

THE STATUS OF MUSLIM EDITED NEWSPAPERS & MAGAZINES IN BENGAL AFTER PARTITION (1947-2017)

Golam Rashid*

*PhD Research Scholar UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA Dept. of Islamic History and Culture, grihc_rs@caluniv.ac.in
0000-0003-2460-9067

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

At the midnight of 15th August, 1947, India was born as independent nation with the tragedy like a Shakespearean drama. Here, it is called Partition. The great Indian empire was divided into two parts—India and Pakistan. After partition, we faced a fatal consequences and bloodsheds. Radcliffe line bifurcated the souls of Indian as Hindu and Muslim.

At that time of migration, most of the intellectuals and rich Bengali Muslims choose the option of East Pakistan (independent and sovereign Bangladesh from 1971) as their country. West Bengal Muslims turned into weaker section in the field of literature, property, economy, development. They became literary illiterate. They fall into boundless Bay of Bengal.

Media sector is also included in the infertile land of Bengali Muslims. Newspapers, Magazines, literature were hardly touched the Muslims. Gradually they were distracted from the mainstream of socio-cultural-economical process.

THEME

We have travelled seventy years of journey after independence. Muslims has been identified as other backward class in education, service and culture. For this reason, they have no progress in media portion. We shall look through the glass of observation that the status of Muslim media in this seventy years of hard journey. It will give us a clear view of the status. The report of Sachar Committee stated that Muslims are very backward in education as well as another sector. We shall try to search the reason of this backwardness as we believe that the progress of community stands for its literature, culture and heritage. The research will show us a way to further development in future.

Partition is a big incident in our country. When we tell about independence it also makes us nostalgic about partition. And newspaper, journal, magazine is the mouthpiece of the progress of the nation. In 1780, James Augustus Hickey first published the newspaper Bengal Gazette the general advertiser. It was a weekly political and commercial paper. Digdarshan, Samachar Darpan were the pioneer in Bengal newspaper. Raja Rammohun Roy and his 'Sangbad kumudi' was also remarkable. The first Muslim edited newspaper was 'samachar sava rajendra' in 1831. Editor was Sheikh Alimullah. Then 'Jagaduddipakvaskar' (editor- Maulavi Rajab Ali, 1846), 'Faridpur darpan' (Ala Hedad Khan, 1861), 'Ajijonnehar' (Mir Mosharraf Hossen, 1874), 'Mohammadi Akhbar' (editor-Kazi Abdul Khaleque, 1877), 'Akhbar-e-Islamia' (Muhammad Naimuddin, 1884), 'Musalman' (Mohammad Reajuddin Ahmad, 1884), 'Musalmanbandhu' (1885), 'Islam Pracharak' (Mohammad Reaj Uddin Ahmad, 1891), 'Al Eslam' (Mohammad Akram Khan, 1915). Vabanicharan's Samachar Chandrika was the regular paper started in 1822. In this field Muslims are lagged behind by the fifty years. This gap is not fulfilled even now. There were about hundred newspapers during 19th century. The Muslims have only 28 newspapers. In 20th century, it was slightly changed. Muhammadi by Akram Khan, Sawgat by Md Nasiruddin, Dhumketu, Langol and Dainik Navayug by Kazi Nazrul Islam, Chaturanga by Humayun Kabir gave a proper direction to Bengali Muslim Media. After partition, they had to take shelter in East Pakistan and obviously the rest West Bengal turned into desert in the field of media and intellectuals. (Anisuzzaman, Muslim Manos O Bangla Sahitya (Muslim mind and Bengali Literature), 1964)

First decade after the independence of India, there were hardly Bengali intellectual Muslim in West Bengal. Kazi Abdul Odud, Abu Sayyid Ayyub were the few among Muslim intellectuals. The rebel poet Kazi Nazrul Islam was also stayed here. But then he was ill. His creativity was stopped. Abdul Aziz Al-Amaan at first went to Bangladesh. Later he returned and led the Bengal Muslim journalism.

OBJECTIVE

The Muslim-edited Bengali newspaper after partition (1947-2017) can be discussed in three phases. The first phases from 1947 to 1992 may be called Pre-Babri Masjid demolition phase. This period has nothing significant newspaper or magazines. The former newspaper and periodicals were running in this period. We took the name of 'Azad' edited by Maulana Akram Khan. But Akram Khan On 50's went East Pakistan. The 'Chaturanga' was a famous literary magazine at this period. It was initiated by Dr Humayun Kabir before independence. It was run successfully after independence. Later Abdur Rauf edited it for 26 years of magnificent journey.

At this period another newspaper was significant. Actually, it was the first Bengali daily newspaper after independence in west Bengal. The name of that daily newspaper was 'Paigam'. This newspaper was very popular among Muslims and running up to late 1970's.

Beyond these newspaper, the 'Kafela' was the pioneer in Bengal Muslim literary renaissance after partition. It was edited by Abdul Aziz Al-Amaan. He was not only an editor but also a big publisher of college street. The name of his publishing house was HarafPrakashani. He initiated an emergence in Muslim literary society. Syed Mustafa Siraj, SunilGanguli, Abdul Jabbar, AbdurRaquib. Annadashankar Roy etc eminent writer wrote on his magazine.

At the second phase, from 1993 to 2002, the Muslim society has faced tremendous changed and progress in their lives. The Gujarat Riot occurred in 2002. So, it is significant for Muslims in India. Abdul Aziz Al-Amaan started a weekly newspaper 'NatunGati' from the year of 1984. Before his death on 1994, he gave the baton of NatunGati to Emdadul Haque Noor. The new editor of the weekly had the great potential why it is now one of the major newspaper in Bengali. At early 80's another weekly newspaper was started named Kalom. It has introduced a new era in Bengal Muslim journalism. Investigative journalism gave the fame. The editor of this newspaper is Ahmad Hassan. This weekly newspaper is now published as daily newspaper.

From 2003 to 2017, there are significant numbers of magazine and newspaper in Bengal run by Muslims. Early 90's education movement led by Al-Ameen Mission created a middle class educated class in Muslimsociety. This leads to progress in Muslim journalism field. Muslim student took interested in journalism. But this is not so significant. Till now they are lag behind in every sector of development as well as journalism and literature. OnKafela magazine Mas-Ud-Ar-Rahman wrote about this tragedy specifically in his essay 'Progress reluctant Bengali musalman'(Bangalimusalmanpragatibimukhota). He wrote, "Bengali Muslims closed the door of progress. When rest of the world goes to forward, they lied on closed room and thought about glorious past. There is no acceptance to hug the new world and development that is good for them. They always criticise and laughed at the modernity called 'anti shariah' to reject it immediately. From the stage of speech to journalism and literature, there is no contribution and enthusiasm."(Mas-Ud-Ar-Rahman, 1966)

HYPOTHESIS

I would like to read, research and collect information about the particular topicbefore coming into any conclusion. But the conclusion of this synopsis is thatwe hope a very honest and useful research on this topic so that the future maybe clear to step forward for Muslim Community in the field of Journalism. Itmay be positive or negative, but it will be an unbiased observation about theMuslim media. The riots, Babri Masjid Demolition, lack of education lagged behind them. So, we will not be hopeless if we see the Muslim-edited newspapers tells about this backwardness, riots, Hindu nationalism and defending themselves.After partition, in West Bengal Abdul Aziz Al Amaan introduced a newspaper magazine named Jagoran and Kafela. These are actually literature magazine with the view of Muslim community progress. Kalom started in 1982 as newspaper-cum-magazine by Ahamed Hassan. It turned into daily in 2012.This is remarked as first Bengali daily after partition. Dindarpan, Voice of Wadi, NatunGati also has given some special strength to Bengali Journalism. NatunGati editorEmdadul Haque Noor from 1984 has directed the Muslim culture to a progressive way. It is hopeful that there are now a number of magazine by Muslim Editor. It will be a great scope to elaborate and interpret our discussion. Thehope, failure, expectation, culture, tradition and overall socio-economic sketch of Bengali Muslim after the independence of India will be reflect on this dissertation paper.

