ্যাপনা করিবে, যে জ্যেষ্ঠ সে পালন করিবে, যে কনিষ্ঠ সে সেবা করিবে। ইহাই বিধান। পরস্পরের দাবীতে আমরা পরস্পর বাধ্য। ইহাই আমরা মঙ্গল বলিয়া জানি। প্রার্থী যদি ফিরিয়া যায় তবে ধনীরা পক্ষেই তাহা অশুভ, অতিথি যদি ফিরিয়া যায় তবে গৃহীর পক্ষেই তাহা অকল্যাণ। শুভকর্মে সর্মকর্তরি পক্ষেই শুভ।”

এই কল্পনায় কবির কোন প্রকার সংকীর্ণতা নাই। বিরাট হৃদয়েই তিনি বিরাট কল্পনা করিয়াছেন। শত শত মানুষের ধারা আসিয়া এই ভারতের সৃষ্টি। পুঞ্জীভূত ভাবের সমাবেশে ভারত-সভ্যতা স্থাপিত-

“কেহ নাহি জানে কার আহবানে  
কত মানুষের ধারা  
দুর্বীর শ্রোতে এলো কোথা হতে  
সমুদ্রে হোলো হারা।  
হেথায় আর্য্য, হেথা অনার্য্য,  
হেথায় দ্রাবিড় চীন  
শক ছন গল পাঠান মোগল  
এক দেহে হল লীন।”

ইহাই ভারতের স্বরূপ।

“পতন অভ্যুদয় বন্ধুর পস্থা  
যুগ যুগ ধাবিত যাত্রী  
তুমি চির সারথি তব রথচক্রে  
মুখরিত পথ দিন-রাত্রি।  
দারুণ বিপণ্ডব মাঝে, তবে শঙ্খধ্বনি বাজে,  
শঙ্কট দুঃখত্রাতা।  
জন-গণ-পথ-পরিচায়ক জয়হে ভারত-  
ভাগ্যবিধাতা।”

(ভারতবর্ষের ইতিহাস বারোয়ারি-মঙ্গল)

এই বিরাট মাহামানবতার উপর ভারতের বিরাট ভবিষ্যৎ নিহিত। শুধু নিজেরাই যেন নিজেদের শত্রুতা না করি,-

“ঝড় তুফানে ঢেউয়ের মারে  
তবু তরী বাঁচতে পারে  
সবার বড়ো মার যে তোমার  
ছিদ্রটার ঐ মার খান।”

এই বিরাট কল্পনায় কবি বলিয়াছেন,-

“উত্তরে হিমাচলের পাদমূল হইতে দক্ষিণে তরঙ্গ-মুখর সমুদ্রকূল পর্য্যন্ত, নদীজালজড়িত পূর্ব-সীমান্দ হইতে শৈলমালাবন্ধুর পশ্চিমপ্রান্ত পর্য্যন্ত বিস্তৃত প্রসারিত করো। যে চাষী চাষ করিয়া এতক্ষণে ঘরে ফিরিয়াছে তাহাকে সম্ভাষণ করো, যে রাখাল খেন্দলকে গোষ্ঠগৃহে এতক্ষণে ফিরাইয়া আনিয়াছে তাহাকে সম্ভাষণ করো, শঙ্খমুখরিত দেবালয়ে যে পুজার্থী আগত হইয়াছে, তাহাকে সম্ভাষণ করো, অস্ফুটসূর্যের দিকে মুখ ফিরাইয়া যে মুসলমান নামাজ পড়িয়া উঠিয়াছে, তাহাকে সম্ভাষণ করো। আজ সাহাছে গঙ্গার শাখা-প্রশাখা বাহিয়া ব্রহ্মপুত্রের কুল উপকূল দিয়া একবার বাংলাদেশের পূর্বের পশ্চিমে আপন অস্ফুটের আলিঙ্গন বিস্তৃত করিয়া দাও, আজ বাংলাদেশের সমস্ত ছায়াতরঙ্গ-নিবিড় গ্রামগুলির উপরে এতক্ষণে যে শারদ আকাশে একাশীর চন্দ্রমা জ্যোৎস্না ধারা অজস্র ঢালিয়া দিয়াছে সেই নিস্ফুট গুচি রঙ্গির সন্ধ্যাকাশে তোমাদের সম্মিলিত হৃদয়ের গীতিধ্বনি” “একপ্রান্ত হইতে আর এক প্রান্তে পরিব্যাপ্ত হইয়া যাক।”