SCOPE OF THE STUDY

It is a historical research study. There is lack of data as the old newspaper of Muslim-edited has been not properly archived. That is not only problem, but also the number of published newspaper edited by Muslims are also a few. The former research was on the period of nineteenth and twentieth century. On this period after partition, any one has not done any particular research. So, review of literature is also in lack of number. But this topic is exciting as the study can gather a plenty of information to look upon the social status of Bengali Muslims after the independence of India on 15th august ,1947. The Muslim opinion, culture, tradition will reflect on this thesis paper.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

A literature review is a text of a scholarly paper, which includes the current knowledge including substantive findings, as well as theoretical and methodological contributions to a particular topic. Literature reviews are secondary sources, and do not report new or original experimental work.(Wikipedia, 2018)

There are significant numbers of doctoral, post-doctoral research, thesis, article, dissertation about the Bengali newspaper and magazines. But all of these are done about the pre-independence period newspapers. The researchers torched upon the 19th century as well as first half of 20th century. These are not about the particular topic 'The status of Muslim edited newspapers &magazines in Bengal after partition (1947-2017)'. But, to understand the background history of newspapers and periodicals, it is essential to have study the previous one. The 19th and 20th century constructed the base of Bengali newspaper and periodicals. The following literatures makes the way easier to reach my destination.

1.**Unish Shotoker BanglaSangbad-samoikpatra**(Bose, 2018)is a masterpiece written by Professor Swapan Bose. He is a noted scholar in the field of journalism. His research insisted on changing the views about the 19th century periodicals. His important findings are—

a) For the newspaper revolution in this period, Kolkata (then Calcutta) became 'the city of papers'. It created a significant number of litterateur like Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, Rabindranath Tagore.

b) But most important finding is that: Muslims first took interested to read Bengali language at this period by the influence of newspaper and periodicals. Actually, before that time Bengali Muslims, specially 'Ashraf' (higher class in Muslim society) spoke in Urdu language. They also felt honour by speaking Urdu. Mr Swapan Bose remarked that the periodicals had turned the Muslims into a Bengali Muslims. At this time Mir Mosarraf Hossain wrote his great novel 'Bishadsindhu'.

2. **Muslim Manos O Bangla Sahitya** (Anisuzzaman, Muslim Manos O Bangla Sahitya (Muslim mind and Bengali Literature), 1964), is another masterpiece about this topic. His homeland is Bangladesh. He was a professor of Dhaka University and a great scholar also. He took the time period from 1818 to 1918. His views about 'BangiyaMailman Sahitya Patrika' (edited by Muhammad Shahidullah& Muhammad Mojammel Haque), 'Nabanoor' (edited by Syed Emdad Ali), 'Sawgat'(edited by Muhammad Nasiruddin), 'Al-Eslam'(edited by Maulana Akram Khan) etc. was outstanding. He emphasized on the literary intellectuals of Muslims and the psychology of backward Muslim society. It is very helpful to understand the present scenario of Bengali Muslims. Another masterpiece is 'unishshotokerbanglasamoikpatra'.

3.**History of Media in Bengal: A Chronological Overview** is a research paper(Basu, 2013) published on a research journal.It was written by AraniBasu, a research scholar. She discussed the readership crisis and the landmark issues of social-political situation after the partition of India in 1947. Bengali newspapers suffered after the partition in 1947 as they lost a significant part of readership to East Pakistan (later Bangladesh). Nevertheless, new publications including 'Loksevak' (1948) and 'Jansevak' kept coming in the first two decades after independence, especially under the leadership of Congressman Atulya Ghosh. However, the biggest challenge for journalism and media in Bengal in particular, and the whole of India in general, came during 1975-77 when the then Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi declared Political Emergency in the country. Eminent journalists and political columnists from Bengal like Gour Kishore Ghose, Barun Sengupta and Jyotirmoy Datta were arrested and taken to custody during the Emergency by the Government.

4.**Bangla sangbadpatra o bangalir nabajagoron**(1818-1878) is the doctoral research thesis (Chattopadhyaya, 2018)of ParthakumarChattopadhyaya from University of Calcutta. The thesis paper is available in e-format on the internet. The researcher here finds the emergence of Bengali newspapers. 'Digdarshan', 'Samachardarpan' (1818) paved the way of Bengali journalism. The freedom of press was the important issue at this period. The Press Ordinance (1823) by Governor General John Adam was a gagging act. The Vernacular Press Act (1878) was another gagging act to stop the Bengali journalist's activity.

5.**Prak swadhinata juger abibhaktaBanglarmaffasalersamaikpatrapatrikardhara** (1818 to 1947) is a doctoral thesis(Bhoumik, 2018) of NibeditaBhoumik. It is a magnificent work done by her. She walked into deep root level of village to find the local newspaper. Manuscript journalism started at Mughal court. It was 8 inches in length and 4.5 inches in width. It was written in hand. The name of newspaper was, in Farsi, 'Akhbar'. 'Saurav' was a Bengali newspaper published from Murshidabad by Muslim editor. It used to discuss about literature, philosophy, religion, history and social issues. It was not anti-Hindu. The newspaper criticised the superstitions practised by Muslimcommunity.Thus, the early newspaper paved the way of renaissance in Bengal.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

It is a historical, descriptive, analytical, and empirical and content analysis research work. The problem has been approached as a historical study of the evolution of Bengali Muslim journalism and traces its origin and its development, status of progress. This study combines a historical and structural analysis at the micro and macro level with an analysis of a specific region. This will be qualitative type of research. This type of research emphasis on the subjective treatment. Instead of going for a large number of examples, this type of research concentration upon individual example (Atul Udaipuria, 2016).

In this research I will follow qualitative method using the steps as follows: I selected all the major newspapers and magazines from 1947 to 2017 edited by Bengal Muslims in Bengali. I have to analyse their life span, content, Issues, ideology and the Muslim writer they have produced. It is also significant to look thorough the voices of these newspapers. I visited the library to discover the newspapers copy published by Muslims after partition. The documents of the library and collection are used as Primary source. 'Muslim manos O Bangla sahitya' written by Dr Anisuzzaman will also be an authentic source to evolve the history of Muslim newspapers. This is the secondary source. In this dissertation paper, expert opinion may create a sense. It is the most significant part of the paper to find out the contemporary essence and history of Muslim newspapers. Literature& media person, professors, editors of various newspapers will be opinion leader. AbdurRauf, Emdadul Haque Noor are the expert opinion.

CONTENT ANALYSIS

We have not so many newspapers and periodicals for content analysis. It is noted that there is not much document for analysis the state of Muslim edited newspaper and magazine after partition. The very cause of this is described before. We selected the newspapers that are registered by RNI and had also some impact on Muslim society. There is newspaper like 'Paigam', but it is not archived in any library and information Centre. After selection of the newspapers, we divided their time period into 3 landmark issues that are very relevant to socio-cultural aspects of Muslim society in West Bengal after partition. The newspapers are Al Imaam, Kalom, Natun Gati. The periodical is 'Kafela'. These newspapers and magazines are very important to discuss the state of Muslim society of Bengal after partition. We will

analyses the newspapers content through individual newspaper chronologically by their appearance year. Remember, there will be 3 landmark issues, 1. Riot: before and after Babri Masjid demolition, 2. Post Gujarat riot, and 3. Government changing in West Bengal and India: the consequences--uprising of Muslim haters and love jihad and mob lynching. These issues are very sensitive and crucial but had an impact on Muslim newspapers. These are fully covered by the newspapers said. And Muslim community of West Bengal and India pay their strong attention to this. Besides the 3 landmark issues, we will describe the publication started, editor, place of editor office, mission and other important coverage by the respective newspaper.

Al Imaam

'Imaam' is an Arabic word. The name of a Bengali newspaper is Arabic. So, it probably proves the international cultural awareness of the community. The word 'Imaam' means leader of certain community. Here it is clearly understood that the mission of the newspaper was to establish a leadership position in the Muslim community by the contents of newspaper. The newspaper was started its publication on Friday, 9th March, 1979. It was published as a fortnight newspaper. It was published from 26, CPaymental Street, Kolkata 700016. The founder editor was Abdur Rauf who was also the editor of 'Chaturanga' founded by Humayun Kabir and Aatur Rahman. At his first editor's note, Abdur Rauf wrote, "Undoubtedly the newspaper leads the suppressed and depressed class and shows the right way of development and prosperity. There are many newspapers in this country. But problem, opinion and news of Bengali Muslim is not reflected by those. They are not so few in number. The lack of this will be improved by Al Imaam." (Rauf, 1979)

The first page lead story was about Iran Islamic revolution contemporary during the year of 1979. Second lead was about Julfikar Ali Bhutto's judgement process. So, the theme was not in local, but global. The editorial was also about Iran on the second page. On second page a piece from Dr Shankariprasad Basu's book 'Laughing Vivekananda' was published about Gaurakhshani Sabha and Vivekananda. So, at that time, the Hindutva and politics of cow and religion was uprising.

Another report was published on 6th April written by Abul Kassem about uprising of Rastriya Swayam Sevak Sangha. It was stated that the government administration was captured by RSS plan fully. RSS slowly capturing the administration, bureaucracy, Police, Military power. It is the objective to capture the power of the country. RSS has played important role to impeach Uttar Pradesh chief minister Ram Naresh Yadav. So, RSS politically empowering during this period.

Another first page report about uprising of Hindutva in India. Now It was West Bengal. The heading was 'Gaurakhshaks are being active in West Bengal'. Specially the Hindutva community hanging festoons before the Muslim majority locality saying 'stop killing the cow'. The article analyses the reason behind this uprising. It stated that it is nothing but communal hatred (Kassem, 1979).

Jamshedpur riot:

Aligarh, Jamshedpur riot was highlighted on the Al Imaam. A report was published about the Jamshedpur situation. Loot, murder was common incident. The victims were poor laborer class people. The important thing to be noticed that the reason of this riot was Ram Navami procession (Khan, 1979). It is now also a threat.

'It was the month of April 1979. Jamshedpur of Bihar witnessed Hindutvadi vs Muslim violence. The RSS also known as Sangh paribar tried to widen its base by starting outreach efforts among the Adivasis. It was done slowly by introducing Hindu deities and rituals. The Jamaat-e- Islami, on its part, was ready to lend a helping hand in the effort of the Muslims to relocate to outside the city.' (Kashif-ul-Huda, 2009)

Establishment of Muslim slums brought Muslims closer to the Adivasi villages around Jamshedpur. Sabirnagar was one such slum close to the Adivasi colony of Dimnabasti. These two slums provided the spark that put Jamshedpur on fire in 1979 (Khan, 1979).

'There had been no reports of conflicts between Muslims and Adivasis. In fact, Muslim slums were formed on lands sold by the Adivasis. In their attempt to "Hinduism" the Adivasis, RSS tried to take a Ramanavami procession in 1978 from Dimnabasti. This was the first time a Ram

Navami procession was to start from Dimnabasti. The organizers insisted that the procession take a route that goes through Sabirnagar. The district administration rejected their request and the high court ruled that though the road is a public thoroughfare and everyone should have access to it, the local administration has the authority to deny permission.' (Kashif-ul-Huda, 2009)

'The matter did not end there. The RSS had a whole full year to campaign and spread the word that Hindus in their own country are not able to freely parade their religious processions. In 1979, they again attempted to take the procession from the same route. The district administration and Muslims suggested an alternate route that would have avoided Sabirnagar and a potential source of a clash. However, the organizers of the Ramanavami procession would have none of it and a stand-off ensued.' (Kashif-ul-Huda, 2009)

Tensions increased in Jamshedpur over this stand-off. By March 1979 almost everyone knew that violence was imminent. RSS chief Balasaheb Deoras visited the town on 1 April. Jamshedpur erupted in violence 10 days later. The Jitendra Narain Commission of Inquiry was set up to investigate the riots. One thing they took into consideration was the speech given by Deoras in Jamshedpur. They held him and the RSS responsible for creating the climate that led to the communal violence (Khan, 1979).

'The commission blamed Deoras for encouraging Hindu extremists to insist on the route that goes through the Muslim slum. The speech along with the camps organized during the conference helped in creating a militant atmosphere. Though there was no precedent of the Ramanavami procession coming out of Dimnabasti and certainly not passing

through the Muslim area, similar processions from other parts of the town were told by the Hindu leaders to be put on hold till the Dimnabasti issue was resolved. There were efforts to reach an agreement or come up with a compromise, while Hindus forced closure of shops to pressure the administration, a few of the leaders were arrested.’(Kashif-ul-Huda, 2009)

‘Apamphlet was issued by Sri RamanavamiKendriya Akhara Samiti on 7 April, which was not only a declaration of communal violence but also openly detailed how and when it would happen. Hindus were told to come to Dimnabasti at 11 am on 11 April and take the procession from the route that was to go through Sabirnagar, a Muslim area. Once the procession had successfully passed through the area, then other processions would start later that afternoon. Meanwhile, a deal was reached and on 11 April, a procession did pass through Sabirnagar accompanied by some local Muslims. The procession was attended by very few and reached the main road safely.

But the danger was far from over. Processions crawled, an attempt was made to delay the progress till the 11 am mark when a large number of people were expected to join it. The procession stopped in the Mango area in front of a masjid. Now, the procession had grown to about 15,000 strong. Local MLA Dina Nath Pandey announced that the procession would not move forward till all Hindus who had been arrested earlier were released. The administration tried to reason that any re-lease will take hours if not days but Pandey would have none of that and did not budge from his decision.

Muslim were also prepared for the violence. A stone was thrown at the procession and the violence started. In the next few days, 108 people were to lose their lives. Thousands of houses were looted. Muslims living in company quarters and predominantly Hindu areas were especially vulnerable to violence.

Though the district administration was praised for trying its best to prevent the violence, junior level policemen and Bihar Military Police were held responsible for not deterring Hindu mobs from attacking Muslims or attacking Muslims them-selves. All those who died in police firings were mainly Muslims.

A most horrific incident that occurred during these riots would be seared into the memories of people present. This was the burning of an ambulance full of women and children. About 60 were inside this vehicle, a part of the caravan of vehicles carrying Muslims from the besieged Bhaulbasa area to safety. This ambulance veered off the road to a side lane and was burnt. Only a few could survive to tell the tale of horror.

One prominent victim of these riots was Zaki Anwar, a professor. He went on a fast in Gandhian fashion a day before in an attempt to prevent the violence. A man of secular principles, he lived in a Hindu area and refused to leave his house during this frightening event. In the afternoon of the violence, he was dead. There were rumors that he was killed by Muslim fanatics, as they could not see any Muslim espousing secularism ideals. It does not matter who killed the professor. One thing is certain for sure, secularism and communal harmony died along with him that day in Jamshedpur. The city continued to have fears every year on the occasion of Ramanavami. Fortunately, though, it never again resulted in a full-fledged communal riot. Maybe it was the sacrifice of Zaki Anwar that saved Jamshedpur from future riots.’(Kashif-ul-Huda, 2009)

The Nadia district riot,1979:

The Nadia district riot of West Bengal also portrayed on the page of Al Imaam.It was the first riot happened in Nadia. 21 June, the riot turned into ferocious. Hundreds of houses were burnt. The ritual House were destroyed. A refugee stream was seen at Karimpur-Krishnanagar road. Village were evacuated.The epicenter of the riot was Chapra. It is situated from 12 miles distance from Krishnanagar. Paddy,Jute,fibresetc agricultural commodities were sold there. Hindu, Muslim and Christian were lived happily. But the riot was happened. It was started when dacoity started months ago. One community stealing from other community. Cowstealing, house burning was the common incident happened this area.CPIM,Janata , Congress were known that it would be turned into riot. But they didn't stop it for their purpose of politics.The present rulling party CPIM didn't do anything to stop it. It was very disheartening that the police were not reached at the riot place inspite of repeated warnings and precautions. Kalyan dihi village,six m away from Chapra, was caught fire on 22 June . Police was informed before the day.But police protection was not applied.The editorial piece of the Al Imaam demand that the left front government of West Bengal needs the riot.So they didn't stop the riot.