আজ আমরা যেন সেই আদর্শ হইতে বিচ্যুত না হই, ইহাই আমাদের কামনা। জীবনের প্রান্তে কবি গাহিয়াছিলেন-

“যেথায় পুরানো গান  
যেথায় হারানো হাসি  
যেথা আছে বিস্মৃত স্বপন,  
সেইখানে সযতনে  
রেখে দিস গানগুলি  
রচে দিস সমাধি শয়ন।”

আজ তাঁহার চির সমাধির পর রবীন্দ্রনাথের বাণী বাঙ্গালীর মরমে পরতে পরতে আঁকা আছে। রবীন্দ্রনাথ মরদেহ ত্যাগ করিয়াছেন, কিন্তু মরেন নাই। কালিদাস, বাঙ্গীকি, কীর্তিবাস, ভারতচন্দ্র, সেক্সপীয়র, মিল্টন, লেদোস ওমর খৈয়াম, ইকবাল যেমন সঞ্জীবিত, সত্য, রবীন্দ্রনাথও সেইরূপ বাংলা সাহিত্যে, বিশ্ব-সাহিত্যে অমর অক্ষর হইয়া থাকিবেন।

তবু আজ তাঁহার স্মৃতিদিনে শুধু মনে হইতেছে, কি যেন নাই, কি যেন হারাইয়াছি। আর তাঁহাকে আমাদের এত নিকটে পাইব না। মর জগতের সকল মায়ার বাঁধন কাটিয়া তিনি আজ অমরলোকে বিরাজমান। কেমন করিয়া তাঁহার মর-স্মৃতি জাতির মধ্যে দেশের মধ্যে জাগাইয়া রাখিব, তাহা আমরা ভাবিয়া দেখিবার সুযোগ পাই নাই। শোকসন্ডুস্ত বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়- আমরা এখনও শোকাচ্ছন্ন। তবে বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের পক্ষে এই কথা বলিতে চাই যে, যাহাতে তাঁহার স্মৃতি এই বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ে সর্বদা অভিনন্দিত থাকে, তাহার জন্য আমরা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয় হইতে শীঘ্র একটি মীমাংসা করিব, বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের সিভিকিটের পক্ষ হইতে এই কথা আজ আপনাদিগকে জানাইতে চাই। কিন্তু আমরা যাহাই করি না কেন, বাঙ্গালী যেন একথা ভুলিয়া না যায়, কবির বিমিষ্ট সৃষ্টি বিশ্বভারতী সেই, বিশ্বভারতী যেন আমাদের দেশে বাঁচিয়া থাকে, নতুনবা বাঙ্গালীর মুখ রাখিবার স্থান থাকিবে না।

পরিশেষে বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের পক্ষ হইতে আমি এই প্রস্তুত আপনাদিগের সম্মুখে উপস্থাপিত করিতে চাই-“কবি রবীন্দ্রনাথের মহাপ্রয়াণে আজ সমগ্র বাংলাদেশ শোকসন্ডুস্ত। অর্ধ-শতাব্দীর উর্ধ্বকাল কবি বাঙালীকে, ভারতবাসীকে, জগৎকে নানা দিক দিয়া যেন দান করিয়াছেন, তাহা যুগযুগান্তর ধরিয়া মানব হৃদয়কে সঞ্জীবিত ও অনুপ্রাণিত করিবে। আজ তিনি মরজগতের সকল বন্ধন কাটিয়া অমরলোকে বিরাজমান। এই স্মৃতিদিনে আমরা তাঁহার শোকসন্ডুস্ত পরিবার ও বিশ্বভারতীর সকলকেই আমাদের অস্ফুটতম সববেদনা জানাইতেছি।”