Begum RokeyaSakhawat Hossain:

Besides this type of riot news, the international news like Julfikar Ali Bhutto,Iran Islamic revolution was reported regularly on this newspaper. Begum RokeyaSakhawat Hossain was also portrayed in new look on this newspaper. Begum RokeyaSakhawat Hossain was a pioneer in Muslim girls’ education. ‘Hossain, RoquiahSakhawat (1880-1932) litterateur, educationist, social reformer, played a pioneering role in awakening Muslim women. She was born on 9 December 1880 into a landed family of Pairaband in rangpur. Zahiruddin Abu Ali Haider Saber was her father and Rahatunnesa Chowdhury, her mother. Her ancestors served in military and judiciary departments during the Mughal regime. Named Roquiah Khatun, she is commonly known as Begum Rokeya. She came to be known as RoquiahSakhawat Hossain after her marriage. In the literary circle, she was commonly known as Mrs RS Hossain. Roquiah's father was a multi-lingual intellectual and was versed in Arabic, Urdu, Persian, Bangla, Hindi and English. But yet, he could not transcend the spirit of the time about women education. Like the rest of the society, Saber was also of the opinion that women should not receive education beyond the bounds of home.’(Akhter, 2015)

‘Thus, while Saber sent Roquiah’s elder brothers, Mohammad Ibrahim Abul Asad Saber and Abu ZaigamKhalilur Rahman Saber, to Saint Xavier’s College, Calcutta, Roquiah and her elder sister, Karimunnessa, were not sent to school. Though Roquiah was not allowed to receive formal education, she learnt both Bangla and English at home with the help of her brothers. Roquiah’s elder brothers and sister not only contributed to educating Roquiah, but also inspired her in

writing. In 1898, Roquiah was married to Syed Sakhawat Hossain, an Urdu-speaking man from Bhagalpur in Bihar. A deputy magistrate, Sakhawat Hossain was liberal and progressive, and encouraged his wife to study both Bangla and English and also inspired her to read literary works from home and abroad and she took the fullest advantage of the liberality of her husband. Besides reading the existing literature in Bangla very extensively, she also took to writing at the same time. Unfortunately, Roquiah had a short conjugal life. Her husband died on 3 May 1909. She had two daughters, but they died in infancy. Despite her personal grief, Roquiah did not surrender to fate. Roquiah realised that women could be freed from their shackles only if they were educated and became independent economically. On 1 October 1909, she started a school for Muslim girls at Bhagalpur with only five students, naming it after her husband, Sakhawat Memorial Girls' School. However, she could not continue at Bhagalpur for domestic reasons and decided to move to Calcutta.' (Akhter, 2015)

'At Calcutta she set up Sakhawat Memorial Girls' School in a house at 13, Waliullah Lane on 16 March 1911 with eight students. The school was upgraded to Middle English Girls' School in 1917 and to High English Girls' School in 1931, and all through the untiring efforts of Roquiah. As the school was growing through increase of students, it became difficult to accommodate them in the small campus. In search of a permanent campus, the school was shifted from place to place. In 1931, it was at 13, European Asylum Lane; in 1932, at 162, Lower Circular Road and in 1938, at 17, Lord Sinha Road. In spite of all difficulties, Roquiah ran the school for twenty-four years, facing hostile criticism and various social obstacles, and made it one of the best seats of learning available for Muslim girls. At its early stage, mostly non-Bengali girls were admitted to Sakhawat Memorial School, because Bengali guardians seldom chose to send female members of the family to school. Roquiah is said to have gone from house to house, persuading the parents in favour of female education. She assured the guardians that students of her school would be required to maintain purdah at her school. Her tireless efforts paid off. Girls of the Muslim middle-class Muslim girls breaking the taboo against stepping out of the house to study. She also arranged horse-carriages so that girls could go to school and return home in purdah. Sakhawat Memorial Girls' School gave lessons in Bangla, English, Urdu, Persian, home nursing, first aid, cooking, sewing, physical exercise, music etc. Roquiah used to visit other girls' schools to see for herself the teaching methods employed there and how the schools were managed. As there were not many competent female teachers at that time in Calcutta, Roquiah herself used to train the teachers. It was at her repeated urgings that the government set up the Muslim Women Training School in Calcutta in 1919. Roquiah's thought was that social injustices and extreme forms of purdah kept Muslim women backward and helpless. She felt that the attitude of the male society to women education must be changed before women could be emancipated. Roquiah took to writing with a mission. Her mission was to change the discriminating attitude of men towards women. She used her pen to change social prejudices, religious bigotry and ignorance. Roquiah wrote in a number of genres, short stories, poems, essays, novels and satirical writings, developing a distinctive literary style, characterised by creativity, logic and a wry sense of humour. She started writing in the nabanoor form about 1903, under the name of Mrs RS Hossain. However, there is an opinion that her first published writing pipasha appeared in the Nabaprabha in 1902. She wrote regularly for the saogat, mohammadi, Nabaprabha, Mahila, Bharatmahila, Al-Eslam, Nawroz, mahe-nao, bangiyamussalman sahitya patrika, The Mussalman, Indian Ladies Magazine etc. Roquiah's writings called upon women to protest against injustices and break the social barriers that discriminated against them. Abarodhbasini (The Secluded Women, 1931) is a spirited attack on the extreme forms of purdah that endangered women's lives and thoughts. Her other noted works include Matichur (essays 1st vol 1904, 2nd Vol. 1922), Sultana's Dream (satire, 1908), Padmarag (novel, 1924). Sultana's Dream, which she later translated into Bangla as Sultana's Svapna, is a satirical piece, set in a place called Lady Land, a world ruled by women. The second volume of Matichur includes stories and fairy tales such as Saurajagat (The Solar System), Delicia Hatya (translation of the Murder of Delicia, by Mary Corelli), Jvan-phal (The Fruit of Knowledge), Nari-Sristi (Creation of Women), Nurse Nelly, Mukti-phal (The Fruit of Emancipation) etc. Roquiah also wrote fine poetry. Her poem titled 'Saogat' was published on the first page of the first issue of the Saogat in Agraphayan, 1325 (1918 AD).' (Akhter, 2015)

'Roquiah Sakhawat Hossain founded an organisation called Anjuman-e-Khawatin-e-Islam, or the Muslim women's society, in 1916 to make women aware of their rights. The society was in the forefront of the fight for women's education, employment and their legal and political rights. The organisation defrayed the cost of education for a large number of girls and arranged marriages for many poor girls. It gave shelter to orphans and the destitute and extended financial help to widows. It also established some businesses for women to earn economic independence. Roquiah died in Calcutta on 9 December 1932.' (Akhter, 2015) The content of Al Imaam was diversified in various fields of society, literature and world.

NatunGati

NatunGati was introduced in the year of 1984 as a weekly newspaper. The founder editor Abdul Aziz Al Amaan was also the editor of Kafela literary magazine. By the way, at 1992, the editor of NatunGati was changed as Abdul Aziz Al Amaan had died. Before his death, he gave the ownership of the weekly to Emdadul Haque Noor (Raquib, 2017). Emdadul Haque Noor is the present editor of this weekly newspaper and successful one also. He made the newspaper a significant, successful and important after the partition of India among the Bengali Muslims. The office of the newspaper is situated at 88, Taltala lane, Kolkata-700014.

NatunGati is newspaper, but it has a wide cultural field. It has monthly supplement titled 'Masantik' is popular in the literature lover world of rural Bengal, especially among Muslims.

Babri Masjid issue:

During the Babri Masjid attack, it condemned the attack on it. The Babri Masjid demolition was one of the worst massacres in India after independence.