## APPENDIX-VI:

### NAZRUL SONGIT (NAZRUL SONGS)

আজিজুল হকের শিক্ষামন্ত্রী পদ-প্রাপ্তিতে ১৯৩৪-এর ২২ জুলাই শালিড়পুর জুবিলি মাদ্রাসায় এক সংবর্ধনা অনুষ্ঠানে “সাদর সন্দ্রষণ” প্রকাশিত হয়। এতে নজরুল একটি গান লিখে দেন:

শুধু নদীয়ার নহ তুমি, আজ  
 বাঙলার গৌরব।  
 দিগ্ দিগলেড় লুটাইয়া পড়ে  
 তব যশঃ-সৌরভ  
 জলাঙ্গী অঞ্জনা চূর্ণীতে  
 বাজে তরঙ্গ কল-সঙ্গীতে,  
 কুল কুলু রবে কুলে তাহাদের  
 ধ্বনিছে তোমার স্ফুর

হৃদয়ে আসন পাতা ছিল, আজ  
 পেলে রাজাসন ধীরে,  
 ধন্য হইল শিরোপা আজিকে  
 বরিয়া তোমার শির।  
 ওগো বীর, তুমি রাজ-সম্মান  
 নীলে জয় করি, লহ নাই দান,  
 সুন্দরতর আজ তাই তব  
 শুভ বিজয়োৎসব

## APPENDIX-VII:

**POEM OF POET KORUNANEDHE BONDHOPADDHAY  
ANONDO USSASH (Avb>' -D"Qlm)**

ওই মানপত্রে কবি করুণানিধান বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায়ের (১৮৭৭-১৯৫৫) “আনন্দ-উচ্ছ্বাস” শিরোনামে একটি কবিতাও মুদ্রিত হয়। কবিতাটি সম্পূর্ণ উদ্ধৃত হলো:

Avb>' -D"Qlm

মোস্লেম-কুল গৌরব তুমি

ধন্য জনম তব,

হও নন্দিত লোক-বন্দিত

পর যশোমালা নব।

নেহারি আজিকে তব মুখপানে

জাগিছে মোদের মনে

অতীতেরে স্মৃতি কত না কাহিনী

আজি এ পুণ্য ক্ষণে।

‘হক্ দোস্‌ড্’ তুমি বিজয়ী তোমারে

ক'করেছেন খোদা তা'লা,

তিনিই তোমারে আদর করিয়া

পরালেন বর-মালা।

শিক্ষ মন্ত্রী যশোমর্যাদা

লভিয়াছ তুমি হেথা,

নদীয়া জেলার জন-সমাজের

তুমি কল্যাণ-নেতা।

দেখাইলে পথ চালাইলে রথ

সুবিচার-রেখা ধরি,

ন্যায়ের সময়ে আমার হইয়া  
থাক দিবা-বিভাবরী ।  
বিভূপদে নতি করি' তম মতি  
হোক নিস্মলতর,  
হও তুমি প্রিয় সবার বন্ধু  
হও প্রাণে-মনে বড় ।  
রাজসভা-মারো হও গো রত্ন  
কোহিনূর জিনি' ভাতি,  
প্রতিভায় তব ভাস্বর হোক  
অজ্ঞান অমা-রাতি ।  
পূরাইও তুমি প্রাণের বাসনা,  
ধ্যানের কামনা যত,  
বাডুক তোমার ধর্মবুদ্ধি,  
হও চিরহিতব্রত ।  
যাহা চিরশুভ যাহা চিরধর্ম  
তারি পানে মেল চোখ,  
শতদল-সম মরম-কমল  
সুখে বিকশিত হোক ।