According to Hindu belief, Ram Janmabhoomi, in the city of Ayodhya, is the birthplace of Rama. It is therefore considered one of the most sacred religious sites in the Hindu religion. In 1528, following the Mughal invasion of North India, a mosque was built at the site by the Mughal general Mir Baqi, which came to be named after emperor Babur. According to sources, Mir Baqi destroyed a pre-existing temple of Rama at the site. For at least four centuries, the site was used for religious purposes by both Hindus and Muslims. In 1859, soon after the first recorded incidents of religious violence at the site, the British colonial administration set up a railing to separate the outer courtyard of the mosque to avoid disputes. The status quo remained in place until 1949, when idols of Rama were surreptitiously placed inside the mosque, allegedly by volunteers of the Hindu Mahasabha. This led to an uproar, with both parties filing civil suits laying claim to the land. The placing of the idol was seen as a desecration by the users of the Masjid. The site was declared to be in dispute, and the gates to the Masjid were locked. In the 1980s, the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP) intensified its campaign for the construction of a temple dedicated to Rama at the site, with the Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP) as its political voice. The movement was bolstered by the decision of a district judge, who ruled in 1986 that the gates would be reopened and Hindus permitted to worship there. In September 1990, BJP leader L. K. Advani began a Rath Yatra to Ayodhya in support of the Hindu nationalist movement. Advani was arrested by the government of Bihar before he could reach Ayodhya. Despite this, a large body of karsevaks or Sangh Parivar activists reached Ayodhya and attempted to attack the mosque. This resulted in a pitched battle with the paramilitary forces that ended with the death of several karsevaks. The BJP withdrew its support to the V. P. Singh ministry at the centre, necessitating fresh elections. The BJP substantially increased its tally in the union parliament, as well as winning a majority in the Uttar Pradesh assembly. On 6 December 1992, the RSS and its affiliates organized a rally involving 150,000 VHP and BJP karsevaks at the site of the mosque. The ceremonies included speeches by BJP leaders such as Advani, Murli Manohar Joshi and Uma Bharti. During the first few hours of the rally, the crowd grew gradually more restless, and began raising slogans. A police cordon had been placed around the mosque in preparation for attack. However, around noon, a young man managed to slip past the cordon and climb the mosque itself, brandishing a saffron flag. This was seen as a signal by the mob, who then stormed the structure. The police cordon, vastly outnumbered and unprepared for the size of the attack, fled. The mob set upon the building with axes, hammers, and grappling hooks, and within a few hours, the entire mosque was leveled. Hindus also destroyed numerous other mosques within the town. A 2009 report, authored by Justice Manmohan Singh Liberhan, found 68 people to be responsible for the demolition of the Masjid, mostly leaders from the BJP. Among those named were Vajpayee, Advani, Joshi and Vijay Raje Scindia. Kalyan Singh, who was then the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh, also faced severe criticism in the report. Liberhan wrote that he posted bureaucrats and police officers to Ayodhya, whose record indicated that they would stay silent during the mosque's demolition. Anju Gupta, a police officer who had been in charge of Advani's security on that day, stated that Advani and Joshi made speeches that contributed to provoking the behaviour of the mob. The report notes that at this time several BJP leaders made "feeble requests to the karsevaks to come down... either in earnest or for the media's benefit". No appeal was made to the karsevaks not to enter the sanctum sanctorum or not to demolish the structure. (Wikipedia, Demolition of the Babri Masjid, 2018)

Natun Gati also protested in this way and presented the news, its history, background etc. Kamruzzaman, a well-known writer of Natun Gati newspaper wrote the piece titled 'Dangarprotibedon: 6 dicemberer Nikhoot, jibontodharabiboroniebongonyanyajorurighotona'. Natun Gati remarked, it's a type of religious politics. Riot after Babri Masjid demolition was not happened spontaneously. It was forced to be happened. Karsevak broke the bamboo fence, then broke the wall. The camera was present there. Central and State paramilitary forces were present only to look the massacre, but not to interrupt. They stanned up like a doll. The left dome of Masjid was demolished completely. A police officer ordered Rapid Action Force (RAF) to move to Ayodhya from Faizabad. They were ordered to keep away the karsevak from the Babri Masjid. When they reached 2 miles before the masjid, the CMO of Uttar Pradesh ordered Rapid Action Force or RAF to return to their barrack. Thus, armed were disabled by the government during the breaking of Babri Masjid (Kamruzzaman, 2018).

Babri Masjid-Ramjanmabhumi issue is the most complicated and tension provoking in India, as whole of the country was in the grip of communal tension and hatred for the last three decades. It was a matter of grief that Ramjanmabhumi i.e. the birth place of Ram (according to Hindu community), which ought to be a sacred place of worship, took the shape of battle-field for both, the Hindus and the Muslims. The communal fire lit from here spread to the whole country. Ayodhya is now in every one's mind, not due to its affiliation with Ram the God, but due to the fact that communal forces in various political parties made it their main political agenda for obvious electoral gains. This dispute, in recent years has become the most important reason for a deep deterioration of inter-communal relationship and communalization of Indian political process.

This dispute, undoubtedly one of the most sensitive communal issues after partition and biggest controversy after the Shah Bano case. In the year 1986, the doors of the disputed shrine (Babri Masjid) were opened for the Hindus, so that they may be enabled to perform worship of deities, enshrined there, on the order of Faizabad court, emotions were aroused on both the sides. The Hindus felt a new courage for they had won a long fight, fought to regain their lost heritage, while the Muslims considered it, their defeat, as they were forced to lose control over a place of worship, they claimed to belonged to them. During the year 1992, the dispute took the form of a national crisis, when the Masjid was demolished with an intention to build a temple at that very site. Still it did not conclude the controversy, whether the mosque was constructed first or the temple was already present there. There are also conflicting records put fourth, by

different groups about the question of Mandir or Masjid. The situation became more curious and multi-dimensional because of the involvement of different actors like, state, political parties, the identification of present Ayodhya (Uttar Pradesh) with Ramjanmabhumi is based upon the faith of the Hindu community and has no solid evidence. There is no conclusive proof that the mosque built at the time of Babar, was on a temple site or that a temple had been destroyed to build it. Outwardly, it was a dispute fought for mere ownership of a piece of land, but in a deeper sense, it was related with the right to freedom of religion, guaranteed in Article-25 of the constitution. Compared to Shah Bano case, and the discussion on Uniform or separate Civil Codes, this controversy is not a clear-cut matter of legislation on the minority rights, rather, it deals with the legal practices of supposedly secular state India and the need to practically secure the minority rights. Because the Ramjanmabhumi movement lays emphasis on myths and beliefs, rather than facts and democratic decisions, the issue also includes confrontation between religious and secular ideals within politics. The Babri Masjid-Ramjanmabhumi dispute of Ayodhya brought in existence a new political infrastructure, which was not there before. It has been instrumental in the downfall of the two ruling parties at the centre (V.P.Singh and Chandra Shekhar's governments). The 1989 and 1991 elections were fought on this particular plank and political parties, especially the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and the Congress party took issues on their platforms and tried to attain the political power. The BJP was able to influence the Hindu voters on this issue and won more seats in the Lok Sabha as well as in numerous state assemblies and the Congress party, known for its secular stance, and for its traditional support base among the Muslim voters, got badly defeated. The loss of the Congress Party became a gain for the BJP. It is mainly a political issue rather than religious. In order to follow the issue more clearly, it is important to recount the historical facts, judicial functioning and political aspects, step by step. The historical, judicial and political aspects to controversy, have an inter-relationship. The present study in hand is an effort to go through the various aspects from the political perspective. First of all, we deeply analyze the controversies, related to the historical and the mythological background of this issue. Controversy over historical and mythological background of dispute of Babri Masjid in Ayodhya: The referred mosque was constructed in 1528, by the nobleman Mir Baqi, at the request of Babar, the first Moghul Emperor, hence the name Babri Masjid. The under mentioned inscriptions in Persian script were written on the gate of the mosque: Ba formuda-i-shah Babur Ki adilash /Banaist ta Kakh-i-gardunmulaqi. /Bana Kard in Muhbit-i-qudsiyam ra /Amir-i-Saadat-nishan Mir Baqi. /Buvadkhairbaqi Chu sal-i-banaish /Iyanshud Ki guftam-BuvadKhairBaqi. The English version of these lines are: By the command of Emperor Babar, whose justice is an edifice /reaching up to the very height of the heaven; the good-hearted Mir /Baqi built this alighting-place of angles BuvadKhairBaqi ! (may /this goodness last forever) the year of building made clear /likewise, when I said BuvadkhairBaqi Another inscription on outside of the gate followed: In the name of one who is wisest of all, who is the creator of the /universe, but himself has no abode; in thanksgiving to the prophet /of all prophets in the two worlds, in the celebration of the glory of /Babar Qualander (the recluse), who has achieved great success in the world.

The statement revealed in the above inscriptions does not clarify the mosque was built by demolishing the Ram Temple. Undoubtedly, there were some pillars which had non-Islamic symptoms. For that it can be possible that there were some Hindu craftsmen employed in the construction work or some material from the vicinal or derelict Hindu building might have been brought in use. In fact, the style of these pillars is thought by some to be more Jaina than Hindu, and it is possible that the parts of the mosque may have been picked up from Jaina buildings. The ancient historical records convey that Ayodhya had been a Buddhist centre and then a Jainacentre, before the followers of Rama cult started settling there in large numbers in the eighteenth century and building temples under the patronage of Muslim Nawabs of Avadh. Some people retrace the history of Ayodhya from the very ancient time. They think that King Vikramaditya had renovated the temple during the reign of Gupta dynasty in the fifth century. It means that the temple itself was constructed much earlier. The proponents of this theory state the existence of Ramjanmabhumi shrine at Ramkot, which was believed to be the birth place of Ram, the holiest spot on earth in 12th-13th centuries and it is well attested by its description in the Ayodhya Mahatmya, of Vaishnava Khand of Skanda Purana, narrating the glory of this shrine. They also hold that Babar instructed his Minister Mir Baqi to alter/replace the temple by a mosque in 1528 A.D on the advice of Sufi Sant Jalal Shah. Since that very time, the Hindus had desired to have a glance at the site which they considered sacred in their religion and some others recount history of Ayodhya from 1528. But it is believed popularly that Babar personally got it built after demolishing the Hindu temple. No doubt, it is a controversial issue. The main question is that if Ram was born in Ayodhya, was Ram born at the same spot, where the mosque had been erected? But there is no evidence to reinforce the claim about the same spot of mosque. Some more temples in Ayodhya claim that Lord Rama was born on the sites of these temples and the priests of these temples make that claim.