## APPENDIX-VIII:

### POEM OF POET SADAT HOSEN

ভারতের হাই কমিশনার রূপে

স্যার মোহাম্মদ আজিজুল হক সাহেবের

ৱেজ vZ-hvÍ v Dcj †¶ : -

সিন্ধু-পারের আহ্বান আজি এসেছে তোমার পাশে,  
বিদায় বেলায় আসিয়াছে কবি-বৃহের আশীষ-আশে।  
শালিড়পুরের নহ তুমি আজ-নহ শুধু বাংলার,  
সারা ভারতের মুকুটের মণি, তসলীম্ বারবার,  
যাত্রা-পথের কস্টক তব রূপায়িত হোক ফুলে,  
ফেনিল মায়ায় উঠুক সিন্ধু জয়তী মন্ড্রে দুলে।  
দিগ্বিজয়ের রঙীন ঝাঙা হাতে ল'য়ে আরবার  
সাধনার শেষে ফিরে এস,-কবি যাচিছে বারংবার।

পন্ডিতপোল, ২৪ পরগণা

২৪শে ফাল্গুন, ১৩৪৮

শ্রদ্ধানত-

শাহাদাত হোসেন

## APPENDIX-IX:

### LITERATURE OF MOHAMMAD AZIZUL HUQUE

iPbvi wb' k

fviZi 'vb\*

মোর কাঞ্চন ধন বিভব রতন কনক শস্যরাজি  
আমি সকলি তোমায় সঁপেছি যতনে ভরিয়ে অমল সাজি ।  
এই বুকের মাণিক সম্প্রদানগুলি পাঠায়েছি তব কাজে,  
আমি মা হ'য়ে তাদের দিয়েছি সমরে পরা'য়ে বীরের সাজে ।  
যবে কস্মভেরীর গুঁনেছি আহ্বান মুছিয়া ফেলেছি গণ্টানি,  
শুধু তোমারি ক্যার্যে সঁপেছি তাদের গুনা'য়ে আশীষ বাণী ।  
ওগো সহসা আমার রত্নমালিকা ছিড়িল কণ্ঠমূলে,  
কত ঝরিল মুকুতা সুযশ-ধ্বল পারস্য-উপকূলে;  
সেই বালুকাধুসর মিসরভূমিতে লটা' ল কত না শির,  
রণে মলিন-কপোল ছিন্ন-হস্ড় আমার অযুত বীর ।  
আহা কালের কঠোর অসিতে ছুটিল ফ্রান্সে সে লছধারা,  
মোর হৃদিকুঞ্জের দ্রাক্ষাপুঞ্জ কত না সেথায় হারা ।  
আজি নয়নের নীর ঝর ঝর করি ঝরিছে তাদের লাগি,  
আঘি তাহাদের স্মৃতি বক্ষে ধরিয়া-দিবস-রজনী জাগি ।  
শত নিরাশার মাঝে সম্মল মোর তাদের কাহিনী স্মরি,  
দেখ অটুট গবের্ব আমার বক্ষ র'য়েছে সতত ভরি ।  
ঘন আঁধার-মথিত হৃদয়ে আমার আশার স্বপন জ্বলে,  
আজি উড়িছে তোমার বিজয় নিশান চৌদিকে জলে থলে ।  
ওগো ভয়-বিভীষিকা ঝটিকা তুফান সকলি কেটেছে আজ,

দেখি নুতন করিয়া গড়িছ জীবন শান্দিড়-সিনান মাঝ ।  
জেনো মোসলেম বীর অযুত অযুত জীবন সঁপিল যারা ।  
তারা পরের বেদনা আপন করিয়া ঢেলেছে শোণিত-ধারা ।  
এবে ন্যায়-রক্ষণে শান্দিড় মাঝে হাসিছে জগৎ-তুমি,  
ওগো ভুলিবে কি মোর শহীদ তনয়ে, স্মরিবে কি আজ তুমি?

\* শ্রীমতী সরোজিনী নাইডুব 'The Gift of India' অবলম্বনে

MRj

মন হ'তে বঁধু দূর কর যদি,  
সে দূরের বড় ডরি না;  
বঁধু ভাল লাগে যদি দিলেতে তোমার  
মুছে তবে মোরে ফ্যালো না ।  
তব আঙিনার পাশে সারাটা জীবন  
তব আশে আছি পড়িয়া,  
তাহে দূর কর যদি নয়ন সখা,  
সে দূরের বড় ভাবনা ।  
তব ভালবাসা হে প্রেম-বঁধুয়া,  
যায় যদি ফুঁয়ে উড়িয়া,  
মম ভালবাসা পাথরে গড়েছি  
সেত নাহি যাবে মুছিয়া ।  
(একটি উর্দু গজলের অনুবাদ)

## MRj

সাখার পিয়াসে পরাণ আমার  
তৃণের সমান শুকিয়ে গেছে,  
কালী হ'ল মোর সোণার শরীর  
আশা-পথ তার বৃথায় যেচে ।  
তৃণ উঠাইতে আমার এখন  
হিমালয়বৎ মনে যে হয়,  
ভয় হয় পাছে ভুল ক'রে মোরে  
তৃণ ভেবে পাখী খুঁটিয়া লয় ।

bl #i vR, AvI vp, 1327 |

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### ENGLISH BOOKS:

- M. Azizul Huque, *History and Problems of Moslem Education in Bengal*, Thacker, Spink & Co. Calcutta, 1917;
- M. Azizul Huque, *The Man behind the Plough*, Posthumous Publication, Calcutta, 1939;
- M. Azizul Huque, *Education and Retrenchment*, Posthumous Publication, Calcutta, 1924;
- M. Azizul Huque, *A Plea for Separate Electorates in Bengal*, Posthumous Publication, Calcutta, 1931;
- M. Azizul Huque, *The Sword of the Crescent Moon*, Islami Foundation, 1984;
- Shahanara Alam & Husniara Huq (ed), M Azizul Huque, *Life Sketch and selected writings*, Published by S. Alam & H. Haq, Green Road, Dhaka, 1984;
- Shahanara Alam & Husniara Huq (end), *Azizul Huque A Biographical Account of his Life and Work*, Published by S. Alam & H. Haq, Green Road, Dhaka, 1994;
- Sir P. Griffiths-*The British Impact of India*;
- *Encyclopedia of Islam*, Vol-I;
- Allana, G., ed., *Pakistan Movement: Historic Document*, vol. I (Karachi, n.d.);



- Das, Durga, ed., *Sardar Patel's Sardar Patel's Correspondence* (Bombay, 1972), vol. III and IV;
- Das, Tarak Chandra, *Bengal Famine 1943: As Revealed in a Survey of Destitute in Calcutta* (Calcutta, 1949)
- Huq, Fazlul A.K., *Bengal To day* (Calcutta 1944).
- Kabir, Humayun, *Muslim Politics, 1906-42* (Calcutta, 1943).
- Karim, Abdul, *Letters on Hindu-Muslim Pact* (Calcutta, 1924).
- Mansergh, Nicholas, *Transfer of Power*, (London, 1974), Vols.5
- Mujibur Rahman Khan, *Pakistan*, (Calcutta, 1945).
- Pirzada Syed Sarifuddin, ed., *Foundations of Pakistan. All India Muslim League Documents: 1906-1947*, (Karachi n.d.) vols. I and II.
- Sherwani, Latif Ahmed, ed., *Pakistan Resolution to Pakistan 1940-1947*, (Karachi 1969).
- Ahmed, Jamil-ud-din, *Muslim India and its Goal*, (Aligarh, 1940).
- Ahmed Kamaruddin, *A Social History of Bengal*, (Dacca, 1970), edn.3
- Ahmed, Sufia, *Muslim Community in Bengal, 1884-1912*, ( Dacca 1974).
- Aziz, K.K., *Britain and Muslim India*, (London, 1963).
- Bahadur, L., *The Muslim League, Its History, Activities and Achievements*, (Agra, 1954).
- Basu, Santipriya, *Banglar Chasi*, (Calcutta, 1351 B.S./1944).
- Bolitho, H., *Jinnah: Creator of Pakistan*, (London 1954)
- Bose, N. K., *Modern Bengal*,(Calcutta, 1959).
- Broomfield, J.H., *Elite Conflict in a Plural Society: Twentieth Century Bengal*, (Bombay), 1968).
- Callard, K., *Pakistan: A political Study*, (London, 1957).