The history of Ramjanmabhumi was originally based on Valmiki's Ramayana, which revolves around several myths; the myth of Ayodhya's sacredness and its pre-historic character, the myth of rediscovery of Ayodhya to the myth of destruction of temple and construction of a mosque in its place. Actually, Ramayana also known as Ramkatha, consists of multiple versions and each of these versions carry a different story and the narratives have also contradictions with each other and these narratives or meanings make it impossible to give a coherent religious expression.¹¹ Some narratives create the situation of doubt whether this Ayodhya is the same Ayodhya as mentioned in Valmiki's Ramayana where Ram was born in the Tretayuga, thousands of years before the present day Kaliyuga. The Ayodhya of Ramayana was described as a big town, capital of a king with luxurious material life and facilities. It was described as a developed town, which differs from the archaeological evidences of the present day Ayodhya. The Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Banaras Hindu University, under Prof A.K. Narain, assisted by T.N Roy and Dr. Puroshotam Singh, conducted excavation at Ayodhya. The results of these excavations concluded, "it would seem reasonable to ascribe the first occupation of Janmabhumi area to circa seventh century B.C."¹³ Since there was no settlement in the region prior to this, it was argued by some historians that Ayodhya of Valmiki could not have existed

at the present-day site. Even Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, a Bengali historian, also supported this by concluding, “The Ramayana is basically a literary creation by some single poet, who has named Valmiki. There is evidently no historical core below the surface.” Besides it, no evidence of religious bigotry is found during the life of Babar. Had Babar demolished Ramjanmasthan temple, it would have found mention, either in Tuzk-i-Babri (i.e. the memoirs of Babar). The other historical works, emerged during the reign of Babar, also left no evidence, denoting some examples of religious bigotry. In fact, Babar had no reason to fear anyone by mentioning the demolition of the temple. Even Mrs. Beveridge could not produce any proof on this subject. All historical studies that emerged about Babar did not prove that he had iconoclastic zeal. On the contrary several recorded instances recall Babar visiting temples, in the cities, he visited.

Post-Babri period:

The consequences of Babri Masjid demolition were fatal and drastic on Indian Muslims. They felt Identity crisis and insecure about their religion. The Mumbai riot was happened after this. Not only that, but also Gujarat riot and anti-muslimHindutva politics was uprising significantly after the Babri Masjid demolition. Muslims became about rootless in their birthplace. Sangha politics tasted the power in 1998. This incident takes India into a new era of politics. This politics was of hatred and communal, not of development and unity or other.

NatunGati besides the newspaper, a supplementary views paper also. It emphasizes on literature of Bengal Muslim. AbdurRauqib is one of the noted author made by NatunGati. He wrote many short stories including essays and novel. His epic autobiography is 'Path pasarirPatrottor'. 'Badshah o Babuibrittanto' is his short stories collection. 'Charon kaviGumani dewan' is his only book that is published and archived by West Bengal information and cultural department. It was written on folk Poet of Murshidabad, Gumani Dewan.

However, the contribution of NatunGati in Muslim community is significant. They have tried to cultivate the Muslim culture in West Bengal. The history of Bengali Muslim is published on NatunGati. The literature sector, journalism sector hugely contributed by NatunGati. Their tireless efforts should be saluted. But the criticism is that they're enough circulated among Muslims. But non-Muslims readers are unknown and unaware about this newspaper. They give yearly literary prizes, but not familiar too much. They have given awards to Sunil Gangopadhyay, Annadashaknar Roy, Surajit Dasgupta, Subodh Sarkar, Devesh Roy, Atin Bandyopadhyay, Soharab Hossain etc. eminent personalities. The present editor Emdadul Haque Noor said that the cultural and educational movement is must for this community to rise them from bed of roses and ignorance. They are unable to mark their contribution to the rest of the world. Fundamentalism has ruined them.

Kafela

Kafela is the first renowned literary magazine after partition of India in 1947. Before Kafela, 'Jagaran', 'Paigam' and 'Chaturanga' has a long-time legacy on culture, art, tradition and history of Muslim in West Bengal. But after independence of India under the British rule, the field was totally blank. Kafela took the duty to establish a new form of Muslim literature. The Kafela magazine was published in two terms. At first it was published in 1966. But it stopped its publication after few years. Then again it started its publication with new enthusiasm, hope and mission. The second term was started from 1982. We will discuss the total contribution of Kafela specially on literary field in West Bengal among Muslims.

Abdul Aziz Al Aaman was the editor of Kafela. He was a High school teacher. He had great interest on literature and Muslim progress. Actually, Abdul Aziz Al Amaan is the pioneer of Muslim literature in West Bengal after the year of partition in 1947.

Kafela was totally a progressive magazine. It did not compromise with quality. Printing, paper, cover page was excellent, first class. 'Desh' magazine was close to quality of Kafela. The main mission of this periodical was to create some Muslim intellectual in West Bengal. After partition, the prosperous part of Muslim went to Pakistan. So, the West Bengal became infertile. Abdul Aziz Al Amaan broke this attitude and tried to wake the nation.

The contribution of Kafela magazine was a lot. Firstly, this periodical made a change in the society. The way of thinking, approach, vision was changed. A progressive mind was rising among Muslims of West Bengal. They're depressed, inferior. They gained the confidence with the help of Kafela Patrika.

Secondly, it made some quality writers among Muslims. There was no renowned Bengali Muslim writer after the partition of India. But by the patronizing of Abdul Aziz Al Amaan, the new talent in literature was discovered and nourished.

Beyond the cultural hegemony:

At this time period to till now, the hegemony of majority was a great problem. 'Write your own story or you will be inscribed in other's story' – this valuable insight of a critic deserves special mention while talking about Muslim self-writing in Bengal. In his excellent introduction to TahaderKotha (Their Story), Milan Dutta criticizes the fact that Bengali Muslims are totally absent from Bengali literature – canonical or otherwise. He seems to suggest that the onus is left on the Bengali Muslims to write their stories. However, instead of regretting it, the Bengali Muslims should take upon themselves the task of writing their own story, thereby inscribing their own self in the official cultural narrative of Bengal. This essay thus takes into account the works of Mustafa Siraj, Abul Bashar, Abdul Jabbar, Abdul Aziz Al Aman, Abu Atahar, Afsar Ahmed, Soharab Hossain, Dr. Nazrul Islam, AbdurRouf, and others to suggest that these writings challenge the dominant narrative by bringing in the hitherto unheard-of voices and their stories. I want to read this body of literature as, what Deleuze terms in his study of Kafka, Minor Literature. Minor literature, however, should not be

confused with minority literature. It is the positionality of the writer which is minor as against the official discursive regime that defines minor literature. It is characterized by three elements – deterritorialization of language, politics, and collective value. The works by some of these Bengali Muslim writers seem to suggest the presence of these markers – they write in Bengali, but the inflection they bring in and the cultural flavor that is there supplement the sanitised Bengali of the ‘bhadralok’. They talk about the Bengali Muslim community and social group – their life-world, their beliefs, cultural pattern, and discourses – that is political by itself as it debates the canonical representation of Bengal where the Bengali Muslims are completely absent (Alam, 2017).