- Chatterji, A., *The Constitutional Development in India: 1937-47*, (Calcutta, 1958).
- Chatterjee, D.K., *C.R. Das and India National Movement*, (Calcutta, 1965).
- Choudhury, B.M., *Muslim Politics in India* (Calcutta, 1965).
- Caoupland, R., *Report on the Constitutional Problem in India* (London, 1945), 3 parts.
- Das M.N., *India under Morley and Minto* (London, 1964).
- Dasgupta, S., *Obscure Religious Cults* (Calcutta, 1962), ed. 2.
- Datta, K.K., *Studies in the History of Bengal Subah* (Calcutta, 1936)
- Desai, A.R., *Social Background of Indian Nationalism* (Bombay, 1966), ed. 4.
- Ghose, J.M., *Sannashi and Fakir Raiders in Bengal* (Calcutta, 1930).
- Huque, E., *Nawab Bahadur Abdul Latif: His Writings and Selected Documents* (Dacca, 1968),
- Karim, A.K.M., *The Modern Muslim Political Elite in Bengal*, (Dacca, 1972).
- P.E.Roberts-*History of British India under the Company and the Crown*, 2nd Edition;
- H.K.Sherwani, *The political thought of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan*, July, 1944;
- Shila Sen, *Muslim politics in Bengal 1937-1947*, New Delhi;
- S. Dasgupta, *Obscure religious Cults*, Calcutta, 1962;
- N. K. Boss, *Modern Bengal*, Calcutta ,1958;
- Harun-or –Rashid, *Foreshadowing of Bangladesh*;
- Fazli Rubbi, *the Origin of The Musalmans of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1895;
- Ghesh, *Higher Education in Bengal under British Rule*, Calcutta 1926;

- Abdul Karim, *Social History of Bengal*, Asiatic Society, Dhaka, 1969;
- A.R.Mallik-*British Policy and the Muslim in Bengal (1757-1856)*, Dhaka, 1965;
- Ram Gopal, *Indian Muslim: A Political History (1858-1947)*, Asia Publishing House, 1964;
- R.C.Dutta-*Economic History of India*, London, 1950;
- W.W.Hunter-*The Indian Mussulmen's*, London, 1922;
- P. Hardy, *Muslims of British India*, Cambridge, 1972;
- Latifa Akanda, *Social History of Muslim of Bengal*, Dhaka; ICCD, 1986;
- A.F. Salahuddin Ahmad, *Social Ideas and social Change in Bengal (1818-1935)*, Leiden, 1965;
- I.H. Quereshi, *The Muslim Community of Indo-Pak Sub continent (1710-1947)*, Delhi, 1985;
- Smith, WC, *Modern Islam in India: A Social Analysis*, 2nd ed. Lahore, 1947;
- Zia-ul-Hasan Furuqi, *The Deoband School and Demand for Pakistan*, Bombay, 1963;
- Noman, Mohamad, *Muslim India Rise and Growth of the All-India Muslim League*, Allahabad 1942;
- Abdul Hamid, *Muslim Separatism in India*, Oxford University Press, Punjab, 1967;
- Iqtidar Hussain Siddiqui, *Islam and Muslims in south Asia*, Delhi, 1987;
- Azad Maulana Abul kalam, *India Wins Freedom*, Delhi, Rpt.1972;
- Nadwi, S.Abul Hasan Ali, *Muslims in India*, Lucknow, 1980;
- Desa,A.R. *Social background of Indian Nationalism*. Delhi;
- Hafeez Malik, *Moslem Nationalism in India and Pakistan*, Washington

D.C.1963;

- Gautam Chattopadhyay, *Bengal Electoral Politics and Freedom Struggle 1862-1947*, New Delhi, 1984;
- Percival Spear, *The Oxford History of Modern India 1740-1947*, Oxford, 1965;
- *An Autobiography, The story of my experimental with Truth; Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi*, Indialog Publications;
- *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol VII, 1909.

## evsj v MŠvej x:

- ভূইয়া ইকবাল, m'vi AwRRj nK, বাংলা একাডেমী, ঢাকা, ১৯৯৪।
- এম আজিজুল হক, evsj vi K.I.K, অনু: ওসমান গণি, বাংলা একাডেমী, ঢাকা, ১৯৯২।
- আজহার ইসলাম, tgvRi#s#j nK, বাংলা একাডেমী, ১৯৯৩, ঢাকা।
- আনিসুজ্জামান, g#mj g evsj vi mvgwqKcI 1831-1930, বাংলা একাডেমী, ঢাকা, ১৯৬৯।
- আবুল কামাল শামসুদ্দীন, AZxZ w' tbi -šjZ, খোশরোজ কিতাব মহল, ঢাকা, ১৯৮৫।
- আবুল ফজল, ti LwPI, চট্টগ্রামঃ বইঘর (১৯৬৪)।
- কামরুদ্দীন আহমদ, evsj vi ga'we#Ei AvZweKvk (2q LÜ), ঢাকাঃ ইনসাইড লাইব্রেরী।
- খোন্দকার সিরাজুল হক, g#mj g mwnZ'' mgvRt mgvRwPšv I mwnZ'' Kg, বাংলা একাডেমী, ১৯৮৪।
- প্রভাত কুমার মুখোপাধ্যায়, i ex' #R#ebx (4\_@LÜ), কলকাতা: বিশ্বভারতী, ১৩৭১।
- মোহাম্মদ ওয়ালীউল-াহ, hMwe#PIv, মাওলা ব্রাদার্স, ঢাকা, ১৯৬৭।
- মোহাম্মদ মনিরজ্জামান, mvgwqKcI mwnZ''wPšv: mI MwZ, ঢাকা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়, ১৯৮১।
- শওকত আরা হোসেন, e#xq e'e'vcK mfv 1921-1936, Awef<sup>3</sup> evsj vi mgvR I ivRbwZ, ১৯৯০, ঢাকা।
- সিরাজুল ইসলাম, evsj vi BwZnm Jcwb#emkK kimbKwW#gv (1757-1857), বাংলা একাডেমী ১৯৮৪।
- সুফিয়া আহমদ, evsj vi g#mj g m#C#vq 1884-1912, অনু: সৈয়দ মোহাম্মদ শাহেদ, বাংলা একাডেমী, ঢাকা, ২০১২।
- মুহাম্মদ আবদুর রহিম, evsj vi g#mj gvb# i BwZnm (1757-1947), ঢাকা, ২০০২।
- সম্পাদক-সিরাজুল ইসলাম, evsj v#' #ki BwZnm, এশিয়াটিক সোসাইটি।
- ড. মুহাম্মদ ইনাম-উল-হক, fvi#Zi g#mj gvb I -#axZv Av#' vj b (1709-1947), বাংলা একাডেমী, ঢাকা। ২০০৩।
- প্রফেসর ড. ওয়াজেদ আলী, evsj vi A\_#wZK BwZnm (1757-1947),।