Critical Writing:

‘Bengali Muslim writers are not hesitant to write about the prevalent socio-political and cultural discourses and challenge the ‘common sense’ about the Bengali Muslim life and culture, foregrounding the reasons for their backwardness. Writers such as Aminul Islam in ‘SatyerSandhane Muslim Samaj’ (Muslims in Search of Truth), Mainul Hasan in ‘Hunter Theke Sachar: Bharote Mussalmander Artho-Samajik Abosthan’ (From Hunter to Sachar: The Socio-Economic Condition of the Muslims in India), Imanul Hoque in ‘Samprodayik Mon Dhormo Noropeksha Mukh’ (Communal Heart, Secular Face), Kazi Masum Akhtar in ‘Bonchito Rakhar Sodojontro’ (Conspiracy to Keep Deprived), Dr. Nazrul Islam in ‘Mussalmaner Koroniyo’ (A Discourse on Duty of Muslim Citizens) pose various uneasy questions, which can be perceived from the very titles of the books. They dig deeper to unearth the issues of deprivation of the Bengali Muslims, the historical amnesia, as well as the negative practices prevalent in the community. They also try to suggest ways ahead for the community to counter discrimination and change their socio-political scenario. A detailed discussion of these writers’ works is beyond the scope of this short essay.’ (Alam, 2017)

Daily Kalom

At early 80’s a weekly newspaper was started in West Bengal from the capital city Kolkata named ‘Kalom’. The year of starting is 1982. It introduced a new era in Bengal Muslim journalism. Investigative journalism and community journalism gave the fame and popularity to Weekly Kalom. It should be noted that the newspaper at first was not published as weekly one. After few years of publication, it became weekly newspaper. Before that, The Kalom newspaper was a monthly. The editor of this newspaper is Ahmad Hassan. This weekly newspaper is now published as daily newspaper. This is the only daily for Muslim community of West Bengal that has wide circulation in rural Bengal. It became a daily newspaper from 2012 April from a weekly newspaper. The newspaper now has changed its name to ‘Puber Kalom’ to cover the news of Assam, Bangladesh and West Bengal. The editorial office of the newspaper is situated at 14 B, Royd Street, Kolkata-700016. We shall use the name ‘Kalom’ as Puber Kalom. Kalom took an important part to portray the rising of hate politics and Hindutva politics and communalism in India after independence. Especially after the Gujarat riot in 2002, the anti-Muslim politics and violence to this community turned into a massacre. Daily and weekly Kalom sketch the problem and seek solution.

Post-Gujarat riot period: the rising of hate politics

‘The 2002 Gujarat riots, also known as the 2002 Gujarat violence and the Gujarat pogrom, was a three-day period of inter-communal violence in the western Indian state of Gujarat. Following the initial incident there were further outbreaks of violence in Ahmedabad for three months; statewide, there were further outbreaks of communal riots against the minority Muslim population for the next year. The burning of a train in Godhra on 27 February 2002, which caused the deaths of 58 Hindu pilgrims karsevaks returning from Ayodhya, is cited as having instigated the violence.

According to official figures, the riots ended with 1,044 dead, 223 missing, and 2,500 injured. Of the dead, 790 were Muslim and 254 Hindu. The Concerned Citizens Tribunal Report, estimated that as many as 1,926 may have been killed. Other sources estimated death tolls in excess of 2,000. Many brutal killings and rapes were reported on as well as widespread looting and destruction of property. The Chief Minister of Gujarat at that time, Narendra Modi, was accused of initiating and condoning the violence, as were police and government officials who allegedly directed the rioters and gave lists of Muslim-owned properties to them.

In 2012, Modi was cleared of complicity in the violence by Special Investigation Team (SIT) appointed by the Supreme Court of India. The SIT also rejected claims that the state government had not done enough to prevent the riots. The Muslim community was reported to have reacted with anger and disbelief. In July 2013 allegations were made that the SIT had suppressed evidence. That December, an Indian court upheld the earlier SIT report and rejected a petition seeking Modi's prosecution. In April 2014, the Supreme Court expressed satisfaction over the SIT's investigations in nine cases related to the violence and rejected as "baseless" a plea contesting the SIT report.

Though officially classified as a communalist riot, the events of 2002 have been described as a pogrom by many scholars, with some commentators alleging that the attacks had been planned, with the attack on the train was a "staged trigger" for what was actually premeditated violence. Other observers have stated that these events had met the "legal definition of genocide," or referred to them as state terrorism or ethnic cleansing. Instances of mass violence include the Naroda Patiya massacre that took place directly adjacent to a police training camp; the Gulbarg Society massacre where

Ehsan Jafri, a former parliamentarian, was among those killed; and several incidents in Vadodara city. Martha Nussbaum said that "There is by now a broad consensus that the Gujarat violence was a form of ethnic cleansing, that in many ways it was premeditated, and that it was carried out with the complicity of the state government and officers of the law." (Wikipedia, 2002 Gujarat riots, 2018)

Islamophobia: Love jihad, killing of Akhlak, Junaid and the mob lynching

Daily Kalom is the voice of Bengali Muslim community. The growing phenomenon of islamophobia repeatedly reported on the newspaper. As a term of slander Islamophobia appears to have been a global phenomenon since the beginning of the present century, but in truth it has largely remained a western monopoly. The West has used the term to define its war against the world of Islam. It is aimed at nothing but perpetuating its hegemony over the world. Recently, however, this has acquired a local Indian dimension. Indian-born Islamophobia is beginning to appear as a big threat not only to the secular fabric of the country but also to its unity.

Though it exists in India since Independence, it has assumed ominous proportions only in recent years. The demolition of Babri Masjid was its first ugly manifestation of devastating nature. Things appeared to cool down a bit in the last decade. But the python is back with a bigger mouth and more venomous bite. The recent Lok Sabha elections witnessed plenty of Islamophobia but following the rise of BJP as the ruling party, it seems to have gone beyond control.

At the global level, Islamophobia is born more out of the threat to the economic and political designs of the West than the alleged violent ways of Muslims. Muslims being the second biggest ethnic community in the world after Christians, and the biggest community of true religionists, with more than 55 Muslim majority countries with significant minority, the west fears that Islam's ideological, moral, social and economic principles are a direct threat to the survival of its corporate driven hegemony of the world.

India faces the same problem nowadays. The Hindutva politics and their power were becoming a big threat to Indian Muslim as well as Bengali Muslim. The cow protector known as 'gaurakshak' killed the man who eat beef. Intolerance, hate was foundation of new politics. The Muslim identity was also intolerable to this type of extremist. Akhlak from Dadri of Bihar district was murdered for fridging beef. Junaid was thrown from train in Uttar Pradesh for carrying beef. All the allegations were not confirmed, just assumed. Daily Kalom published a report on this type of incident titled 'Mom, your son might not back to the home'. That is:

Giridi to Ballavpur. Akhlak, Junaid, Ansari. Brutal murder after murder. Because, the cow-protection. There is no security for ordinary people. In the last two years about thirty people have lost their lives on this pretext. Dense darkness in the midst of hundreds of candles. Now the mother to save the children. Appealing a common young citizen of the country.

Take a look at your son's fresh face. If you want to feed him, then feed carefully your son's favourite dishes 'Murighonto' and 'Polao'. The boy grew up, but never grew up with the mother. If you want to adore the child, if you want to adore it, take it too. Give your loving kiss to your lover fore-head. Why? Because, your son is going out of the house. Yes, mother, nearer grocery stores, to take ration, the city to Eid market, little away to study. Mother, there is no guarantee. There is no guarantee of returning your son. He may return to your side or he cannot return. He may return as a dead body. He may be thrown from the train. Then the stick, the drunken people who can jump with the arms. You are thinking, the people around you. No mother, they cannot do anything. In front of the violence, the request cry in secret. Your son will ask for forgiveness, will ask for life. But they will not listen. They will kill them. The one whom you did not want to beat, but to save him from his father.

I cannot even return. Mother, coming out on the streets in fear. Not saying anything to you, if you will worry. I do not say anything while walking along the road. I do not see anyone walking around the road. I went to the mosque to 'Maghrib'(evening)prayers. Has anybody seen me? Do you remember that friend? Last time, our home came in the Eid, eating 'simay' and 'lachcha', was thrilled to praise you for cooking, that Sudipta was unable to call Eid. Fear! I am scared to enter their area. If the frenetic say that you eat cow. So, you should have died. What will be the mother? Then Sudipta will not be able to do anything. Maybe he will try to save me, but you can't help it. He can form a candle light rally; with the slogan 'Not in my name' can change the profile picture on Facebook, but I will not return. And those who say, I am not in that violent group, so they are belonged to your dead son's party, mother! Another mother will lose her son, another sister will lose her naughty brother, and another wife will lose dearest.

The leaders of the country are meeting, assuring. But we are afraid to go out. There is nothing impossible in the country where criminals can get power. In the last two years, about thirty boys have taken away from your coat. So, your request, the boy's mother request who has not returned from the campus, the boy who hangs from the ceiling to see a dream, his mother's voice will echo in Ether. They will not reach the court. Even the candles will remain dark.

'Ma Tara Hotel' is very favourite to me. Nobody does cook vegetables like them. When I go there, they all see how to look me, see my Punjabi, the beard-moustache ratio, the cutting style, try to understand whether I go to the Muslim hotel to eat beef. Amma, you know very well that I cannot eat any other meat except chicken. Here, they have to spread the beef around after killing your son. The boy could not tolerate the smell of beef, he would be dead in pieces of beef. I am afraid of telling the word 'cow'. If they heard it, they will come out to kill me chanting 'Gau khor'. When our calf died, how was my tears, you know mother.

You know, one told me in college, I look like a terrorist. I smiled on sorrow heart. I thought, this film is presented in the print-electronic media. It can also think of terrorists. But, the mind is stupid, with whom I am doing a daily class, sharing a roll, drinking water in the same bottle, he is telling me to be like a terrorist. I would like to see him as a terrier. Do not think of others. All are not violent, not everyone is extreme Not everyone is a cow-saver, as all Muslim are not terrorists. Junaid's mother, Najeeb's mother, Rohit's mother will never be able to get son back. Now you have to wake

up to be a mother. There must be a voice. Give a Shock to the basis of anarchy, dictatorship. You are mother. Mother's fan, guardians of mother will certainly honour you. Their heart will wet with your tears. So, you can protect us. Ten months and ten days, you showed the light of the earth with safety in the womb. Now you come forward, save your children. We all want to live together. We want peace by thrashing hate. You have to trust mother. In the age of revolution, you sent the sons to the war. Then you sat atpraying and raised your hand to God-Allah. When Junaid was thrown, a woman like you, a mother, a sister came forward to save. He was not Muslim. This scene shows the light of hope. You come forward mother. The harmony force will spread from the house to house. You have the power of Durga, the goddess with ten hands. Everything will fly in front of you like a straw.(Rashid, 2017)

Daily Kalom was such a newspaper that had a great impact on Muslim community. It was the first and only daily successfully run in West Bengal after partition. It is still now a popular newspaper among Muslims of West Bengal. They published the news related to Muslim community issue. Thus, it became a community newspaper and voice of West Bengal Muslim community.

Expert Opinion

Interviewing is conducted to elaborate the ideas about the period between partition of India and the post-independence years. An interview can be structured one where the interviewer is prepared with the set of question or questionnaires. Mainly, this type of expert opinion is very helpful to understand the background of research problem and make the views clear. I personally interviewed Imdadul Haque Noor and Abdur Rauf. First one is the editor of NatunGati weekly newspaper. He is a knowledgeable person and informed lot of information. Abdur Rauf is noted columnist. He was the editor of 'Caturanga' sahitya patrika and 'Al Imaam' newspaper. He also wrote many articles for Anandabazar Patrika, Sangbad Pratidin etc. newspaper. I, here took consideration scholars view published on journals as the expert opinion. The opinion is taken as the answer of following question: What is the status of Bengali Muslim edited newspapers and magazines after the partition of India (1947-2017)?

They experts gave their opinion as their own perspectives. Here I writing that in precise and to the point.

On Kafela magazine Mas-Ud-Ar-Rahman wrote about the partition tragedy specifically in his essay 'Progress reluctant Bengali musalman'(Bangalimusalmanerpragatibimukhota). He wrote, "Bengali Muslims closed the door of progress. When rest of the world goes to forward, they lied on closed room and thought about glorious past. There is no acceptance to hug the new world and development that is good for them. They always criticise and laughed at the modernity called 'anti shariah' to reject it immediately. From the stage of speech to journalism and literature, there is no contribution and enthusiasm."

Abdur Rauf said, "Undoubtedly the newspaper leads the suppressed and depressed class and shows the right way of development and prosperity. There are many newspapers in this country. But problem, opinion and news of Bengali Muslim is not reflected by those. They are not so few in number."

Emdadul Haque Noor said that the cultural and educational movement is must for this community to rise them from bed of roses and ignorance. They are unable to mark their contribution to the rest of the world. Fundamentalism has ruined them.

In his excellent introduction to 'TahaderKotha' (Their Story), Milan Dutta criticizes the fact that Bengali Muslims are totally absent from Bengali literature – canonical or otherwise. He seems to suggest that the onus is left on the Bengali Muslims to write their stories.

CHAPTER 4

Findings

Al Imaam discovered a new path towards the progress to West Bengal Muslims. It did the job of an Imaam (means leader) actually. It had been detected the main disease of Muslim community. It is obvious that the contribution of the newspaper and magazines of this period were not so much in number. But it had an impact on the Muslim community.

Another newspaper that has great contribution on Muslim community is Weekly NatunGati. It emphasizes on the literature part of Bengali Muslim. They had published several articles on literature and culture and history of West Bengal Muslim community. They tried to keep up the tradition and culture of Bengal Muslim after the independence of India.

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CHAPTER 5

Analysis of Findings

When considering a research idea, we are bound to rely on previous findings on the topic. Work done in the field constructs the foundation for our research and determines its course and value. Inaccurate findings may lead to imprecise applications and end in further fallacies in your own new scientific knowledge that you construct (Zupan, 2010).

It is obvious that the newspaper and magazines of this period were not so many in number. Newspapers mainly portrayed the news of minority community. It also covered the world Muslims news such as the Islamic revolution in Iran in 1979 was covered by Al Imaam newspaper. The newspaper also tried to regulate the Muslim society by hearing

the old pride history of middle age Islam of Mughal era and rest of the world. So, the newspapers and magazines published the articles on Begum Rokeya, Kazi Nazrul Islam etc. eminent Muslim writers. The essay on science and technology during Islamic period was also highlighted on the newspaper articles.

Besides that, a big portion of news coverage was covered by communal news. The Hindutva politics was a great threat to Indian Muslims. The newspaper portrayed this picture continuously. The Babri masjid demolition issue, Jamshedpur riot, Gujarat riots, mob lynching frequently covered by the newspapers. It is obvious that the strengths, intellectuality and skill of writing, creativity has consumed to fight against the communal politics and the politics of hate. The killing of Akhlaq, Junaid was also a great shock to Indian Muslims. The consequences of the communal politics and politics of religion ruined the Indian Muslims, their education, economic development, progress. The politicians made them only vote bank. The reports, articles. Editorial columns proved the fact that they are really vulnerable. The under-development society has no dream, has no progress, has no U-turn of changing the root. They are hopeless. The voice of Bengali Muslims like this newspaper successfully marked the situation. The Bengali Muslims are failure in the goal of development. But the rising youth society will make change the root of society. It is hoped. and the newspaper and periodicals let know this news before the U-turn. The rays of hope portrayed by these newspaper, this is the success of the journalism.

CHAPTER 6

Recommendation and conclusion

Thus, we see that the canvas Bengali Muslim journalism was not very wide and it did not produce variety of publication during its formative age. Even such variety is not available in the present time of the 21st century. But if we discuss about the Muslim journalism before the independence, we see the glorious journalism. Akram Khan, Md Nasiruddin, Kazi Nazrul Islam, Muzaffar Ahmed made a milestone in the field of journalism. But the present journalism is not so vibrant like 'Muhammadi', 'Saugat', 'Dhumketu', 'Navajug'. It is really a surprising phenomenon that these various categories of publications came out at such a time when the Bengali journalism was at its formative period. These days when the Bengali journalism has traversed two hundred of year and has seen various ups and downs in this journey is unable to return to its lost glory. At present the number of newspapers has increased manifold but we not find the variety of newspapers which the Bengali Muslim journalism produced in its formative era. We can only hope that the situation could be changed.

With advent of modern super-fast technology like internet, the scope of Bangla has increased manifold. Since the readership of Muslim media is scattered worldwide. An educated generation is rising in the Muslim society. To grab the opportunity, the modern technique should be used in Bengali journalism. We have to run the newspaper on the modern management principle (Iqbal, 2015). The Bengali press have to develop their own news gathering network and avoid dependent of agency news. The future of Bengali Muslim journalism depends on the economic prosperity of Bengali journalists so they should be given their rightful due and their services recognised.

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