- আবুল মনসুর আহমদ, *Avghi t' Lv ivRbwiZi cÁvk eQi*, ঢাকা, ২০১০।
- ড. মোঃ আব্দুল-হ আল মাসুম, *weilUk Avgtj evsj vi gmnwj g wk¶v mgm'v I cÁvi (1871-1941)*, বাংলা একাডেমী, ঢাকা, ২০০৮।
- শ্রীরমেশচন্দ্র মজুমদার, *evsj v t' tki BwZnm (AvaybK hM) gWmsMóg*, বনলতা, ২০০০।
- জয়া চ্যাটার্জী, অনুবাদ-আবু জাফর, *ev0j v fVM nj*, (1932-1947), ইউনিভার্সিটি প্রেস, ২০০৭।
- যশোবল্লভ সিংহ, *WRbe fvi Z t' k fVM -faxbZv*, আনন্দ পাবলিকেশন, ২০০৯।
- অনু মোহাম্মদ আসাদুজ্জামান, *evsj v mvgvRK I mvs -wZK BwZnm*, বাংলা একাডেমী, ২০১২।
- ড: ইমরান হোমেন, *ev0vwj gmnwj g epx: wPšv I Kg©*

## **JOURNALS AND NEWS PAPERS (ENGLISH):**

- The HINDUSTHAN STANDARD, SIR AZIZUL HUQUE, 1942;
- The Ananda Bazar Patrica, Banglar Tritio Montri Khan Bahadur Azizul Huque, Sangkhipto Jibon Kotha, Calcutta, 1934;
- The Morning News, Eid Special, 1934;
- The B.G. Press, 1937-38;
- The Mosulman, Eid Special, 1936;
- The Star of India, 1934;
- The Daily Star, 1994;
- The Sunday Statesman, 1947;
- The Calcutta review, May, 1939, Dacca Muslim students;

## CVI Kv:

- আনন্দবাজার পত্রিকা, ১৩৪১ evs
- নওরোজ, ১৩৩৪ evs
- বসুমতী (দৈনিক), ১৩৪১ evs
- বুলবুল , ১৩৪৩ evs
- মোসলেম ভারত, ১৩২৭ evs
- মোহাম্মদী (মাসিক), ১৩৪১ evs
- সওগাত (মাসিক), ১৩৪৬ evs



## **REPORTS:**

- Hunter Education Commission report, 1882, (Calcutta, 1883);
- Report on the census of Bengal 1872;
- Report on the census of Bengal 1891, vol.iii;
- Report on the Moslem Education Advisory Committee, 1934;
- Ninth Quinquennial Review on the Progress of Education in Bengal 1932-37;
- Report on public Instruction in Bengal, 1933-34; Alipore, 1935
- Report on public Instruction in Bengal, 1934-35, Alipore, 1936;
- Report on public Instruction in Bengal, 1935-36, Alipore, 1937;
- Report on public Instruction in Bengal, 1937-38, Alipore, 1939;
- Government of Bengal: Education Department: Education Resolution, No.2517 Edition, Calcutta, 27th July, 1935;

## **LETTERS:**

- A letter from Rabindranath Tagore to M. Azizul Huque at 18 Sept. in 1935;
- Letters to Mohammad Azizul Huque from Sir Sallimullah;
- Letter of M. Azizul Huque to S.N.Dutt;
- Letter of M. Azizul Huque to Mozzammel Huq;
- Minute by the Lieutenant Governor F. J. Halliday, 15 September 1858;
- Letter from W.N .Lees.to the D.P.I.No.185, 11 May 1858, para;
- Letter from Bengal, No, 632, 28 Feb 1871;
- Letter from the govt. of India to the Govt. of Bengal, no-1219, 2 July 1860;
- Letter from Bengal, No 1167, 10th Nov, 1857;
- Home Dept. Letter No 130 of the court of Directors of the East India Company;

## **SPEECHES:**

- Sir M. Azizul Huque, Presidential Address, Jubbulpore, April 16, 1944;
- M. Azizul Huque, A lecture on “Ancient system of Irrigation in Bengal” and its application to Modern Problems, published by University of Calcutta, 1930;
- M. Azizul Huque, A speech in Address 3rd Session of Indian History Congress, 15 December 1939;
- Sir John Herbert, An Speech at special convocation on Azizul Huque, Calcutta University, March 12, 1942;
- Vice Chancellor’s Speech on Present Educational System in Lamentable State’ Growth of Private Tuition a Nuisance- feeling reference to school teachers; February 03, 1940;